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COMPLETE WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever — it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it — break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And, finally, in 1787 one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union."

But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against

or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. *May* Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not ex-

pressly say. *Must* Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government is acquiescence on one side or the other.

If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

* * *

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position, assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-

slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution — which amendment, however, I have not seen — has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the sep-

aration of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

March 4, 1861.—Letter to Wm. H. Seward.

Executive Mansion, March 4, 1861.

My dear Sir: Your note of the 2d instant, asking to withdraw your acceptance of my invitation to take charge of the State De-

partment, was duly received. It is the subject of the most painful solicitude with me, and I feel constrained to beg that you will countermand the withdrawal. The public interest, I think, demands that you should; and my personal feelings are deeply enlisted in the same direction. Please consider and answer by 9 A. M. to-morrow. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

March 7, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, March 7, 1861.

My dear Sir: Herewith is the diplomatic address and my reply. To whom the reply should be addressed—that is, by what title or style—I do not quite understand, and therefore I have left it blank.

Will you please bring with you to-day the message from the War Department, with General Scott's note upon it, which we had here yesterday? I wish to examine the general's opinion, which I have not yet done. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

HON. W. H. SEWARD.

March 7, 1861.—REPLY TO THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

MR. FIGANIERE AND GENTLEMEN OF THE DIPLOMATIC BODY:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind congratulations. It affords me pleasure to confirm the confidence you so generously express in the friendly disposition of the United States, through me, toward the sovereigns and governments you respectively represent. With equal satisfaction I accept the assurance you are pleased to give, that the same disposition is reciprocated by your sovereigns, your governments, and yourselves.

Allow me to express the hope that these friendly relations may remain undisturbed, and also my fervent wishes for the health and happiness of yourselves personally.

March 8, 1861.—LETTER TO SCHUYLER COLFAX.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 8, 1861.

HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 6th has just been handed me by Mr. Baker, of Minnesota. When I said to you the other day that I wished to write you a letter, I had reference, of course, to my not having offered you a cabinet appointment. I meant to say, and now do say, you were most honorably and amply recommended, and a tender of the appointment was not withheld, in any part,

because of anything happening in 1858.[1] Indeed, I should have decided as I did easier than I did, had that matter never existed. I had partly made up my mind in favor of Mr. Smith — not conclusively, of course — before your name was mentioned in that connection. When you were brought forward I said, "Colfax is a young man, is already in position, is running a brilliant career, and is sure of a bright future in any event; with Smith, it is now or never." I considered either abundantly competent, and decided on the ground I have stated. I now have to beg that you will not do me the injustice to suppose for a moment that I remember anything against you in malice. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 9, 1861.— ORDER TO GENERAL SCOTT. DRAFTED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND SIGNED BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 9, 1861.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SCOTT.

My dear Sir: I am directed by the President to say he desires you to exercise all possible vigilance for the maintenance of all the places within the military department of the United States, and to promptly call upon all the departments of the government for the means necessary to that end.

[SIMON CAMERON.]

March 9, 1861.—LETTER TO GENERAL SCOTT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 9, 1861.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SCOTT.

My dear Sir: On the 5th instant I received from the Hon. Joseph Holt, the then faithful and vigilant Secretary of War, a letter of that date, inclosing a letter and accompanying documents received by him on the 4th instant from Major Robert Anderson, commanding Fort Sumter, South Carolina; and copies of all which I now transmit. Immediately on receipt of them by me, I transmitted the whole to you for your consideration; and the same day you returned the package to me with your opinion indorsed upon it, a copy of which opinion I now also transmit to you. Learning from you verbally that since then you have given the subject a more full and thorough consideration, you will much oblige me by giving answers, in writing, to the following interrogatories:

(1) To what point of time can Major Anderson maintain his position at Fort Sumter, without fresh supplies or reinforcement?

(2) Can you, with all the means now in your control, supply or reinforce Fort Sumter within that time?

[1] The allusion here is to the fact that in the senatorial campaign of 1858 in Illinois, between Lincoln and Douglas, Mr. Colfax was understood to favor the reëlection of Douglas.

(3) If not, what amount of means, and of what description, in addition to that already at your control, would enable you to supply and reinforce that fortress within the time?

Please answer these, adding such statements, information, and counsel as your great skill and experience may suggest.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

March 11, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 11, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE.

My dear Sir: What think you of sending ministers at once as follows: Dayton to England; Frémont to France; Clay to Spain; Corwin to Mexico?

We need to have these points guarded as strongly and quickly as possible. This is suggestion merely, and not dictation.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

March 13, 1861.—LETTER TO ———.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 13, 1861.

——— Esq.

My dear Sir: You will start for Kansas before I see you again; and when I saw you a moment this morning I forgot to ask you about some of the Kansas appointments, which I intended to do. If you care much about them, you can write, as I think I shall not make the appointments just yet. Yours in haste,

A. LINCOLN.

March 13, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 13, 1861.

HON. W. H. SEWARD.

Dear Sir: General Cameron desires that Jacob S. Haldeman may be appointed Minister Resident at Sweden and Norway; and I am willing to oblige him, if you see no objection.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

March 14, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 14, 1861.

HON. W. H. SEWARD.

My dear Sir: Allow me to introduce Mr. F. Hassaurek, one of our best German Republican workers in America, residing at Cincinnati, and of whose character you cannot be ignorant. Please give him an interview. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 15, 1861.—Note asking Cabinet Opinions on Fort Sumter.

Executive Mansion, March 15, 1861.

The Honorable Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it? Please give me your opinion in writing on this question.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

[Same to other members of the Cabinet.]

Opinion on Fort Sumter from the Secretary of State.

Department of State, Washington, 15th March, 1861.

The President submits to me the following question—namely: "Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it?"

If it were possible to peacefully provision Fort Sumter, of course I should answer that it would be both unwise and inhuman not to attempt it. But the facts of the case are known to be that the attempt must be made with the employment of military and marine force, which would provoke combat, and probably initiate a civil war, which the government of the United States would be committed to maintain through all changes to some definite conclusion.

History must record that a sectional party practically constituting a majority of the people of the fifteen slave States, excited to a high state of jealous apprehension for the safety of life and property, by impassioned, though groundless, appeals went into the late election with a predetermined purpose, if unsuccessful at the polls, to raise the standard of secession immediately afterward, and to separate the slave States, or so many of them as could be detached from the Union, and to organize them in a new, distinct, and independent Confederacy. That party was unsuccessful at the polls. In the frenzy which followed the announcement of their defeat, they put the machinery of the State legislatures and conventions into motion, and within the period of three months they have succeeded in obtaining ordinances of secession by which seven of the slave States have seceded and organized a new Confederacy under the name of the Confederate States of America. These States, finding a large number of the mints, custom-houses, forts, and arsenals of the United States situate within their limits, unoccupied, undefended, and virtually abandoned by the late administration, have seized and appropriated them to their own use, and under the same circumstances have seized and appropriated to their own use large amounts of money and other public property of the United States, found within their limits. The people of the other slave States, divided and balancing between sympathy with the seceding slave States and loyalty to the Union, have been intensely excited, but, at the present moment, indicate a disposition to adhere to the Union, if nothing extraordinary shall occur to renew excitement and produce popular exasperation. This is the stage in this premeditated revolution at which we now stand.

The opening of this painful controversy at once raised the question whether it would be for the interest of the country to admit the projected dismemberment, with its consequent evils, or whether patriotism and hu-

manity require that it shall be prevented. As a citizen, my own decision on this subject was promptly made—namely, that the Union is inestimable and even indispensable to the welfare and happiness of the whole country, and to the best interests of mankind. As a statesman in the public service, I have not hesitated to assume that the Federal Government is committed to maintain, preserve, and defend the Union—peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must—to every extremity. Next to disunion itself, I regard civil war as the most disastrous and deplorable of national calamities, and as the most uncertain and fearful of all remedies for political disorders. I have, therefore, made it the study and labor of the hour, how to save the Union from dismemberment by peaceful policy and without civil war.

Influenced by these sentiments, I have felt that it is exceedingly fortunate that, to a great extent, the Federal Government occupies, thus far, not an aggressive attitude, but practically a defensive one, while the necessity for action, if civil war is to be initiated, falls on those who seek to dismember and subvert this Union.

It has seemed to me equally fortunate that the disunionists are absolutely without any justification for their rash and desperate designs. The administration of the government had been for a long time virtually in their own hands, and controlled and directed by themselves, when they began the work of revolution. They had, therefore, no other excuse than apprehensions of oppression from the new and adverse administration which was about to come into power.

It seems to me, further, to be a matter of good fortune that the new and adverse administration must come in with both Houses of Congress containing majorities opposite to its policy, so that, even if it would, it could commit no wrong or injustice against the States which were being madly goaded into revolution. Under these circumstances, disunion could have no better basis to stand upon than a blind, unreasoning popular excitement, arising out of a simple and harmless disappointment in a Presidential election. That excitement, if it should find no new aliment, must soon subside and leave disunion without any real support. On the other hand, I have believed firmly that everywhere, even in South Carolina, devotion to the Union is a profound and permanent national sentiment, which, although it may be suppressed and silenced by terror for a time, could, if encouraged, be ultimately relied upon to rally the people of the seceding States to reverse, upon due deliberation, all the popular acts of legislatures and conventions by which they were hastily and violently committed to disunion.

The policy of the time, therefore, has seemed to me to consist in conciliation, which should deny to disunionists any new provocation or apparent offense, while it would enable the unionists in the slave States to maintain, with truth and with effect, that the claims and apprehensions put forth by the disunionists are groundless and false.

I have not been ignorant of the objection that the administration was elected through the activity of the Republican party, that it must continue to deserve and retain the confidence of that party, while conciliation toward the slave States tends to demoralize the Republican party itself, on which party the main responsibility of maintaining the Union must rest.

But it has seemed to me a sufficient answer, first, that the administration could not demoralize the Republican party without making some sacrifice of its essential principles when no such sacrifice is necessary or is anywhere authoritatively proposed; and, secondly, if it be indeed true that pacification is necessary to prevent dismemberment of the Union and civil war, or either of them, no patriot and lover of humanity could hesitate to surrender party for the higher interests of country and humanity.

Partly by design, partly by chance, this policy has been hitherto pursued by the last administration of the Federal Government, and by the Republican party in its corporate action. It is by this policy thus pursued, I think, that the progress of dismemberment has been arrested after the seven Gulf States had seceded, and the border States yet remain, although they do so uneasily, in the Union.

It is to a perseverance in this policy for a short time longer that I look as the only peaceful means of assuring the continuance of Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas, or most of those States, in the Union. It is through their good and patriotic offices that I look to see the Union sentiment revived and brought once more into activity in the seceding States, and through this agency those States themselves returning into the Union.

I am not unaware that I am conceding more than can reasonably be demanded by the people of the border States. They could, speaking justly, demand nothing. They are bound by the Federal obligation to adhere to the Union without concession or conciliation, just as much as the people of the free States are. But in administration we must deal with men, facts, and circumstances, not as they ought to be, but as they are.

The fact, then, is that while the people of the border States desire to be loyal, they are at the same time sadly, though temporarily, demoralized by a sympathy for the slave States which makes them forget their loyalty whenever there are any grounds for apprehending that the Federal Government will resort to military coercion against the seceding States, even though such coercion should be necessary to maintain the authority, or even the integrity, of the Union. This sympathy is unreasonable, unwise, and dangerous, and therefore cannot, if left undisturbed, be permanent. It can be banished, however, only in one way, and that is by giving time for it to wear out and for reason to resume its sway. Time will do this, if it be not hindered by new alarms and provocations.

South Carolina opened the revolution. Apprehending chastisement by the military arm of the United States, she seized all the forts of the United States in the harbor of Charleston, except Fort Sumter, which, garrisoned by less than a hundred men, stands practically in a state of siege, but at the same time defying South Carolina and, as the seceding States imagine, menacing her with conquest. Every one knows, first, that even if Sumter were adequately reinforced, it would still be practically useless to the government, because the administration in no case could attempt to subjugate Charleston or the State of South Carolina.

It is held now only because it is the property of the United States, and is a monument of their authority and sovereignty. I would so continue to hold it as long as it can be done without involving some danger or evil greater than the advantage of continued possession. The highest military authority tells us that without supplies the garrison must yield in a few days to starvation, that its numbers are so small that it must yield in a few days to attack by the assailants lying around it, and that the case in this respect would remain the same even if it were supplied but not reinforced. All the military and naval authorities tell us that any attempt at supplies would be unavailing without the employment of armed military and naval force. If we employ armed force for the purpose of supplying the fort, we give all the provocation that could be offered by combining reinforcement with supply. The question submitted to me, then, practically is: Supposing it to be possible to reinforce and supply Fort Sumter, is it wise now to attempt it instead of withdrawing the garrison? The most that could be done by any means now in our hands, would be to throw two hundred and fifty to four hundred men into the garrison, with provi-

sions for supplying it for six months. In this active and enlightened country, in this season of excitement, with a daily press, daily mails, and an incessantly operating telegraph, the design to reinforce and supply the garrison must become known to the opposite party at Charleston as soon, at least, as preparation for it should begin. The garrison would then almost certainly fall by assault before the expedition could reach the harbor of Charleston. But supposing the secret kept, the expedition must engage in conflict on entering the harbor of Charleston. Suppose it be overpowered and destroyed, is that new outrage to be avenged, or are we then to return to our attitude of immobility? Shall we be allowed to do so? Moreover, in that event, what becomes of the garrison?

Suppose the expedition successful, we have then a garrison in Fort Sumter that can defy assault for six months. What is it to do then? Is it to make war by opening its batteries and attempting to demolish the defenses of the Carolinians? Can it demolish them if it tries? If it cannot, what is the advantage we shall have gained? If it can, how will it serve to check or prevent disunion? In either case it seems to me that we will have inaugurated a civil war by our own act, without an adequate object, after which reunion will be hopeless, at least under this administration, or in any other way than by a popular disavowal both of the war and of the administration which unnecessarily commenced it. Fraternity is the element of union; war, the very element of disunion. Fraternity, if practised by this administration, will rescue the Union from all its dangers. If this administration, on the other hand, takes up the sword, then an opposite party will offer the olive-branch, and will, as it ought, profit by the restoration of peace and union.

I may be asked whether I would in no case, and at no time, advise force — whether I propose to give up everything? I reply, no. I would not initiate war to regain a useless and unnecessary position on the soil of the seceding States. I would not provoke war in any way now. I would resort to force to protect the collection of the revenue, because this is a necessary as well as a legitimate minor object. Even then it should be only a naval force that I would employ for that necessary purpose, while I would defer military action on land until a case should arise when we would hold the defense. In that case we should have the spirit of the country and the approval of mankind on our side. In the other, we should imperil peace and union, because we had not the courage to practise prudence and moderation at the cost of temporary misapprehension. If this counsel seems to be impassive and even unpatriotic, I console myself by the reflection that it is such as Chatham gave to his country under circumstances not widely different.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Opinion on Fort Sumter from the Secretary of the Treasury.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, March 16, 1861.

Sir: The following question was submitted to my consideration by your note of yesterday: "Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it?"

I have given to this question all the reflection which the engrossing duties of this department have allowed. A correct solution must depend, in my judgment, on the degree of possibility, on the combination of reinforcement with provisioning, and on the probable effects of the measure upon the relations of the disaffected States to the National Government.

I shall assume, what the statements of the distinguished officers con-

sulted seem to warrant, that the possibility of success amounts to a reasonable degree of probability, and also that the attempt to provision is to include an attempt to reinforce, for it seems to be generally agreed that provisioning without reinforcements, notwithstanding hostile resistance, will accomplish no substantially beneficial purpose.

The probable political effects of the measure allow room for much fair difference of opinion; and I have not reached my own conclusion without serious difficulty.

If the attempt will so inflame civil war as to involve an immediate necessity for the enlistment of armies and the expenditure of millions, I cannot advise it in the existing circumstances of the country and in the present condition of the national finances.

But it seems to me highly improbable that the attempt, especially if accompanied or immediately followed by a proclamation setting forth a liberal and generous yet firm policy toward the disaffected States, in harmony with the principles of the inaugural address, will produce such consequences; while it cannot be doubted that in maintaining a port belonging to the United States and in supporting the officers and men engaged in the regular course of service in its defense, the Federal Government exercises a clear right and, under all ordinary circumstances, performs a plain duty.

I return, therefore, an affirmative answer to the question submitted to me,

And have the honor to be,

With the highest respect,

Your obedient servant,

TO THE PRESIDENT. S. P. CHASE.

Opinion on Fort Sumter from the Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 16, 1861.

Sir: In reply to the letter of inquiry, addressed to me by the President, whether, "assuming it to be possible now to provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it?" I beg leave to say that it has received the careful consideration, in the limited time I could bestow upon it, which its very grave importance demands, and that my mind has been most reluctantly forced to the conclusion that it would be unwise now to make such an attempt.

In coming to this conclusion, I am free to say I am greatly influenced by the opinions of the army officers who have expressed themselves on the subject, and who seem to concur that it is, perhaps, now impossible to succor that fort substantially, if at all, without capturing, by means of a large expedition of ships of war and troops, all the opposing batteries of South Carolina. All the officers within Fort Sumter, together with Generals Scott and Totten, express this opinion, and it would seem to me that the President would not be justified to disregard such high authority without overruling considerations of public policy.

Major Anderson, in his report of the 28th ultimo, says: "I confess that I would not be willing to risk my reputation on an attempt to throw reinforcements into this harbor within the time for our relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of our provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than twenty thousand good and well-disciplined men."

In this opinion Major Anderson is substantially sustained by the reports of all the other officers within the fort, one of whom, Captain Seymour, speaks thus emphatically on the subject: "It is not more than possible to supply this fort by ruse with a few men or a small amount

of provisions, such is the unceasing vigilance employed to prevent it. To do so openly by vessels alone, unless they are shot-proof, is virtually impossible, so numerous and powerful are the opposing batteries. No vessel can lay near the fort without being exposed to continual fire, and the harbor could, and probably would, whenever necessary, be effectually closed, as one channel has already been. A projected attack in large force would draw to this harbor all the available resources in men and material of the contiguous States. Batteries of guns of heavy caliber would be multiplied rapidly and indefinitely; at least twenty thousand men, good marksmen and trained for months past with a view to this very contingency, would be concentrated here before the attacking force could leave Northern ports. The harbor would be closed; a landing must be effected at some distance from our guns, which could give no aid. Charleston harbor would be a Sebastopol in such a conflict, and unlimited means would probably be required to insure success, before which time the garrison at Fort Sumter would be starved out."

General Scott, in his reply to the question addressed to him by the President on the 12th instant, what amount of means, and of what description, in addition to those already at command, would be required to supply and reinforce the fort, says, "I should need a fleet of war vessels and transports, which, in the scattered disposition of the navy (as understood), could not be collected in less than four months; five thousand additional regular troops, and twenty thousand volunteers—that is, a force sufficient to take all the batteries, both in the harbor (including Fort Moultrie) as well as in the approach or outer bay. To raise, organize, and discipline such an army (not to speak of necessary legislation by Congress, not now in session) would require from six to eight months. As a practical military question, the time for succoring Fort Sumter with any means at hand had passed away nearly a month ago. Since then, a surrender under assault or from starvation has been merely a question of time."

It is true there are those whose opinions are entitled to respectful consideration, who entertain the belief that Fort Sumter could yet be succored to a limited extent without the employment of the large army and naval forces believed to be necessary by the army officers whose opinions I have already quoted. Captain Ward of the navy, an officer of acknowledged merit, a month ago believed it to be practicable to supply the fort with men and provisions to a limited extent, without the employment of any very large military or naval force. He then proposed to employ four or more small steamers belonging to the Coast Survey to accomplish the purpose, and we have the opinion of General Scott that he has no doubt that Captain Ward, at that time, would have succeeded with his proposed expedition, but was not allowed by the late President to attempt the execution of his plan. Now it is pronounced, from the change of circumstances, impracticable by Major Anderson and all the other officers of the fort, as well as by Generals Scott and Totten; and in this opinion Captain Ward, after full consultation with the latter named officers and the superintendent of the Coast Survey, I understand now reluctantly concurs.

Mr. Fox, another gentleman of experience as a seaman, who, having formerly been engaged on the Coast Survey, is familiar with the waters of Charleston Harbor, has proposed to make the attempt to supply the fort by the aid of cutters of light draught and large dimensions, and his proposal has, in a measure, been approved by Commodore Stringham; but he does not suppose, or propose, or profess to believe that provisions for more than one or two months could be furnished at a time.

There is no doubt whatever in my mind that when Major Anderson first took possession of Fort Sumter he could have been easily supplied with men and provisions, and that when Captain Ward, with the concurrence

of General Scott, a month ago, proposed his expedition, he would have succeeded had he been allowed to attempt it, as I think he should have been. A different state of things, however, now exists. Fort Moultrie is now re-armed and strengthened in every way; many new hand batteries have been constructed, the principal channel has been obstructed—in short, the difficulty of reinforcing the fort has been increased ten, if not twenty, fold. Whatever might have been done as late as a month ago, it is too sadly evident that it cannot now be done without the sacrifice of life and treasure not at all commensurate with the object to be attained; and as the abandonment of the fort in a few weeks, sooner or later, appears to be an inevitable necessity, it seems to me that the sooner it be done the better.

The proposition presented by Mr. Fox, so sincerely entertained and ably advocated, would be entitled to my favorable consideration if, with all the lights before me, and in the face of so many distinguished military authorities on the other side, I did not believe the attempt to carry it into effect would initiate a bloody and protracted conflict. Should he succeed in relieving Fort Sumter, which is doubted by many of our most experienced soldiers and seamen, would that enable us to maintain our authority against the troops and fortifications of South Carolina? Sumter could not now contend against these formidable adversaries if filled with provisions and men. That fortress was intended, as her position on the map will show, rather to repel an invading foe. It is equally clear, from repeated investigations and trials, that the range of her guns is too limited to reach the city of Charleston, if that were desirable. No practical benefit will result to the country or the government by accepting the proposal alluded to; and I am, therefore, of the opinion that the cause of humanity, and the highest obligations to the public interest, would be best promoted by adopting the counsels of those brave and experienced men whose suggestions I have laid before you.

I have, sir, the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

SIMON CAMERON.

Opinion on Fort Sumter from the Secretary of the Navy.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, March 15, 1861.

Sir: In answer to your inquiry of this date, I take it for granted that Fort Sumter cannot be provisioned except by force, and assuming that it is possible to be done by force, is it wise to make the attempt?

The question has two aspects—one military, the other political. The military gentlemen who have been consulted, as well as the officers at the fort, represent that it would be unwise to attempt to succor the garrison under existing circumstances, and I am not disposed to controvert their opinions.

But a plan has been submitted by a gentleman of undoubted courage and intelligence,—not of the army or navy,—to run in supplies by steam-tugs, to be chartered in New York. It is admitted to be a hazardous scheme, which, if successful, is likely to be attended with some loss of life and the total destruction of the boats. The force which would constitute the expedition, if undertaken, as well as the officer in command, would not, if I rightly understand the proposition, be of the army or navy. It is proposed to aid and carry out the enterprise by an armed ship at the mouth of the harbor and beyond the range of the shore batteries, which is to drive in the armed boats of the enemy beyond Fort Sumter. But suppose these armed boats of the enemy refuse to go into the inner harbor, as I think they will refuse, and shall station themselves between

Sumter and the ship for the express purpose of intercepting your boats, how can you prevent them from taking that station and capturing the tugs? There can be but one way, and that is by opening a fire upon them from Sumter, or the ship, or perhaps both. If this is done, will it not be claimed that aggressive war has been commenced by us upon the State and its citizens in their own harbor? It may be possible to provision Fort Sumter by the volunteer expedition, aided by the guns of Sumter and the ship—the military gentlemen admit its possibility, but they question the wisdom of the enterprise in its military aspect, and I would not impeach their conclusion.

In a political view I entertain doubts of the wisdom of the measure, when the condition of the public mind in different sections of the country, and the peculiar exigency of affairs, are considered. Notwithstanding the hostile attitude of South Carolina, and her long and expensive preparations, there is a prevailing belief that there will be no actual collision. An impression has gone abroad that Sumter is to be evacuated, and the shock caused by that announcement has done its work. The public mind is becoming tranquilized under it, and will become fully reconciled to it when the causes which have led to that necessity shall have been made public, and are rightly understood. They are attributable to no act of those who now administer the government.

By sending or attempting to send provisions into Sumter, will not war be precipitated? It may be impossible to escape it under any course of policy that may be pursued, but I am not prepared to advise a course that would provoke hostilities. It does not appear to me that the dignity, strength, or character of the government will be promoted by an attempt to provision Sumter in the manner proposed, even should it succeed, while a failure would be attended with untold disaster.

I do not, therefore, under all the circumstances, think it wise to attempt to provision Fort Sumter. I am, very respectfully,

GIDEON WELLES.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Opinion on Fort Sumter from the Secretary of the Interior.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, March 16, 1861.

PRESIDENT UNITED STATES.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of yesterday, requesting my opinion in writing upon the question whether, "assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it?"

After a careful consideration of the opinions of Generals Scott and Totten, and also those of Commodore Stringham and Mr. Fox, as presented to the President and his cabinet on yesterday, I have arrived at the conclusion that the probabilities are in favor of the success of the proposed enterprise so far as to secure the landing of the vessels at the fort, but there would be great danger of their destruction and the loss of many lives before their cargoes could be secured within the fort.

It would be impossible, in my judgment, to fit out and conduct the expedition with such secrecy as to keep those who have control of the harbor of Charleston in ignorance of their object, and of the mode and time of their approach. I do not therefore attach any importance to the proposition to approach the fort under the cover of night, but I should expect the expedition to meet with all the resistance which the authorities of South Carolina may be able to command.

The landing of supplies at Fort Sumter, if successfully accomplished,

would of itself be of no practical value, as it is quite clear that Major Anderson, with his present inadequate force, could not long maintain the fort against the means of attack now concentrated there.

As the attempt to supply the fort with provisions without the consent of the authorities of South Carolina would doubtless induce an attack by them, the effect of such an attempt, whether successful or not, would be the early loss of the fort and the destruction or capture of Major Anderson's command. It would therefore, in my judgment, be unwise to attempt to supply the fort with provisions, unless they were sent with such a force as would place beyond all doubt or contingency the success of the enterprise, and also with such reinforcements of men as would insure a successful defense of the fort against any attack which could be made upon it.

The occupation of Fort Sumter is not essential to the performance of any of the duties imposed upon the government. It cannot be used as a means of enforcing the laws, or of compelling the people of South Carolina to perform the duties they owe to the Federal Government. Viewing the question only as a military one, I cannot doubt that it would be expedient to abandon a position which can only be held at a great expense of life and money, and which, when held, cannot be used as a means of aiding the government in the performance of its duties.

But the most important question connected with this subject is one of a political character. The State of South Carolina is in open rebellion against the government. Her authorities have seized the public property, have wholly disregarded the laws of the United States, and have openly defied the government.

If the evacuation of Fort Sumter could be justly regarded as a measure which would even by implication sanction the lawless acts of the authorities of that State, or indicate an intention on the part of the government to surrender its constitutional authority over them, or if it could be regarded as an acknowledgment by the government of its inability to enforce the laws, I should without hesitation advise that it should be held without regard to the sacrifices which its retention might impose. I do not believe, however, that the abandonment of the fort would imply such an acknowledgment on the part of the government. There are other means by which the power and the honor of the government may be vindicated, and which would, in my judgment, be much more effective to compel the people of South Carolina to render obedience to the laws, and which would at the same time avoid the sacrifice of life which must result from a conflict under the walls of the fort.

The commencement of a civil war would be a calamity greatly to be deplored, and should be avoided if the just authority of the government may be maintained without it. If such a conflict should become inevitable, it is much better that it should commence by the resistance of the authorities or the people of South Carolina to the legal action of the government in enforcing the laws of the United States.

The public sentiment of the North would then be united in the support of the government, and the whole power of the country would be brought to its aid.

If a conflict should be provoked by the attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter, a divided sentiment in the North would paralyze the arm of the government, while treason in the Southern States would be openly encouraged in the North. It is well known that this question has already been much discussed throughout the country, and that even among the friends of the administration, many of those who demand that the laws shall be enforced urge the propriety of the withdrawal of our troops from Fort Sumter, believing that the retention of that fort is not essential to the honor of the government, or its power to enforce the laws.

While the abandonment of the fort would doubtless to some extent create surprise and complaint, I believe that public sentiment would fully justify the action of the government when the reasons which prompt it shall be explained and understood.

I therefore respectfully answer the inquiry of the President by saying that, in my opinion, it would not be wise under all the circumstances to attempt to provision Fort Sumter. I am, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

CALEB B. SMITH.

Opinion on Fort Sumter from the Postmaster-General.

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, March 15, 1861.

Sir: In reply to your interrogatory, whether in my opinion it is wise to provision Fort Sumter under present circumstances, I submit the following considerations in favor of provisioning that fort.

The ambitious leaders of the late Democratic party have availed themselves of the disappointment attendant upon defeat in the late presidential election to found a military government in the seceding States. To the connivance of the late administration it is due alone that this rebellion has been enabled to attain its present proportions. It has grown by this complicity into the form of an organized government in seven States, and up to this moment nothing has been done to check its progress or prevent its being regarded either at home or abroad as a successful revolution. Every hour of acquiescence in this condition of things, and especially every new conquest made by the rebels, strengthens their hands at home and their claims to recognition as an independent people abroad. It has been from the beginning, and still is, treated practically as a lawful proceeding, and the honest and Union-loving people in those States must by a continuance of this policy become reconciled to the new government, and, though founded in wrong, come to regard it as a rightful government.

I, in common with all my associates in your council, agree that we must look to the people in these States for the overthrow of this rebellion, and that it is proper to exercise the powers of the Federal Government only so far as to maintain its authority to collect the revenue and maintain possession of the public property in the States, and that this should be done with as little bloodshed as possible. How is this to be carried into effect? That it is by measures that will inspire respect for the power of the government, and the firmness of those who administer it, does not admit of debate.

It is obvious that rebellion was checked in 1833 by the promptitude of the President in taking measures which made it manifest that it could not be attempted with impunity, and that it has grown to its present formidable proportions only because similar measures were not taken.

The action of the President in 1833 inspired respect, whilst in 1860 the rebels were encouraged by the contempt they felt for the incumbent of the presidency.

But it was not alone upon Mr. Buchanan's weakness the rebels relied for success. They for the most part believe that the Northern men are deficient in the courage necessary to maintain the government. It is this prevalent error in the South which induces so large a portion of the people there to suspect the good faith of the people of the North, and enables the demagogues so successfully to inculcate the notion that the object of the Northern people is to abolish slavery, and make the negroes the equals of the whites. Doubting the manhood of Northern men, they discredit their disclaimers of this purpose to humiliate and injure them.

Nothing would so surely gain credit for such disclaimers as the manifestation of resolution on the part of the President to maintain the lawful authority of the nation. No men or people have so many difficulties as those whose firmness is doubted.

The evacuation of Fort Sumter, when it is known that it can be provisioned and manned, will convince the rebels that the administration lacks firmness, and will, therefore, tend more than any event that has happened to embolden them; and so far from tending to prevent collision, will insure it unless all the other forts are evacuated, and all attempts are given up to maintain the authority of the United States.

Mr. Buchanan's policy has, I think, rendered collision almost inevitable, and a continuance of that policy will not only bring it about, but will go far to produce a permanent division of the Union.

This is manifestly the public judgment, which is much more to be relied on than that of any individual. I believe Fort Sumter may be provisioned and relieved by Captain Fox with little risk; and General Scott's opinion, that with its war complement there is no force in South Carolina which can take it, renders it almost certain that it will not then be attempted. This would completely demoralize the rebellion. The impotent rage of the rebels, and the outburst of patriotic feeling which would follow this achievement, would initiate a reactionary movement throughout the South which would speedily overwhelm the traitors. No expense or care should, therefore, be spared to achieve this success.

The appreciation of our stocks will pay for the most lavish outlay to make it one.

Nor will the result be materially different to the nation if the attempt fails, and its gallant leader and followers are lost. It will in any event vindicate the hardy courage of the North, and the determination of the people and their President to maintain the authority of the government; and this is all that is wanting, in my judgment, to restore it.

You should give no thought for the commander and his comrades in this enterprise. They willingly take the hazard for the sake of the country and the honor which, successful or not, they will receive from you and the lovers of free government in all lands.

I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

TO THE PRESIDENT. M. BLAIR.

Opinion on Fort Sumter from the Attorney-General.

The President of the United States has requested my opinion, in writing, upon the following question:

"Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it?"

This is not a question of lawful right or physical power, but of prudence and patriotism only. The right is, in my mind, unquestionable, and I have no doubt at all that the government has the power and the means not only to provision the fort, but also, if the exigency required, to man it with its war complement of 650 men, so as to make it impregnable to any local force that could be brought against it. Assuming all this, we come back to the question, "Under all the circumstances, is it wise" now to provision the fort?

The wisdom of the act must be tested by the value of the object to be gained, and by the hazards to be encountered in the enterprise. The object to be gained by the supply of provisions is not to strengthen the fortress so as to command the harbor and enforce the laws, but only to

prolong the labors and privations of the brave little garrison that has so long held it with patient courage.

The possession of the fort, as we now hold it, does not enable us to collect the revenue or enforce the laws of commercial navigation. It may indeed involve a point of honor or a point of pride, but I do not see any great national interest involved in the bare fact of holding the fort as we now hold it — and to hold it at all we must supply it with provisions — and it seems to me that we may, in humanity and patriotism, safely waive the point of pride in the consciousness that we have the power, and lack nothing but the will, to hold Fort Sumter in such condition as to command the harbor of Charleston, cut off all its commerce, and even lay the city in ashes.

The hazards to be met are many and obvious. If the attempt be made in rapid boats, light enough to pass the bar in safety, still they must pass under the fire of Fort Moultrie and the batteries on Morris Island. They might possibly escape that danger, but they cannot hope to escape the armed guard-boats which ply all night from the fort to the outer edge of the bar. These armed guard-boats would be sure to take or destroy our unarmed tugs, unless repelled by force, either from our ships outside the bar or from Fort Sumter within — and that is war. True, war already exists by the act of South Carolina; but this government has thus far magnanimously forborne to retort the outrage. And I am willing to forbear yet longer, in the hope of a peaceful solution of our present difficulties. I am most unwilling to strike — I will not say the first blow, for South Carolina has already struck that — but I am unwilling, "under all the circumstances," at this moment to do any act which may have the semblance before the world of beginning a civil war, the terrible consequences of which would, I think, find no parallel in modern times; for I am convinced that flagrant civil war in the Southern States would soon become a social war, and that could hardly fail to bring on a servile war, the horrors of which need not be dwelt upon.

To avoid these evils I would make great sacrifices, and Fort Sumter is one; but if war be forced upon us by causeless and pertinacious rebellion, I am for resisting it with all the might of the nation.

I am persuaded, moreover, that in several of the misguided States a large proportion of the people are really lovers of the Union, and anxious to be safely back under the protection of its flag. A reaction has already begun, and if encouraged by wise, moderate, and firm measures on the part of this government, I persuade myself that the nation will be restored to its integrity without the effusion of blood.

For these reasons I am willing to evacuate Fort Sumter, rather than be an active party in the beginning of civil war. The port of Charleston is, comparatively, a small thing. If the present difficulties should continue and grow, I am convinced that the real struggle will be at the Mississippi; for it is not politically possible for any foreign power to hold the mouth of that river against the people of the middle and upper valley.

If Fort Sumter must be evacuated, then it is my decided opinion that the more southern forts, Pickens, Key West, etc., should, without delay, be put in condition of easy defense against all assailants; and that the whole coast, from South Carolina to Texas, should be as well guarded as the power of the navy will enable us.

Upon the whole, I do not think it wise now to attempt to provision Fort Sumter.

Most respectfully submitted.

Your obedient servant,

EDWD. BATES,
Attorney-General.

March 16, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: The Senate has transmitted to me a copy of the message sent by my predecessor to that body on the 21st of February last, proposing to take its advice on the subject of a proposition made by the British government through its minister here to refer the matter in controversy between that government and the government of the United States to the arbitrament of the King of Sweden and Norway, the King of the Netherlands, or the Republic of the Swiss Confederation.

In that message my predecessor stated that he wished to present to the Senate the precise questions following, namely: "Will the Senate approve a treaty referring to either of the sovereign powers above named the dispute now existing between the governments of the United States and Great Britain concerning the boundary line between Vancouver's Island and the American continent? In case the referee shall find himself unable to decide where the line is by the description of it in the treaty of June 15, 1846, shall he be authorized to establish a line according to the treaty as nearly as possible? Which of the three powers named by Great Britain as an arbiter shall be chosen by the United States?"

I find no reason to disapprove of the course of my predecessor in this important matter; but, on the contrary, I not only shall receive the advice of the Senate thereon cheerfully, but I respectfully ask the Senate for their advice on the three questions before recited.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 16, 1861.

March 16, 1861.—REPLY TO THE MINISTER FROM NICARAGUA.

MR. MOLINA:

I am happy to receive the letters you present, and to recognize you, sir, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Nicaragua near the United States. In conferring a higher rank upon you as a token of regard, on the part of the government and the people of Nicaragua, toward this country, they have done our government and people an honor for which we are truly grateful; while they have also manifested an increased confidence in you, which we can attest is deserved; and thereby have done you a distinguished honor upon which we congratulate you.

On behalf of the United States I fully reciprocate, toward your government and people, the kind wishes and friendly purposes you so generously express toward ours.

Please communicate to His Excellency the President of Nicaragua my high esteem and consideration, and my earnest wish for his health, happiness, and long life.

Be assured, sir, I do not allow myself to doubt that your public duties and social intercourse here will be so conducted as to be

entirely acceptable to the government and people of the United States.

March 18, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 18, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE.

My dear Sir: I believe it is a necessity with us to make the appointments I mentioned last night—that is, Charles F. Adams to England, William L. Dayton to France, George P. Marsh to Sardinia, and Anson Burlingame to Austria. These gentlemen all have my highest esteem, but no one of them is originally suggested by me except Mr. Dayton. Mr. Adams I take because you suggested him, coupled with his eminent fitness for the place. Mr. Marsh and Mr. Burlingame I take because of the intense pressure of their respective States, and their fitness also.

The objection to this card is that locally they are so huddled up—three being in New England and two from a single State. I have considered this, and will not shrink from the responsibility. This, being done, leaves but five full missions undisposed of—Rome, China, Brazil, Peru, and Chili. And then what about Carl Schurz; or, in other words, what about our German friends?

Shall we put the card through, and arrange the rest afterward? What say you? Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

March 18, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 18, 1861.

Sir: I shall be obliged if you will inform me whether any goods, wares, and merchandise subject by law to the payment of duties, are now being imported into the United States without such duties being paid or secured according to law. And if yea, at what place or places, and for what cause, do such duties remain unpaid or unsecured?

I will also thank you for your opinion whether, as a matter of fact, vessels off shore could be effectively used to prevent such importations, or to enforce the payment or securing of the duties. If yea, what number and description of vessels in addition to those already in the revenue service would be requisite?

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

March 18, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY WELLES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 18, 1861.

Sir: I shall be obliged if you will inform me what amount of naval force you could at once place at the control of the revenue

service, and also whether at some distance of time you could so place an additional force, and how much? and at what time?

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

March 18, 1861.—LETTER TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL BATES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 18, 1861.

Sir: I shall be obliged if you will give me your opinion in writing whether, under the Constitution and existing laws, the executive has power to collect duties on shipboard off shore in cases where their collection in the ordinary way is by any cause rendered impracticable. This would include the question of lawful power to prevent the landing of dutiable goods unless the duties were paid. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

THE HONORABLE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

March 26, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: I have received a copy of the resolution of the Senate, passed on the 25th instant, requesting me, if in my opinion not incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to the Senate the despatches of Major Robert Anderson to the War Department during the time he has been in command of Fort Sumter. On examination of the correspondence thus called for, I have, with the highest respect for the Senate, come to the conclusion that at the present moment the publication of it would be inexpedient.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 26, 1861.

March 29, 1861.—ORDER TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 29, 1861.

HONORABLE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: I desire that an expedition to move by sea be got ready to sail as early as the 6th of April next, the whole according to memorandum attached, and that you coöperate with the Secretary of the Navy for that object.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

[*Inclosure.*]

Steamers *Pocahontas* at Norfolk, *Pawnee* at Washington, *Harriet Lane* at New York, to be under sailing orders for sea, with stores, etc., for one month. Three hundred men to be kept ready for departure from on board the receiving-ships at New York.

Two hundred men to be ready to leave Governor's Island in New York. Supplies for twelve months for one hundred men to be put in portable shape, ready for instant shipping. A large steamer and three tugs conditionally engaged.

March 29, 1861.—OPINIONS WRITTEN BY MEMBERS OF THE CABINET AT THE VERBAL REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT, AT A CABINET MEETING HELD TO DETERMINE THE QUESTION OF SENDING AN EXPEDITION TO RELIEVE FORT SUMTER.

Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, wrote:

First. The despatch of an expedition to supply or reinforce Sumter would provoke an attack, and so involve a war at that point.

The fact of preparation for such an expedition would inevitably transpire, and would therefore precipitate the war, and probably defeat the object. I do not think it wise to provoke a civil war beginning at Charleston, and in rescue of an untenable position.

Therefore I advise against the expedition in every view.

Second. I would call in Captain M. C. Meigs forthwith. Aided by his counsel, I would at once, and at every cost, prepare for a war at Pensacola and Texas: to be taken, however, only as a consequence of maintaining the possessions and authority of the United States.

Third. I would instruct Major Anderson to retire from Sumter forthwith.

Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, wrote:

If war is to be the consequence of an attempt to provision Fort Sumter, war will just as certainly result from the attempt to maintain possession of Fort Pickens.

I am clearly in favor of maintaining Fort Pickens, and just as clearly in favor of provisioning Fort Sumter.

If that attempt be resisted by military force, Fort Sumter should, in my judgment, be reinforced.

If war is to be the result, I perceive no reason why it may not be best begun in consequence of military resistance to the efforts of the administration to sustain troops of the Union, stationed under the authority of the government, in a fort of the Union, in the ordinary course of service.

Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, wrote:

I concur in the proposition to send an armed force off Charleston with supplies of provisions and reinforcements for the garrison at Fort Sumter, and of communicating at the proper time the intentions of the government to provision the fort peaceably if unmolested. There is little probability that this will be permitted if the opposing forces can prevent it. An attempt to force in provisions without reinforcing the garrison at the same time might not be advisable; but armed resistance to a peaceable attempt to send provisions to one of our own forts will justify the government in using all the power at its command to reinforce the garrison and furnish the necessary supplies.

Fort Pickens and other places retained should be strengthened by additional troops, and, if possible, made impregnable.

The naval force in the gulf and on the southern coast should be increased. Accounts are published that vessels having on board marketable products for the crews of the squadron at Pensacola are seized—the inhabitants we know are prohibited from furnishing the ships with provisions or water; and the time has arrived when it is the duty of the government to assert and maintain its authority.

Mr. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, wrote:

Viewing the question whether Fort Sumter shall be evacuated as a political one, I remark that the effect of its evacuation upon the public mind will depend upon the concurrent and subsequent action of the government. If it shall be understood that by its evacuation we intend to acknowledge our inability to enforce the laws, and our intention to allow treason and rebellion to run their course, the measure will be extremely disastrous and the administration will become very unpopular. If, however, the country can be made to understand that the fort is abandoned from necessity, and at the same time Fort Pickens and other forts in our possession shall be defended, and the power of the government vindicated, the measure will be popular and the country will sustain the administration.

Believing that Fort Sumter cannot be successfully defended, I regard its evacuation as a necessity, and I advise that Major Anderson's command shall be unconditionally withdrawn.

At the same time I would adopt the most vigorous measures for the defense of the other forts, and if we have the power I would blockade the Southern ports, and enforce the collection of the revenue with all the power of the government.

Mr. Blair, Postmaster-General, wrote:

First. As regards General Scott, I have no confidence in his judgment on the questions of the day. His political views control his judgment, and his course as remarked on by the President shows that whilst no one will question his patriotism, the results are the same as if he was in fact traitorous.

Second. It is acknowledged to be possible to relieve Fort Sumter. It ought to be relieved without reference to Pickens or any other possession. South Carolina is the head and front of this rebellion, and when that State is safely delivered from the authority of the United States it will strike a blow against our authority from which it will take us years of bloody strife to recover.

Third. For my own part, I am unwilling to share in the responsibility of such a policy.

Mr. Bates, Attorney-General, wrote:

It is my decided opinion that Fort Pickens and Key West ought to be reinforced and supplied, so as to look down opposition at all hazards—and this whether Fort Sumter be or be not evacuated.

It is also my opinion that there ought to be a naval force kept upon the southern coast sufficient to command it and, if need be, actually close any port that practically ought to be closed, whatever other station is left unoccupied.

It is also my opinion that there ought to be immediately established a line of light, fast-running vessels, to pass as rapidly as possible between

New York or Norfolk at the North and Key West or other point in the gulf at the South.

As to Fort Sumter, I think the time is come either to evacuate or relieve it.

April 1, 1861.—ORDER TO LIEUTENANT D. D. PORTER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 1, 1861.

Lieutenant D. D. Porter will take command of the Steamer *Powhatan*, or any other United States steamer ready for sea which he may deem most fit for the service to which he has been assigned by confidential instructions of this date.

All officers are commanded to afford him all such facilities as he may deem necessary for getting to sea as soon as possible.

He will select the officers to accompany him.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Recommended, WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

April 1, 1861.—INSTRUCTIONS TO LIEUTENANT D. D. PORTER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 1, 1861.

LIEUTENANT D. D. PORTER, United States Navy.

Sir: You will proceed to New York, and with the least possible delay, assuming command of any naval steamer available, proceed to Pensacola Harbor, and at any cost or risk prevent any expedition from the mainland reaching Fort Pickens or Santa Rosa Island.

You will exhibit this order to any naval officer at Pensacola, if you deem it necessary, after you have established yourself within the harbor, and will request coöperation by the entrance of at least one other steamer.

This order, its object, and your destination will be communicated to no person whatever until you reach the harbor of Pensacola.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Recommended, WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

April 1, 1861.—ORDER TO COMMANDANT ANDREW H. FOOTE.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 1, 1861.

TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE NAVY-YARD, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Fit out the *Powhatan* to go to sea at the earliest possible moment under sealed orders. Orders by a confidential messenger go forward to-morrow.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 1, 1861.—ORDER TO OFFICERS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY.

WASHINGTON, EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 1, 1861.

All officers of the army and navy to whom this order may be exhibited will aid by every means in their power the expedition under

the command of Colonel Harvey Brown, supplying him with men and material, and coöperating with him as he may desire.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 1, 1861.—MEMORANDUM FROM SECRETARY SEWARD.

Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration, April 1, 1861.

First. We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign.

Second. This, however, is not culpable, and it has even been unavoidable. The presence of the Senate, with the need to meet applications for patronage, have prevented attention to other and more grave matters.

Third. But further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for both domestic and foreign affairs would not only bring scandal on the administration, but danger upon the country.

Fourth. To do this we must dismiss the applicants for office. But how? I suggest that we make the local appointments forthwith, leaving foreign or general ones for ulterior and occasional action.

Fifth. The policy at home. I am aware that my views are singular, and perhaps not sufficiently explained. My system is built upon this idea as a ruling one, namely, that we must

CHANGE THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PUBLIC FROM ONE UPON SLAVERY, OR ABOUT SLAVERY, for a question upon UNION OR DISUNION:

In other words, from what would be regarded as a party question, to one of patriotism or union.

The occupation or evacuation of Fort Sumter, although not in fact a slavery or a party question, is so regarded. Witness the temper manifested by the Republicans in the free States, and even by the Union men in the South.

I would therefore terminate it as a safe means for changing the issue. I deem it fortunate that the last administration created the necessity.

For the rest, I would simultaneously defend and reinforce all the ports in the gulf, and have the navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade. Put the island of Key West under martial law.

This will raise distinctly the question of union or disunion. I would maintain every fort and possession in the South.

FOR FOREIGN NATIONS.

I would demand explanations from Spain and France, categorically, at once.

I would seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico, and Central America to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention.

And, if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France,

Would convene Congress and declare war against them.

But whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide.

It is not in my especial province;

But I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility.

April 1, 1861.—Reply to Secretary Seward's Memorandum.

Executive Mansion, April 1, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: Since parting with you I have been considering your paper dated this day, and entitled "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration." The first proposition in it is, "*First,* We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign."

At the beginning of that month, in the inaugural, I said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts." This had your distinct approval at the time; and, taken in connection with the order I immediately gave General Scott, directing him to employ every means in his power to strengthen and hold the forts, comprises the exact domestic policy you now urge, with the single exception that it does not propose to abandon Fort Sumter.

Again, I do not perceive how the reinforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery or a party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo certainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars and instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect harmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy.

Upon your closing propositions—that "whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

"For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

"Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

"Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide"—I remark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a general line of policy is adopted, I apprehend there is no danger of its being changed without good reason, or continuing to be a subject of unnecessary debate; still, upon points arising in its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the cabinet.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

April 1, 1861.—Letter to General Scott.

Executive Mansion, April 1, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

Would it impose too much labor on General Scott to make short comprehensive daily reports to me of what occurs in his department, including movements by himself, and under his orders, and the receipt of intelligence? If not, I will thank him to do so.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

April 2, 1861.—ORDER TO CAPTAIN SAMUEL MERCER.

(*Confidential.*)

WASHINGTON CITY, April 2, 1861.

Sir: Circumstances render it necessary to place in command of your ship (and for a special purpose) an officer who is fully informed and instructed in relation to the wishes of the government, and you will therefore consider yourself detached. But in taking this step the government does not in the least reflect upon your efficiency or patriotism; on the contrary, have the fullest confidence in your ability to perform any duty required of you. Hoping soon to be able to give you a better command than the one you now enjoy, and trusting that you will have full confidence in the disposition of the government toward you, I remain, etc.,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CAPTAIN S. MERCER, United States Navy.

April 3, 1861.—ORDER TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KEYES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 3, 1861.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL E. D. KEYES, U. S. A.,
Military Secretary.

You will proceed forthwith to the city of New York, to carry out the instructions which you have received here. All requisitions made upon officers of the staff by your authority, and all orders given by you to any officer of the army in my name, will be instantly obeyed.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 4, 1861.—INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR ROBERT ANDERSON.

DRAFTED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND SIGNED BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 4, 1861.

Sir: Your letter of the 1st instant occasions some anxiety to the President.

On the information of Captain Fox, he had supposed you could hold out till the 15th instant without any great inconvenience, and had prepared an expedition to relieve you before that period.

Hoping still that you will be able to sustain yourself till the 11th or 12th instant, the expedition will go forward, and, finding your flag flying, will attempt to provision you, and in case the effort is resisted, will endeavor also to reinforce you.

You will therefore hold out, if possible, till the arrival of the expedition.

It is not, however, the intention of the President to subject your command to any danger or hardship beyond what, in your judgment, would be usual in military life; and he has entire confidence

that you will act as becomes a patriot and a soldier under all circumstances.

Whenever, if at all, in your judgment, to save yourself and command, a capitulation becomes a necessity, you are authorized to make it. Respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

TO MAJOR ROBERT ANDERSON, United States Army.

[*Indorsement in Lincoln's handwriting.*]

This was sent by Captain Talbot on April 6, 1861, to be delivered to Major Anderson, if permitted. On reaching Charleston, he was refused permission to deliver it to Major Anderson.

April 6, 1861.—INSTRUCTIONS TO R. S. CHEW.

DRAFTED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND SIGNED BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

WASHINGTON, April 6, 1861.

Sir: You will proceed directly to Charleston, South Carolina; and if, on your arrival there, the flag of the United States shall be flying over Fort Sumter, and the fort shall not have been attacked, you will procure an interview with Governor Pickens, and read to him as follows: "I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only; and that, if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort."

After you shall have read this to Governor Pickens, deliver to him the copy of it herein inclosed, and retain this letter yourself.

But if, on your arrival at Charleston, you shall ascertain that Fort Sumter shall have been already evacuated, or surrendered by the United States force, or shall have been attacked by an opposing force, you will seek no interview with Governor Pickens, but return here forthwith.

April 13, 1861.—REPLY TO A COMMITTEE FROM THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

HON. WILLIAM BALLARD PRESTON, ALEXANDER H. H. STUART, GEORGE W. RANDOLPH, Esq.

Gentlemen: As a committee of the Virginia Convention now in session, you present me a preamble and resolution in these words:

Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue toward the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an

excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace: therefore

Resolved, that a committee of three delegates be appointed by this Convention to wait upon the President of the United States, present to him this preamble and resolution, and respectfully ask him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.

Adopted by the Convention of the State of Virginia, Richmond, April 8, 1861.

In answer I have to say that, having at the beginning of my official term expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and some mortification I now learn that there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue. Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give of my purposes.

As I then and therein said, I now repeat: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere." By the words "property and places belonging to the government," I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in the possession of the government when it came to my hands.

But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if I can, like places which had been seized before the government was devolved upon me. And in every event I shall, to the extent of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall perhaps cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the government justifies and possibly demands this.

I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded as yet belonging to the government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession.

Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon a border of the country.

From the fact that I have quoted a part of the inaugural address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification.

April 15, 1861.—Proclamation calling 75,000 Militia, and Convening Congress in Extra Session.

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department.

I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government; and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.

I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.

And I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse and retire peacefully to their respective abodes within twenty days from date.

Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress. Senators and Representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective chambers, at twelve o'clock noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 15th day of April, in
[L. S.] the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

Abraham Lincoln.

By the President: William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

April 19, 1861.—PROCLAMATION OF BLOCKADE.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas an insurrection against the government of the United States has broken out in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and the laws of the United States for the collection of the revenue cannot be effectually executed therein conformably to that provision of the Constitution which requires duties to be uniform throughout the United States:

And whereas a combination of persons engaged in such insurrection have threatened to grant pretended letters of marque to authorize the bearers thereof to commit assaults on the lives, vessels, and property of good citizens of the country lawfully engaged in commerce on the high seas, and in waters of the United States:

And whereas an executive proclamation has been already issued requiring the persons engaged in these disorderly proceedings to desist therefrom, calling out a militia force for the purpose of repressing the same, and convening Congress in extraordinary session to deliberate and determine thereon:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, with a view to the same purposes before mentioned, and to the protection of the public peace, and the lives and property of quiet and orderly citizens pursuing their lawful occupations, until Congress shall have assembled and deliberated on the said unlawful proceedings, or until the same shall have ceased, have further deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States aforesaid, in pursuance of the laws of the United States, and of the law of nations in such case provided. For this purpose a competent force will be posted so as to prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. If, therefore, with a view to violate such blockade, a vessel shall approach or shall attempt to leave either of the said ports, she will be duly warned by the commander of one of the blockading vessels, who will indorse on her register the fact and date of such warning, and if the same vessel shall again attempt to enter or leave the blockaded port, she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port, for such proceedings against her and her cargo, as prize, as may be deemed advisable.

And I hereby proclaim and declare that if any person, under the pretended authority of the said States, or under any other pretense, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of
[L. S.] April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

April 20, 1861.—REPLY TO GOVERNOR HICKS AND MAYOR BROWN.

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1861.

GOVERNOR HICKS AND MAYOR BROWN.

Gentlemen: Your letter by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin, and Brune is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed.

For the future troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore. Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning in the presence of these gentlemen, "March them around Baltimore, and not through it." I sincerely hope the general, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it. By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this.

Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace consistently with the maintenance of the government.

Your obedient servant, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 20, 1861.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR HICKS.

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1861.

GOVERNOR HICKS:

I desire to consult with you and the mayor of Baltimore relative to preserving the peace of Maryland. Please come immediately by special train, which you can take at Baltimore; or, if necessary, one can be sent from here. Answer forthwith.

LINCOLN.

April 22, 1861.—LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, April 22, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS H. HICKS, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I have the honor to receive your communication of this morning, in which you inform me that you had felt it to be your duty to advise the President of the United States to order elsewhere the troops then off Annapolis, and also that no more may be sent through Maryland; and that you have further suggested that Lord

Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country, to prevent the effusion of blood.

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of that communication, and to assure you that he has weighed the counsels it contains with the respect which he habitually cherishes for the chief magistrates of the several States, and especially for yourself. He regrets, as deeply as any magistrate or citizen of this country can, that demonstrations against the safety of the United States, with very extensive preparations for the effusion of blood, have made it his duty to call out the forces to which you allude.

The force now sought to be brought through Maryland is intended for nothing but the defense of the capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway which that force shall take in coming to this city to the lieutenant-general commanding the army of the United States, who, like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity than for his loyalty, patriotism, and distinguished public services.

The President instructs me to add that the national highway thus selected by the lieutenant-general has been chosen by him, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is farthest removed from the populous cities of the State, and with the expectation that it would therefore be the least objectionable one.

He cannot but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country when a general of the American Union, with forces designed for the defense of its capital, was not unwelcome anywhere in the State of Maryland, and certainly not at Annapolis, then, as now, the capital of that patriotic State, and then also one of the capitals of the Union.

If eighty years could have obliterated all the other noble sentiments of that age in Maryland, the President would be hopeful, nevertheless, that there is one that would forever remain there and everywhere. That sentiment is, that no domestic contention whatever that may arise among the parties of this republic ought in any case to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of a European monarchy.

I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

April 24, 1861.—LETTER TO REVERDY JOHNSON.

(*Confidential.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 24, 1861.

HON. REVERDY JOHNSON.

My dear Sir: Your note of this morning is just received. I forbore to answer yours of the 22d because of my aversion (which I thought you understood) to getting on paper and furnishing new grounds for misunderstanding. I do say the sole purpose

of bringing troops here is to defend this capital. I do say I have no purpose to invade Virginia with them or any other troops, as I understand the word invasion. But, suppose Virginia sends her troops, or admits others through her borders, to assail this capital, am I not to repel them even to the crossing of the Potomac, if I can? Suppose Virginia erects, or permits to be erected, batteries on the opposite shore to bombard the city, are we to stand still and see it done? In a word, if Virginia strikes us, are we not to strike back, and as effectively as we can? Again, are we not to hold Fort Monroe (for instance) if we can? I have no objection to declare a thousand times that I have no purpose to invade Virginia or any other State, but I do not mean to let them invade us without striking back. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 25, 1861.—ORDER TO GENERAL SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, April 25, 1861.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SCOTT.

My dear Sir: The Maryland legislature assembles to-morrow at Annapolis, and not improbably will take action to arm the people of that State against the United States. The question has been submitted to and considered by me, whether it would not be justifiable, upon the ground of necessary defense, for you, as general-in-chief of the United States army, to arrest or disperse the members of that body. I think it would not be justifiable nor efficient for the desired object.

First, they have a clearly legal right to assemble; and we cannot know in advance that their action will not be lawful and peaceful. And if we wait until they shall have acted, their arrest or dispersion will not lessen the effect of their action.

Secondly, we cannot permanently prevent their action. If we arrest them, we cannot long hold them as prisoners; and, when liberated, they will immediately reassemble and take their action; and precisely the same if we simply disperse them — they will immediately reassemble in some other place.

I therefore conclude that it is only left to the commanding general to watch and await their action, which, if it shall be to arm their people against the United States, he is to adopt the most prompt and efficient means to counteract, even, if necessary, to the bombardment of their cities, and, in the extremest necessity, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Your obedient servant, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 27, 1861.—PROCLAMATION OF BLOCKADE.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, for the reasons assigned in my proclamation of the nineteenth instant, a blockade of the ports of the States of South

Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas was ordered to be established:

And whereas, since that date, public property of the United States has been seized, the collection of the revenue obstructed, and duly commissioned officers of the United States, while engaged in executing the orders of their superiors, have been arrested and held in custody as prisoners, or have been impeded in the discharge of their official duties, without due legal process, by persons claiming to act under authorities of the States of Virginia and North Carolina:

An efficient blockade of the ports of those States will also be established.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-seventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

April 27, 1861.—ORDER TO GENERAL SCOTT.

TO THE COMMANDING GENERAL, ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

You are engaged in suppressing an insurrection against the laws of the United States. If at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line which is now or which shall be used between the city of Philadelphia and the city of Washington you find resistance which renders it necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety, you personally, or through the officer in command at the point at which resistance occurs, are authorized to suspend that writ.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Washington, April 27, 1861.

May [1 ?] 1861.—UNSIGNED DRAFT OF LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF TENNESSEE.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., May [1 ?] 1861.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE, Nashville, Tenn.

Sir: Yours of the 29th ultimo, calling my attention to the supposed seizure near Cairo, Illinois, of the steamboat *C. E. Hillman*, and claiming that the said boat and its cargo are the property of the State of Tennessee and her citizens, and demanding to know whether the seizure was made by the authority of this government, or is approved by it, is duly received. In answer I have to say: this government has no official information of such seizure; but, assuming that such seizure was made, and that the cargo consisted

chiefly of munitions of war owned by the State of Tennessee, and passing into the control of its governor, this government avows the seizure for the following reasons:

A legal call was recently made upon the said governor of Tennessee to furnish a quota of militia to suppress an insurrection against the United States, which call said governor responded to by a refusal couched in disrespectful and malicious language. This government therefore infers that munitions of war passing into the hands of said governor are intended to be used against the United States, and the government will not indulge the weakness of allowing it so long as it is in its power to prevent. This government will not at present question but that the State of Tennessee, by a large majority of its citizens, is loyal to the Federal Union, and the government holds itself responsible, in damages, for all injuries it may do to any one who may prove to be such.

May 1, 1861.—Letter to Major Anderson.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1, 1861.

MAJOR ROBERT ANDERSON.

My dear Sir: A few days ago I caused an official letter to be written to you, through the War Department, expressive of the approbation and gratitude I considered due you and your command from this government.

I now write this as a purely private and social letter to say I shall be much gratified to see you here at your earliest convenience, when and where I can personally testify my appreciation of your services and fidelity, and perhaps explain some things on my part which you may not have understood.

I shall also be very glad to see any of the officers who served with you at Fort Sumter, and whom it might be convenient and agreeable for you to invite to accompany you here.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

May 1, 1861.—Letter from the President's Private Secretary to George W. Caldwell.

(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1861.

GEORGE W. CALDWELL, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 25th ult., addressed to the President, was duly received and considered. Will you please to write to me where and how soon (and let the day be an early one) the leading and responsible men engaged in your movement can meet together, to receive and consult with such gentlemen as the government may send to represent its views about the matter.

Yours truly, JNO. G. NICOLAY.

May 1, 1861.—LETTER TO GUSTAVUS V. FOX.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1, 1861.

CAPTAIN G. V. FOX.

My dear Sir: I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you.

The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test. By reason of a gale, well known in advance to be possible and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground; while, by an accident for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly I to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel, with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise.

I most cheerfully and truly declare that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while the qualities you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you in my estimation.

For a daring and dangerous enterprise of a similar character you would to-day be the man of all my acquaintances whom I would select. You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

Very truly your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

May 3, 1861.—PROCLAMATION CALLING 42,034 VOLUNTEERS, ETC.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas existing exigencies demand immediate and adequate measures for the protection of the National Constitution and the preservation of the National Union by the suppression of the insurrectionary combinations now existing in several States for opposing the laws of the Union and obstructing the execution thereof, to which end a military force, in addition to that called forth by my proclamation of the fifteenth day of April in the present year, appears to be indispensably necessary:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, and of the Militia of the several States when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers, to serve for the period of three years unless sooner discharged, and to be mustered into service as infantry and cavalry. The proportions of each arm and the details of enrolment and organization will be made known through the Department of War.

And I also direct that the regular army of the United States be

increased by the addition of eight regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one regiment of artillery, making altogether a maximum aggregate increase of twenty-two thousand seven hundred and fourteen officers and enlisted men, the details of which increase will also be made known through the Department of War.

And I further direct the enlistment for not less than one nor more than three years, of eighteen thousand seamen, in addition to the present force, for the naval service of the United States. The details of the enlistment and organization will be made known through the Department of the Navy.

The call for volunteers hereby made, and the direction for the increase of the regular army, and for the enlistment of seamen, hereby given, together with the plan of organization adopted for the volunteers and for the regular forces hereby authorized, will be submitted to Congress as soon as assembled.

In the mean time I earnestly invoke the coöperation of all good citizens in the measures hereby adopted for the effectual suppression of unlawful violence, for the impartial enforcement of constitutional laws, and for the speediest possible restoration of peace and order, and, with these, of happiness and prosperity, throughout the country.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this third day of May, [L. S.] in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

May 6, 1861.—LETTER TO VICE-PRESIDENT HAMLIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6, 1861.

HON. H. HAMLIN, New York.

My dear Sir: Please advise me at the close of each day what troops left during the day, where going, and by what route; what remaining at New York, and what expected in the next day. Give the numbers, as near as convenient, and what corps they are. This information, reaching us daily, will be very useful as well as satisfactory. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 6, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 6, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Mr. French S. Evans, the bearer of this, thinks there is an appraisership still vacant at Baltimore, and if so, I very sincerely wish you would give it to him. I have been greatly—I

may say grievously — disappointed and disobliged by Mr. Corkran's refusal to make Mr. Evans deputy naval officer, as I requested him to do.

A point must be strained to give Mr. Evans a situation.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

May 6, 1861.— LETTER FROM JOHN HAY TO —— JOHNSON, STATE SENATOR OF KENTUCKY.

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, protesting against the stationing of United States troops at Cairo. He directs me to say that the views so ably stated by you shall have due consideration, and to assure you that he would never have ordered the movement of troops complained of had he known that Cairo was in your senatorial district.

May 6, 1861.— LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 6, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE.

My dear Sir: General Cameron is anxious that E. Joy Morris shall be minister to Constantinople; and if General Webb has definitely declined it, why might not Mr. Morris be appointed? Pennsylvania is well entitled to the place, and General C. thinks there is political reason for the appointment being made at once.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

May 7, 1861.— ORDER TO COLONEL ANDERSON.

To all who shall see these presents, greeting:

Know ye that, reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, valor, fidelity, and ability of Colonel Robert Anderson, U. S. Army, I have empowered him, and do hereby empower him, to receive into the army of the United States as many regiments of volunteer troops from the State of Kentucky and from the western part of the State of Virginia as shall be willing to engage in the service of the United States for the term of three years, upon the terms and according to the plan proposed by the proclamation of May 3, 1861, and General Orders No. 15 from the War Department, of May 4, 1861.

The troops whom he receives shall be on the same footing in every respect as those of the like kind called for in the proclamation above cited, except that the officers shall be commissioned by the United States. He is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty hereby devolved upon him by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging.

Given under my hand at the city of Washington, this seventh day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and

sixty-one, and in the eighty-fifth year of the independence of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

May 8, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 8, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I am told there is an office in your department called "The Superintending Architect of the Treasury Department, connected with the Bureau of Construction," which is now held by a man of the name of Young, and wanted by a gentleman of the name of Christopher Adams.

Ought Mr. Young to be removed, and if yea, ought Mr. Adams to be appointed? Mr. Adams is magnificently recommended; but the great point in his favor is that Thurlow Weed and Horace Greeley join in recommending him. I suppose the like never happened before, and never will again; so that it is now or never. What say you? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 9, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 9, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Mr. James N. Muller wishes to be supervising inspector of steamboats for the district of Baltimore. I am somewhat interested for him, and as the place is in your department, if you will look into the question of his qualification for the place, and shall be satisfied with him, I will appoint him,—no matter how soon. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 10, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 10, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I have felt myself obliged to refuse the post-office at this place to my old friend Nathan Sargent, which wounds him, and consequently me, very deeply. He now says there is an office in your department, called the "Commissioner of Customs," which the incumbent, a Mr. Ingham, wishes to vacate. I will be much obliged if you agree for me to appoint Mr. Sargent to this place.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

May 10, 1861.— UNSIGNED LETTER TO GOVERNOR SPRAGUE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 10, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR WILLIAM SPRAGUE.

My dear Sir: I think I had a letter from you some time ago naming a person whom you would like to have appointed postmaster at Providence, Rhode Island; and day before yesterday a gentleman urged the name of Thomas A. Doyle as being the man whom you would like to have appointed. I write this now to assure you that while your wishes in this respect are entitled to and have received the highest consideration, there is a difficulty such as I have not surmounted in any other case. It is that a different man, Walter C. Simmons, is recommended by both the senators and both the old representatives of the State, and also by one of the new representatives.

In these cases the executive is obliged to be greatly dependent upon members of Congress, and while, under peculiar circumstances, a single member or two may be occasionally overruled, I believe as strong a combination as the present never has been.

I therefore beg you to be assured that if I follow the rule in this case, as it appears to me I must, it will be with pain, and not with pleasure, that you are not obliged.

May 10, 1861.— PROCLAMATION SUSPENDING THE WRIT OF *Habeas Corpus* IN FLORIDA.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas an insurrection exists in the State of Florida, by which the lives, liberty, and property of loyal citizens of the United States are endangered:

And whereas it is deemed proper that all needful measures should be taken for the protection of such citizens and all officers of the United States in the discharge of their public duties in the State aforesaid:

Now therefore be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby direct the commander of the forces of the United States on the Florida coast to permit no person to exercise any office or authority upon the islands of Key West, the Tortugas, and Santa Rosa, which may be inconsistent with the laws and Constitution of the United States, authorizing him at the same time, if he shall find it necessary, to suspend there the writ of *habeas corpus,* and to remove from the vicinity of the United States fortresses all dangerous or suspected persons.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

May 11, 1861.—ORDER TO SECRETARY WELLES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 11, 1861.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

Sir: Lieut. D. D. Porter was placed in command of the steamer *Powhatan*, and Captain Samuel Mercer was detached therefrom, by my special order, and neither of them is responsible for any apparent or real irregularity on their part or in connection with that vessel.

Hereafter Captain Porter is relieved from that special service and placed under the direction of the Navy Department, from which he will receive instructions and to which he will report.

Very respectfully, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

May 13, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CAMERON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 13, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Dear Sir: You see on the other side of this sheet that four German regiments already raised in New York wish to form a brigade and have Carl Schurz for their brigadier-general. Why should it not be done at once? By the plan of organization, I see I am to appoint the generals.

Schurz says he would, if allowed, go immediately to Fortress Monroe; and if it would be an objection that, by rank, he would command the garrison there, he would, of choice, waive that.

I am for it, unless there be some valid reason against it.

Answer soon. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 16, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 16, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I have not at all considered the qualifications of applicants for appraiserships at New York. Mr. David Webb seems to understand that he has no opposition for one of the places. If this is so, or, in any event, if you wish to appoint him, send me the commission.

Also send me a commission for Mr. George Dennison as naval officer. This last I shall have to do, and I may as well do it at once. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 18, 1861.—Letter to Secretary Chase.

Executive Mansion, May 18, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: The suggestions of your note accompanying the commission for Mr. Dennison as naval officer at New York have been considered in the same spirit of kindness in which I know they were offered. They present the very difficulty which has embarrassed me from the first in the case: that Mr. Dennison has not the position in the public eye which would lead to the expectation of his receiving so high an office. I believe I have told you fully what it was, and is, that pressed me to appoint him: the urgent solicitation of an old friend who has served me all my life, and who has never before received or asked anything in return. His (Mr. Dennison's) good character was vouched for from the start by many at New York, including Mr. Opdyke.

At length, when I was, as it were, in the very act of appointing him, Mr. —— made a general charge of dishonesty against him. I pressed him for particulars, and it turned out that Mr. Dennison in his business as a lawyer had got some printing done for his clients, becoming personally responsible for the work, and had not paid for it when dunned. While this, if true, is certainly not to be commended, I believe the like might, in some cases, be proven upon me. They are a class of debts which our clients ought to pay, and when we are personally dunned for them we sometimes hang fire. Besides, Mr. Dennison went far toward a satisfactory explanation of one case; and while Mr. —— intimated that there were other cases, he did not specify them.

I consider that the charge of dishonesty has failed; and it now seems to me more difficult to change my purpose than if the charge had never been made. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

May 18, 1861.—Letter to Colonel F. P. Blair.

Washington, D. C., May 18, 1861.

Hon. F. P. Blair.

My dear Sir: We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though on the whole I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it, but to say I wish you would withhold it, unless in your judgment the necessity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We had better have him a friend than an enemy. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him,

then restore him, and now if we relieve him again the public will ask, "Why all this vacillation?" Still, if in your judgment it is indispensable, let it be so. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 21, 1861.—PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S CORRECTIONS OF A DIPLOMATIC DESPATCH WRITTEN BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO MINISTER ADAMS.

NOTE.—It is quite impossible to reproduce in type the exact form of the manuscript of the despatch with all its interlineations and corrections; but the following shows those made by Mr. Lincoln. Such additional verbal alterations of Mr. Seward's as merely corrected ordinary slips of the pen or errors of the copyist are not noted. When the President returned the manuscript to his hands, Mr. Seward somewhat changed the form of the despatch by prefixing to it two short introductory paragraphs in which he embodied in his own phraseology the President's direction that the paper was to be merely a confidential instruction, not to be read or shown to any one, and that he should not in advance say anything inconsistent with its spirit. This also rendered unnecessary the President's direction to omit the last two paragraphs, and accordingly they remained in the despatch as finally sent.

All words by Mr. Lincoln in notes or in text are in italics. All matter between brackets was marked out.

No. 10.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, May 21, 1861.

Sir: Mr. Dallas, in a brief despatch of May 2d (No. 333), tells us that Lord John Russell recently requested an interview with him on account of the solicitude which his lordship felt concerning the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President. In that conversation the British secretary told Mr. Dallas that the three representatives of the Southern Confederacy were then in London, that Lord John Russell had not yet seen them, but that he was not unwilling to see them unofficially. He further informed Mr. Dallas that an understanding exists between the British and French governments which would lead both to take one and the same course as to recognition. His lordship then referred to the rumor of a meditated blockade by us of Southern ports, and a discontinuance of them as ports of entry. Mr. Dallas answered that he knew nothing on those topics, and therefore could say nothing. He added that you were expected to arrive in two weeks. Upon this statement Lord John Russell acquiesced in the expediency of waiting for the full knowledge you were expected to bring.

Mr. Dallas transmitted to us some newspaper reports of ministerial explanations made in Parliament.

You will base no proceedings on parliamentary debates further than to seek explanations when necessary and communicate them

to this department. [We intend to have a clear and simple record of whatever issue may arise between us and Great Britain.][1]

The President [is surprised and grieved] *regrets* that Mr. Dallas did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British government and the missionaries of the insurgents [as well as against the demand for explanations made by the British government].[2] It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times [among our late representatives abroad, are confessed and][3], *are* appreciated.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be none the less [wrongful] *hurtful* to us for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover, unofficial intercourse is useless and meaningless if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful here whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own [present] antecedent instructions are deemed explicit enough, and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will in any event desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official, with the British government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country [confining yourself to a delivery of a copy of this paper to the Secretary of State. After doing this][4] *When intercourse shall have been arrested for this cause*, you will communicate with this department and receive further directions.

Lord John Russell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French governments that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication, however, loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after knowledge of the fact had been acquired by us from other sources. We know also another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us—namely, that other European States are apprised by France and England of their agreement, and are expected to concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition. The United States have been impartial and just in all their conduct toward the several nations of Europe. They will not complain, however, of the combination now announced by the two leading powers, although they think they had a right to expect a more independent, if not a more friendly, course from each of them. You will take no notice of that or any other alliance. Whenever the European governments shall see fit to communicate directly with us, we shall be, as heretofore, frank and explicit in our reply.

As to the blockade, you will say that by [the] *our own* laws [of na-

[1] *Leave out.*
[2] *Leave out, because it does not appear that such explanations were demanded.*
[3] *Leave out.*
[4] *Leave out.*

ture] and *the laws* of nature and the laws of nations, this government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from national ports which have been seized by the insurgents, in the equitable form of blockade, is the proper means to that end. You will [admit] not insist that our blockade is [not] to be respected if it be not maintained by a competent force; but passing by that question as not now a practical, or at least an urgent, one, you will add that [it] the blockade is now, and it will continue to be so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain. You will add that we have already revoked the exequatur of a Russian consul who had enlisted in the military service of the insurgents, and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign agent, consular or diplomatic, who shall either disobey the Federal laws or disown the Federal authority.

As to the recognition of the so-called Southern Confederacy, it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is, of course, [*quasi*] direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is [*quasi*] direct recognition to receive its ambassadors, ministers, agents, or commissioners officially. A concession of belligerent rights is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of these proceedings will [be borne] *pass* [*unnoticed*] unquestioned by the United States in this case.

Hitherto recognition has been moved only on the assumption that the so-called Confederate States are *de facto* a self-sustaining power. Now, after long forbearance, designed to soothe discontent and avert the need of civil war, the land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress the insurrection. The true character of the pretended new State is at once revealed. It is seen to be a power existing in pronunciamento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast nor any highway out from its pretended capital by land. Under these circumstances Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence by resisting our measures of suppression. British recognition would be British intervention to create within our own territory a hostile state by overthrowing this republic itself. [When this act of intervention is distinctly performed, we from that hour shall cease to be friends, and become once more, as we have twice before been forced to be, enemies of Great Britain.][1]

As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service, you will say that this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens, or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall choose to recognize them as lawful belligerents, and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy [and we shall avail ourselves of it. *And while you need not say this in advance, be sure that you say nothing inconsistent with it.*]

Happily, however, her Britannic Majesty's government can avoid

[1] *Leave out.*

all these difficulties. It invited us in 1856 to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere in all cases and forever. You *already* have our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuse to receive it, it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation.

These positions are not elaborately defended now, because to vindicate them would imply a possibility of our waiving them.

[1]We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how, upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may ensue between the United States and one, two, or even more European nations. War in any case is as exceptionable from the habits as it is revolting from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come, it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own; that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy, either without waiting to hear from you our remonstrances and our warnings, or after having heard them. War in defense of national life is not immoral, and war in defense of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it, as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will deplore it. A war not unlike it between the same parties occurred at the close of the last century. Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain committed in provoking that contest. If that nation shall now repeat the same great error, the social convulsions which will follow may not be so long, but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased, it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations, that it is not the United States that will have come out of them with its precious Constitution altered or its honestly obtained dominion in any degree abridged. Great Britain has but to wait a few months and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course, she will calculate for herself the ultimate as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and the affections of the only nation on whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation she will do well to remember that in the controversy she proposes to open we shall be actuated by neither pride, nor passion, nor cupidity, nor ambition; but we shall stand simply on the principle of self-preservation, and that our cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

I am, sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

W. H. S.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., etc.

[1] *Drop all from this line to the end, and in lieu of it write, "This paper is for your own guidance only, and not [sic] to be read or shown to any one."*

May 25, 1861.—LETTER TO COLONEL ELLSWORTH'S PARENTS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 25, 1861.

TO THE FATHER AND MOTHER OF COLONEL ELMER E. ELLSWORTH.

My dear Sir and Madam: In the untimely loss of your noble son, our affliction here is scarcely less than your own. So much of promised usefulness to one's country, and of bright hopes for one's self and friends, have rarely been so suddenly dashed as in his fall. In size, in years, and in youthful appearance a boy only, his power to command men was surpassingly great. This power, combined with a fine intellect, an indomitable energy, and a taste altogether military, constituted in him, as seemed to me, the best natural talent in that department I ever knew.

And yet he was singularly modest and deferential in social intercourse. My acquaintance with him began less than two years ago; yet through the latter half of the intervening period it was as intimate as the disparity of our ages and my engrossing engagements would permit. To me he appeared to have no indulgences or pastimes; and I never heard him utter a profane or an intemperate word. What was conclusive of his good heart, he never forgot his parents. The honors he labored for so laudably, and for which in the sad end he so gallantly gave his life, he meant for them no less than for himself.

In the hope that it may be no intrusion upon the sacredness of your sorrow, I have ventured to address you this tribute to the memory of my young friend and your brave and early fallen child.

May God give you that consolation which is beyond all earthly power.

Sincerely your friend in a common affliction, A. LINCOLN.

May 27, 1861.—LETTER FROM THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL TO GENERAL HARNEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 27, 1861.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. S. HARNEY,
Commanding Department of the West, St. Louis, Mo.

Sir: The President observes with concern that, notwithstanding the pledge of the State authorities to coöperate in preserving peace in Missouri, loyal citizens in great numbers continue to be driven from their homes. It is immaterial whether these outrages continue from inability or indisposition on the part of the State authorities to prevent them. It is enough that they continue to devolve on you the duty of putting a stop to them summarily by the force under your command, to be aided by such troops as you may require from Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. The professions of loyalty to the Union by the State authorities of Missouri are not to be relied upon. They have already falsified their professions too often, and are too far

committed to secession to be entitled to your confidence, and you can only be sure of their desisting from their wicked purposes when it is out of their power to prosecute them. You will therefore be unceasingly watchful of their movements, and not permit the clamors of their partizans and opponents of the wise measures already taken to prevent you from checking every movement against the government, however disguised under the pretended State authority. The authority of the United States is paramount, and whenever it is apparent that a movement, whether by color of State authority or not, is hostile, you will not hesitate to put it down.

I am, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

June 5, 1861.—LETTER TO GENERAL SCOTT.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 5, 1861.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SCOTT.

My dear Sir: Doubtless you begin to understand how disagreeable it is for me to do a thing arbitrarily when it is unsatisfactory to others associated with me.

I very much wish to appoint Colonel Meigs quartermaster-general, and yet General Cameron does not quite consent. I have come to know Colonel Meigs quite well for a short acquaintance, and, so far as I am capable of judging, I do not know one who combines the qualities of masculine intellect, learning, and experience of the right sort, and physical power of labor and endurance, so well as he.

I know he has great confidence in you, always sustaining, so far as I have observed, your opinions against any differing ones.

You will lay me under one more obligation if you can and will use your influence to remove General Cameron's objection. I scarcely need tell you I have nothing personal in this, having never seen or heard of Colonel Meigs until about the end of last March.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

June 19, 1861.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. K. F. MANSFIELD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 19, 1861.

GENERAL MANSFIELD.

My dear Sir: The inclosed papers of Colonel Joseph Hooker speak for themselves. He desires to have the command of a regiment. Ought he to have it, and can it be done, and how?

Please consult General Scott, and say if he and you would like Colonel Hooker to have a command.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 20, 1861.— LETTER TO SECRETARY CAMERON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 20, 1861.

My dear Sir: Since you spoke to me yesterday about General J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I have been reflecting upon the subject, and have concluded that we need the service of such a man out there at once; that we had better appoint him a brigadier-general of volunteers to-day, and send him off with such authority to raise a force (I think *two* regiments better than *three*, but as to this I am not particular) as you think will get him into actual work quickest. Tell him, when he starts, to put it through — not to be writing or telegraphing back here, but put it through.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

[*Indorsement.*]

General Lane has been authorized to raise two additional regiments of volunteers.

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

July 2, 1861.— ORDER AUTHORIZING GENERAL SCOTT TO SUSPEND THE WRIT OF *Habeas Corpus*.

TO THE COMMANDING GENERAL, ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

You are engaged in suppressing an insurrection against the laws of the United States. If at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line which is now or which shall be used between the city of New York and the city of Washington you find resistance which renders it necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety, you personally, or through the officer in command at the point where resistance occurs, are authorized to suspend that writ.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States at the city of Washington, this second day of July, A. D. 1861, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

July 3, 1861.— LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 3, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE.

My dear Sir: General Scott had sent me a copy of the despatch of which you kindly sent one. Thanks to both him and you. Please assemble the cabinet at twelve to-day to look over the message and reports.

And now, suppose you step over at once and let us see General Scott [and] General Cameron about assigning a position to General Frémont. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

July 4, 1861.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS IN SPECIAL SESSION.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation.

At the beginning of the present presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, excepting only those of the Post-office Department.

Within these States all the forts, arsenals, dockyards, custom-houses, and the like, including the movable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized, and were held in open hostility to this government, excepting only Forts Pickens, Taylor, and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose.

The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near these States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumter was nearly surrounded by well-protected hostile batteries, with guns equal in quality to the best of its own, and outnumbering the latter as perhaps ten to one. A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into these States, and had been seized to be used against the government. Accumulations of the public revenue lying within them had been seized for the same object. The navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the government. Officers of the Federal army and navy had resigned in great numbers; and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the government. Simultaneously, and in connection with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose, an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States, declaring the States respectively to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined government of these States had been promulgated; and this illegal organization, in the character of confederate States, was already invoking recognition, aid, and intervention from foreign powers.

Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made

and was declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot-box. It promised a continuance of the mails, at government expense, to the very people who were resisting the government; and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people, or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, everything was forborne without which it was believed possible to keep the government on foot.

On the 5th of March (the present incumbent's first full day in office), a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was by that department placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than twenty thousand good and well-disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject were made inclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant-General Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and the navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly but decidedly to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that no such sufficient force was then at the control of the government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort.

It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous; that the necessity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached Fort Pickens might be reinforced. This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship *Brooklyn* into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was that the officer commanding the *Sabine*, to which vessel the

troops had been transferred from the *Brooklyn*, acting upon some *quasi* armistice of the late administration (and of the existence of which the present administration, up to the time the order was despatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention), had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter was impossible — rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter-named fort. In precaution against such a conjuncture, the government had, a few days before, commenced preparing an expedition as well adapted as might be to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used, or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward. As had been intended in this contingency, it was also resolved to notify the governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort; and that, if the attempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given; whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition.

It is thus seen that the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew — they were expressly notified — that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution — trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object — to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution. That this was their object the executive well understood; and having said to them in the inaugural address, "You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors," he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached. Then and thereby the assailants of the government began the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort sent to that harbor years before for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue, "immediate dissolution or blood."

And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a consti-

tutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretenses made in this case, or on any other pretenses, or arbitrarily without any pretense, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask: "Is there, in all republics, this inherent and fatal weakness?" "Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the government; and so to resist force employed for its destruction, by force for its preservation.

The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectation. Yet none of the States commonly called slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment through regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some others of those States by individual enterprise, and received into the government service. Of course the seceded States, so called (and to which Texas had been joined about the time of the inauguration), gave no troops to the cause of the Union. The border States, so called, were not uniform in their action, some of them being almost for the Union, while in others—as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—the Union sentiment was nearly repressed and silenced. The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable—perhaps the most important. A convention elected by the people of that State to consider this very question of disrupting the Federal Union was in session at the capital of Virginia when Fort Sumter fell. To this body the people had chosen a large majority of professed Union men. Almost immediately after the fall of Sumter, many members of that majority went over to the original disunion minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter, or their great resentment at the government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known. Although they submitted the ordinance for ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day then somewhat more than a month distant, the convention and the legislature (which was also in session at the same time and place), with leading men of the State not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union. They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State. They seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, and the navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk. They received—perhaps invited—into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments, from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and coöperation with the so-called "Confederate States," and sent members to their congress at Montgomery. And, finally, they permitted the

insurrectionary government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders; and this government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it. And it has the less regret as the loyal citizens have, in due form, claimed its protection. Those loyal citizens this government is bound to recognize and protect, as being Virginia.

In the border States, so called,—in fact, the Middle States,—there are those who favor a policy which they call "armed neutrality"; that is, an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way, or the disunion the other, over their soil. This would be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation—and yet not quite an impassable one, for under the guise of neutrality it would tie the hands of Union men and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do as an open enemy. At a stroke it would take all the trouble off the hands of secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade. It would do for the disunionists that which, of all things, they most desire—feed them well, and give them disunion without a struggle of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens, it is, nevertheless, very injurious in effect.

Recurring to the action of the government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for 75,000 militia; and, rapidly following this, a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal. At this point the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering.

Other calls were made for volunteers to serve for three years, unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon, under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity; trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress.

Soon after the first call for militia, it was considered a duty to authorize the commanding general in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, or, in other words, to arrest and detain, without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who has sworn to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" should not himself violate them. Of course some consideration was given to the questions of power and propriety before this matter

was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed were being resisted and failing of execution in nearly one third of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that by the use of the means necessary to their execution some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty that, practically, it relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated? To state the question more directly, are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated? Even in such a case, would not the official oath be broken if the government should be overthrown, when it was believed that disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it? But it was not believed that this question was presented. It was not believed that any law was violated. The provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," is equivalent to a provision — is a provision — that such privilege may be suspended when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does require it. It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the privilege of the writ which was authorized to be made. Now it is insisted that Congress, and not the executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself is silent as to which or who is to exercise the power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called together, the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion.

No more extended argument is now offered, as an opinion at some length will probably be presented by the attorney-general. Whether there shall be any legislation upon the subject, and if any, what, is submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

The forbearance of this government had been so extraordinary and so long continued as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable. While this, on discovery, gave the executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers; and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and the Navy will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action; while the executive and all the departments will stand ready to supply omissions, or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know.

It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one: that you place at the control of the government for the work at least four hundred thousand men and $400,000,000. That number of men is about one tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where, apparently, all are

willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of $600,000,000 now is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was then than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them.

A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them. In a word, the people will save their government if the government itself will do its part only indifferently well.

It might seem, at first thought, to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called "secession" or "rebellion." The movers, however, well understand the difference. At the beginning they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies violation of law. They knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in and reverence for the history and government of their common country as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly, they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps, through all the incidents, to the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is that any State of the Union may consistently with the National Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully, withdraw from the Union without the consent of the Union or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just cause, themselves to be the sole judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice.

With rebellion thus sugar-coated they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the government the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretense of taking their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day before.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution—no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial depen-

dence; and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas. And even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the "United Colonies" were declared to be "free and independent States"; but even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another or of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterward, abundantly show. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive. Having never been States either in substance or in name outside of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of "State Rights," asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the "sovereignty" of the States; but the word even is not in the National Constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is "sovereignty" in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it "a political community without a political superior"? Tested by this, no one of our States except Texas ever was a sovereignty. And even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union; by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her the supreme law of the land. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase the Union gave each of them whatever of independence or liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union. Of course, it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their constitutions before they entered the Union — nevertheless, dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union.

Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the National Constitution; but among these surely are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive, but, at most, such only as were known in the world at the time as governmental powers; and certainly a power to destroy the government itself had never been known as a governmental, as a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole — to the General Government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the National

Constitution in defining boundaries between the two has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned. We are all bound by that defining, without question.

What is now combated is the position that secession is consistent with the Constitution — is lawful and peaceful. It is not contended that there is any express law for it; and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums (in the aggregate, I believe, nearly a hundred millions) to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she shall now be off without consent or without making any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceding States in common with the rest. Is it just either that creditors shall go unpaid or the remaining States pay the whole? A part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself?

Again, if one State may secede, so may another; and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money? If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go or to extort terms upon which they will promise to remain.

The seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession. They have assumed to make a national constitution of their own, in which of necessity they have either discarded or retained the right of secession as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that on principle it ought not to be in ours. If they have retained it by their own construction of ours, they show that to be consistent they must secede from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no government can possibly endure.

If all the States save one should assert the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called "driving the one out," should be called "the seceding of the others from that one," it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do, unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which made the Constitution and speaks from the preamble calling itself "We, the People."

It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except perhaps South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other

one, of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee; for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election, all that large class who are at once for the Union and against coercion would be coerced to vote against the Union.

It may be affirmed without extravagance that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and an impressive illustration. So large an army as the government has now on foot was never before known, without a soldier in it but who has taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a cabinet, a congress, and perhaps a court, abundantly competent to administer the government itself. Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries in this contest; but if it is, so much better the reason why the government which has conferred such benefits on both them and us should not be broken up. Whoever in any section proposes to abandon such a government would do well to consider in deference to what principle it is that he does it—what better he is likely to get in its stead—whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people? There are some foreshadowings on this subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence in which, unlike the good old one, penned by Jefferson, they omit the words "all men are created equal." Why? They have adopted a temporary national constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one, signed by Washington, they omit "We, the People," and substitute, "We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States." Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people?

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend.

I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note that while in this, the government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved false to the hand which had pampered them, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag.

Great honor is due to those officers who remained true, despite the example of their treacherous associates; but the greatest honor, and most important fact of all, is the unanimous firmness of the common soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, so far as known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands, but an hour before, they obeyed as absolute law. This is the patriotic instinct of the plain people. They understand, without an argument, that the destroying of the government which was made by Washington means no good to them.

Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled — the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains — its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace: teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take it by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the government toward the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people, under the Constitution, than that expressed in the inaugural address.

He desires to preserve the government, that it may be administered for all as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their government, and the government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that in giving it there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation, in any just sense of those terms.

The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guarantee mentioned; and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory.

It was with the deepest regret that the executive found the duty of employing the war power in defense of the government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty or surrender the existence of the government. No compromise by public servants could, in this case, be a cure; not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long survive a marked prece-

dent that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

As a private citizen the executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as the free people have confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility he has, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your actions may so accord with his, as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights of a certain and speedy restoration to them, under the Constitution and the laws.

And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 4, 1861.

July 10, 1861.—MEMORANDUM TO GENERAL S. B. BUCKNER.

It is my duty, as I conceive, to suppress an insurrection existing within the United States. I wish to do this with the least possible disturbance or annoyance to well-disposed people anywhere. So far I have not sent an armed force into Kentucky, nor have I any present purpose to do so. I sincerely desire that no necessity for it may be presented; but I mean to say nothing which shall hereafter embarrass me in the performance of what may seem to be my duty.

(Copy of this delivered to General Buckner, this 10th day of July, 1861.)

July 11, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 9th instant, requesting a copy of correspondence upon the subject of the incorporation of the Dominican republic with the Spanish monarchy, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1861.

July 15, 1861.—MEMORANDUM ABOUT THE DEFEAT AT VIENNA, VA.

A day or two before the disaster at Vienna General Tyler had, by orders, with a force gone on the same road three miles beyond that point, and returned past it, seeing neither battery nor troops — of which General Schenck had been notified. The morning of the disaster General Schenck received the order under which he acted, which is in words and figures following:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT N. E. VIRGINIA,
ARLINGTON, June 17, 1861.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SCHENCK, Commanding Ohio Brigade.

Sir: The general commanding directs that you send one of the regiments of your command on a train of cars up the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad to the point where it crosses the wagon-road running from Fort Corcoran (opposite Georgetown) southerly into Virginia.

The regiment, being established at that point, will by suitable patrols feel the way along the road to Falls Church and Vienna, moving, however, with caution, and making it a special duty to guard effectually the railroad bridges and look to the track.

The regiment will go supplied for a tour of duty of twenty-four hours, and will move on the arrival at your camp of a train of cars ordered for that purpose, and will relieve all the troops of Colonel Hunter's brigade now guarding the line.

I am, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

JAMES B. FRY, A. A. G.

As appears by the order, General Schenck was not ordered to go himself, but merely to send a regiment; and he went himself because the colonels of both his regiments happened to be absent; but he took Colonel McCook's regiment, and Colonel McCook overtook and joined him before the disaster occurred; and to whom (he being a regularly educated military man) the order was at once shown, and General Schenck did nothing afterward but upon his full concurrence. It is not true, as has been stated, that any notice was given General Schenck of a battery being at Vienna. It is true that a countryman told General Schenck he had heard there were troops at Vienna. He was asked if he had seen them, and he said not; he was asked if he had seen any one who had seen them, and he said not; but he had seen a man who had heard there were troops there. This was heard by Colonel McCook as well as General Schenck; and on consultation they agreed that it was but a vague rumor.

It is a fact that not an officer or private who was present at the disaster has ever cast a word of blame upon either General Schenck or Colonel McCook; but, on the contrary, they are all anxious to have another trial under the same officers.

July 16, 1861.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of correspondence between the Secretary of State and her Britannic Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary accredited to this government, relative to the exhibition of the products of industry of all nations, which is to take place at London in the course of the next year. As citizens of the United States may justly pride themselves upon their proficiency in industrial arts, it

is desirable that they should have proper facilities toward taking part in the exhibition. With this view I recommend such legislation by Congress at this session as may be necessary for that purpose.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, July 16, 1861.

July 18, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 18, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I can scarcely avoid an "unpleasantness," not to say a difficulty, or rupture, respectively with Mr. Senator King and Mr. Speaker Grow, unless I can find a place for each a man. Mr. Grow, knowing I have Mr. King on hand, as well as himself, was here this morning, insisting that the second and fifth authorships are still open, and that I might give them to Mr. King's man and to his. Is the fact so? Are those places open? If they are, you would both oblige and relieve me by letting them go as indicated. Grow's man is Joseph E. Streeter, really of Illinois (no acquaintance of mine), but, as Grows says, to be charged to Pennsylvania. King's man is —— Smith, of Minnesota. I neither know him nor remember his Christian name as given by Mr. King.

Yours as ever, A. LINCOLN.

July 19, 1861.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: As the United States have, in common with Great Britain and France, a deep interest in the preservation and development of the fisheries adjacent to the northeastern coast and islands of this continent, it seems proper that we should concert with the governments of those countries such measures as may be conducive to those important objects. With this view I transmit to Congress a copy of a correspondence between the Secretary of State and the British minister here, in which the latter proposes, on behalf of his government, the appointment of a joint commission to inquire into the matter, in order that such ulterior measures may be adopted as may be advisable for the objects proposed. Such legislation is recommended as may be necessary to enable the executive to provide for a commissioner on behalf of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, July 19, 1861.

July 23, 1861.—MEMORANDA OF MILITARY POLICY SUGGESTED BY THE BULL RUN DEFEAT.

(July 23, 1861.)

1. Let the plan for making the blockade effective be pushed forward with all possible despatch.

2. Let the volunteer forces at Fort Monroe and vicinity under General Butler be constantly drilled, disciplined, and instructed without more for the present.

3. Let Baltimore be held as now, with a gentle but firm and certain hand.

4. Let the force now under Patterson or Banks be strengthened and made secure in its position.

5. Let the forces in Western Virginia act till further orders according to instructions or orders from General McClellan.

6. [Let] General Frémont push forward his organization and operations in the West as rapidly as possible, giving rather special attention to Missouri.

7. Let the forces late before Manassas, except the three-months men, be reorganized as rapidly as possible in their camps here and about Arlington.

8. Let the three-months forces who decline to enter the longer service be discharged as rapidly as circumstances will permit.

9. Let the new volunteer forces be brought forward as fast as possible, and especially into the camps on the two sides of the river here.

(July 27, 1861.)

When the foregoing shall have been substantially attended to:

1. Let Manassas Junction (or some point on one or other of the railroads near it) and Strasburg be seized and permanently held, with an open line from Washington to Manassas, and an open line from Harper's Ferry to Strasburg—the military men to find the way of doing these.

2. This done, a joint movement from Cairo on Memphis, and from Cincinnati on East Tennessee.

July 25, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 15th instant requesting a copy of the correspondence between this government and foreign powers on the subject of the existing insurrection in the United States, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, July 25, 1861.

July 25, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 22d instant requesting a copy of the correspondence between this government and foreign powers with reference to maritime rights, I transmit a copy from the Secretary of State.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, July 25, 1861.

July 27, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 25th instant relative to the instructions to the ministers of the United States abroad, in reference to the rebellion now existing in the southern portion of the Union, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1861.

July 27, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 24th instant asking the grounds, reason, and evidence upon which the police commissioners of Baltimore were arrested and are now detained as prisoners at Fort McHenry, I have to state that it is judged to be incompatible with the public interest at this time to furnish the information called for by the resolution.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1861.

July 30, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 19th instant requesting information concerning the *quasi* armistice alluded to in my message of the 4th instant, I transmit a report from the Secretary of the Navy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 30, 1861.

July 30, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 23d instant requesting information concerning the imprisonment of Lieutenant John J. Worden [John L. Worden] of the United States navy, I transmit a report from the Secretary of the Navy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 30, 1861.

August 1, 1861.—REPLY TO THE TYCOON OF JAPAN.

A. LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

TO HIS MAJESTY THE TYCOON OF JAPAN.

Great and good Friend: I have received the letter which you have addressed to me on the subject of a desired extension of the time stipulated by treaty for the opening of certain ports and cities in

Japan. The question is surrounded with many difficulties. While it is my earnest desire to consult the convenience of your Majesty, and to accede, so far as I can, to your reasonable wishes, so kindly expressed, the interests of the United States must, nevertheless, have due consideration. Townsend Harris, minister resident near your Majesty, will be fully instructed as to the views of this government, and will make them known to you at large. I do not permit myself to doubt that these views will meet with your Majesty's approval, for they proceed not less from a just regard for the interest and prosperity of your empire than from considerations affecting our own welfare and honor.

Wishing abundant prosperity and length of years to the great state over which you preside, I pray God to have your Majesty always in his safe and holy keeping.

Written at the city of Washington, this 1st day of August, 1861.

Your good friend, A. LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

August 1, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CAMERON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 1, 1861.

My dear Sir: Herewith I inclose you a resolution of the Senate inquiring whether Hon. James H. Lane, of Kansas, has been appointed a general in the army of the United States; and if yea, whether he has accepted the appointment. Will you please furnish me, as soon as possible, copies of all record entries and correspondence upon the subject which are in your department, together with a brief statement of your personal knowledge of whatever may contribute to a full and fair statement of the case.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 2, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of yesterday, requesting information regarding the imprisonment of loyal citizens of the United States by the forces now in rebellion against this government, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the copy of a telegraphic despatch by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, August 2, 1861.

August 3, 1861.—LETTER FROM SECRETARY CAMERON TO THE GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, August 3, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY H. R. GAMBLE, Governor of Missouri, Jefferson City:

In reply to your message directed to the President, I am directed to say that if by proclamation you promise security to citizens in

arms who voluntarily return to their allegiance and become peaceable and loyal, this government will cause the promise to be respected.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

August 5, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of your honorable body of date July 31, 1861, requesting the President to inform the Senate whether the Hon. James H. Lane, a member of that body from Kansas, has been appointed a brigadier-general in the army of the United States, and if so, whether he has accepted such appointment, I have the honor to transmit herewith certain papers, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, which, taken together, explain themselves, and which contain all the information I possess upon the questions propounded.

It was my intention, as shown by my letter of June 20, 1861, to appoint Hon. James H. Lane, of Kansas, a brigadier-general of United States volunteers in anticipation of the act of Congress, since passed, for raising such volunteers; and I have no further knowledge upon the subject, except as derived from the papers herewith inclosed.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 5, 1861.

August 5, 1861.—TELEGRAM FROM THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GENERAL FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, August 5, 1861.

To Major-General Frémont: The President desires to know briefly the situation of affairs in the region of Cairo. Please answer.

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

August 7, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CAMERON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 7, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: The within paper, as you see, is by Hon. John S. Phelps and Hon. Frank P. Blair, Jr., both members of the present Congress from Missouri. The object is to get up an efficient force of Missourians in the southwestern part of the State. It ought to be done, and Mr. Phelps ought to have general superintendence of it. I see by a private report to me from the department that eighteen regiments are already accepted from Missouri. Can it not be arranged that part of them (not yet organized, as I understand) may be taken from the locality mentioned and put under the control of Mr. Phelps, and let him have discretion to accept them for a shorter term than three years or the war—understanding, however, that he

will get them for the full term if he can? I hope this can be done, because Mr. Phelps is too zealous and efficient and understands his ground too well for us to lose his service. Of course provision for arming, equipping, etc., must be made. Mr. Phelps is here, and wishes to carry home with him authority for this matter.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 8, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 8, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: Edward Ellsworth, first cousin to Colonel Ellsworth who fell at Alexandria, a non-commissioned officer in the fourth regiment of Michigan Volunteers, now stationed at the Relay House, wishes to be a second lieutenant in the army. He is present while I write this, and he is an intelligent and an exceedingly wary-appearing young man of twenty years of age. I shall be glad if a place can be found for him. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 12, 1861.—PROCLAMATION OF A NATIONAL FAST-DAY.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas a joint committee of both houses of Congress has waited on the President of the United States and requested him to "recommend a day of public prayer, humiliation, and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnities, and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of these States, his blessings on their arms, and a speedy restoration of peace":

And whereas it is fit and becoming in all people, at all times, to acknowledge and revere the supreme government of God; to bow in humble submission to his chastisements; to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions, in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offenses, and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action:

And whereas when our own beloved country, once, by the blessing of God, united, prosperous, and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation and as individuals, to humble ourselves before him and to pray for his mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though most justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the reëstablishment of law, order, and peace throughout the wide extent of our country; and that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty,

earned under his guidance and blessing by the labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence:

Therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do appoint the last Thursday in September next as a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting for all the people of the nation. And I do earnestly recommend to all the people, and especially to all ministers and teachers of religion, of all denominations, and to all heads of families, to observe and keep that day, according to their several creeds and modes of worship, in all humility and with all religious solemnity, to the end that the united prayer of the nation may ascend to the Throne of Grace, and bring down plentiful blessings upon our country.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, this twelfth
[L. S.] day of August, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

August 15, 1861.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 15, 1861.

GOVERNOR MORTON, Indiana:

Start your four regiments to St. Louis at the earliest moment possible. Get such harness as may be necessary for your rifled guns. Do not delay a single regiment, but hasten everything forward as soon as any one regiment is ready. Have your three additional regiments organized at once. We shall endeavor to send you the arms this week.

A. LINCOLN.

August 15, 1861.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, August 15, 1861.

To Major-General Frémont: Been answering your messages since day before yesterday. Do you receive the answers? The War Department has notified all the governors you designate to forward all available force. So telegraphed you. Have you received these messages? Answer immediately.

A. LINCOLN.

August 15, 1861.—TELEGRAM TO JOHN A. GURLEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 15, 1861.

JOHN A. GURLEY, Cincinnati, Ohio:

The Grosbeck regiment is ordered to join Frémont at once. Has it gone? Answer immediately.

A. LINCOLN.

August 16, 1861.—Proclamation Forbidding Intercourse with Rebel States.

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas on the fifteenth day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, the President of the United States, in view of an insurrection against the laws, Constitution, and government of the United States which had broken out within the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and in pursuance of the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions, and to repeal the act now in force for that purpose," approved February twenty-eighth, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, did call forth the militia to suppress said insurrection, and to cause the laws of the Union to be duly executed, and the insurgents have failed to disperse by the time directed by the President; and whereas, such insurrection has since broken out and yet exists within the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas; and whereas, the insurgents in all the said States claim to act under the authority thereof, and such claim is not disclaimed or repudiated by the persons exercising the functions of government in such State or States, or in the part or parts thereof in which such combinations exist, nor has such insurrection been suppressed by said States:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in pursuance of an act of Congress approved July thirteen, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, do hereby declare that the inhabitants of the said States of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida (except the inhabitants of that part of the State of Virginia lying west of the Alleghany Mountains, and of such other parts of that State, and the other States hereinbefore named, as may maintain a loyal adhesion to the Union and the Constitution, or may be from time to time occupied and controlled by forces of the United States engaged in the dispersion of said insurgents), are in a state of insurrection against the United States, and that all commercial intercourse between the same and the inhabitants thereof, with the exceptions aforesaid, and the citizens of other States and other parts of the United States, is unlawful, and will remain unlawful until such insurrection shall cease or has been suppressed; that all goods and chattels, wares and merchandise, coming from any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, into other parts of the United States, without the special license and permission of the President, through the Secretary of the Treasury, or proceeding to any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, by land or water, together with the vessel or vehicle conveying the same, or conveying persons to or from said States, with said exceptions, will be forfeited to the United States; and that from and after fifteen days

from the issuing of this proclamation all ships and vessels belonging in whole or in part to any citizen or inhabitant of any of said States, with said exceptions, found at sea, or in any port of the United States, will be forfeited to the United States; and I hereby enjoin upon all district attorneys, marshals, and officers of the revenue and of the military and naval forces of the United States to be vigilant in the execution of said act, and in the enforcement of the penalties and forfeitures imposed or declared by it; leaving any party who may think himself aggrieved thereby to his application to the Secretary of the Treasury for the remission of any penalty or forfeiture, which the said secretary is authorized by law to grant if, in his judgment, the special circumstances of any case shall require such remission.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this sixteenth day of
[L. S.] August, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

August 17, 1861.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CAMERON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 17, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: Unless there be reason to the contrary, not known to me, make out a commission for Simon [B.] Buckner, of Kentucky, as a brigadier-general of volunteers. It is to be put into the hands of General Anderson, and delivered to General Buckner or not, at the discretion of General Anderson. Of course it is to remain a secret unless and until the commission is delivered.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

Same day made.

August 24, 1861.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR MAGOFFIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 24, 1861.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY B. MAGOFFIN,
Governor of the State of Kentucky.

Sir: Your letter of the 19th instant, in which you "urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized and in camp within said State," is received.

I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented.

I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States.

I also believe that this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits, and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline to so remove it

I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky; but it is with regret I search [for], and cannot find, in your not very short letter any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

Your obedient servant, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

September 2, 1861.—LETTER TO GENERAL FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 2, 1861.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT.

My dear Sir: Two points in your proclamation of August 30 give me some anxiety:

First. Should you shoot a man, according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. It is, therefore, my order that you allow no man to be shot under the proclamation without first having my approbation or consent.

Second. I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you.

This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

September 9, 1861.—Letter to General Hunter.

Washington, D. C., September 9, 1861.

Major-General David Hunter.

My dear Sir: General Frémont needs assistance which it is difficult to give him. He is losing the confidence of men near him, whose support any man in his position must have to be successful. His cardinal mistake is that he isolates himself and allows nobody to see him, and by which he does not know what is going on in the very matter he is dealing with. He needs to have by his side a man of large experience. Will you not, for me, take that place? Your rank is one grade too high to be ordered to it, but will you not serve the country and oblige me by taking it voluntarily?

A. Lincoln.

September 11, 1861.—Telegram to Governors Washburn of Maine, Fairbanks of Vermont, Berry of New Hampshire, Andrew of Massachusetts, Buckingham of Connecticut, and Sprague of Rhode Island.

War Department, September 11, 1861.

General Butler proposes raising in New England six regiments, to be recruited and commanded by himself, and to go on special service.

I shall be glad if you, as governor of ——, will answer by telegraph if you consent.

A. Lincoln.

September 11, 1861.—Order to General Frémont.

Washington, September 11, 1861.

Major-General John C. Frémont.

Sir: Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d instant, is just received. Assuming that you, upon the ground, could better judge of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30 I perceived no general objection to it. The particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves appeared to me to be objectionable in its nonconformity to the act of Congress passed the 6th of last August upon the same subjects; and hence I wrote you, expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held, and construed as to conform to, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for

insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and that said act be published at length with this order.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1861.—LETTER TO MRS. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 12, 1861.

MRS. GENERAL FRÉMONT.

My dear Madam: Your two notes of to-day are before me. I answered the letter you bore me from General Frémont on yesterday, and not hearing from you during the day, I sent the answer to him by mail. It is not exactly correct, as you say you were told by the elder Mr. Blair, to say that I sent Postmaster-General Blair to St. Louis to examine into that department and report. Postmaster-General Blair did go, with my approbation, to see and converse with General Frémont as a friend. I do not feel authorized to furnish you with copies of letters in my possession without the consent of the writers. No impression has been made on my mind against the honor or integrity of General Frémont, and I now enter my protest against being understood as acting in any hostility toward him.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1861.—LETTER TO JOSEPH HOLT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 12, 1861.

HON. JOSEPH HOLT.

Dear Sir: Yours of this day, in relation to the late proclamation of General Frémont, is received. Yesterday I addressed a letter to him by mail on the same subject, and which is intended to be made public when he receives it. I herewith send you a copy of that letter, which, perhaps, shows my position as distinctly as any new one I could write. I will thank you to not make it public until General Frémont shall have had time to receive the original.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

[September 15 ?] 1861.—INDORSEMENT ON LETTER OF JOHN W. DAVIS.

The President has read this letter, and he deeply commiserates the condition of any one so distressed as the writer seems to be. He does not know Mr. Davis—only knows him to be one of the arrested police commissioners of Baltimore because he says so in this letter. Assuming him to be one of those commissioners, the President understands Mr. Davis could at the time of his arrest, could at any time since, and can now, be released by taking a full oath of allegiance to the government of the United States, and that Mr. Davis has not been kept in ignorance of this condition of release. If Mr. Davis is still so hostile to the government, and so determined to aid its enemies in destroying it, he makes his own choice.

September 16, 1861.—LETTER TO GENERAL SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 16, 1861.

My dear Sir: Since conversing with you I have concluded to request you to frame an order for recruiting North Carolinians at Fort Hatteras. I suggest it to be so framed as for us to accept a smaller force — even a company — if we cannot get a regiment or more. What is necessary to now say about officers you will judge. Governor Seward says he has a nephew (Clarence A. Seward, I believe) who would be willing to go and play colonel and assist in raising the force. Still it is to be considered whether the North Carolinians will not prefer officers of their own. I should expect they would.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SCOTT.

September 18, 1861.—ORDER TO SECRETARY CAMERON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 18, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: To guard against misunderstanding, I think fit to say that the joint expedition of the army and navy agreed upon some time since, and in which General T. W. Sherman was and is to bear a conspicuous part, is in no wise to be abandoned, but must be ready to move by the 1st of, or very early in, October. Let all preparations go forward accordingly.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 22, 1861.—ORDER TO GENERAL FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, September 22, 1861.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT:

Governor Morton telegraphs as follows: "Colonel Lane, just arrived by special train, represents Owensborough, forty miles above Evansville, in possession of secessionists. Green River is navigable. Owensborough must be seized. We want a gunboat sent up from Paducah for that purpose." Send up the gunboat if, in your discretion, you think it right. Perhaps you had better order those in charge of the Ohio River to guard it vigilantly at all points.

A. LINCOLN.

September 22, 1861.—LETTER TO O. H. BROWNING.

(*Private and Confidential.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 22, 1861.

HON. O. H. BROWNING.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 17th is just received; and coming from you, I confess it astonishes me. That you should object to my ad-

hering to a law which you had assisted in making and presenting to me less than a month before is odd enough. But this is a very small part. General Frémont's proclamation as to confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves is purely political and not within the range of military law or necessity. If a commanding general finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever, and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the general needs them, he can seize them and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do anything he pleases — confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure, I have no doubt, would be more popular with some thoughtless people than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position, nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility.

You speak of it as being the only means of saving the government. On the contrary, it is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the Government of the United States — any government of constitution and laws — wherein a general or a president may make permanent rules of property by proclamation? I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law on the point, just such as General Frémont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is, that I, as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified; and General Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of General Frémont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of our volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. I was so assured as to think it probable that the very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capital. On the contrary, if you will give up your restlessness for new positions, and back me manfully on the grounds upon which you and other kind friends gave me the election and have approved in my public documents, we shall go through triumphantly. You

must not understand I took my course on the proclamation because of Kentucky. I took the same ground in a private letter to General Frémont before I heard from Kentucky.

You think I am inconsistent because I did not also forbid General Frémont to shoot men under the proclamation. I understand that part to be within military law, but I also think, and so privately wrote General Frémont, that it is impolitic in this, that our adversaries have the power, and will certainly exercise it, to shoot as many of our men as we shoot of theirs. I did not say this in the public letter, because it is a subject I prefer not to discuss in the hearing of our enemies.

There has been no thought of removing General Frémont on any ground connected with his proclamation, and if there has been any wish for his removal on any ground, our mutual friend Sam. Glover can probably tell you what it was. I hope no real necessity for it exists on any ground. Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

September 24, 1861.—MEMORANDUM ABOUT GUNS.

WASHINGTON, September 24, 1861.

If twenty guns, and a carriage and appointments to each, shall be made, equal or superior to the Ellsworth gun and carriage exhibited some time since to Captain Kingsbury, and more recently to me, the quality to be judged of by Captain Kingsbury, and shall be delivered to the Government of the United States at this city within sixty days from this date, I will advise that they be paid for at the price of three hundred and fifty dollars for each gun with its carriage and appointments, and in addition will advise that reasonable charges for transportation from Worcester in Massachusetts to this city be paid. Will also advise that forty cents per round be paid for all good ammunition suitable for said guns, which shall be furnished with said guns, provided the amount does not exceed two hundred rounds to each gun.

A. LINCOLN.

September 29, 1861.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR MORTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 29, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON:

Your letter by the hand of Mr. Prunk was received yesterday. I write this letter because I wish you to believe of us (as we certainly believe of you) that we are doing the very best we can. You do not receive arms from us as fast as you need them; but it is because we have not near enough to meet all the pressing demands, and we are obliged to share around what we have, sending the larger share to the points which appear to need them most. We have great hope that our own supply will be ample before long, so that you and all others can have as many as you need. I see an article in an Indianapolis newspaper denouncing me for not answering your letter sent

by special messenger two or three weeks ago. I did make what I thought the best answer to that letter. As I remember, it asked for ten heavy guns to be distributed, with some troops, at Lawrenceburg, Madison, New Albany, and Evansville; and I ordered the guns and directed you to send the troops, if you had them. As to Kentucky, you do not estimate that State as more important than I do, but I am compelled to watch all points. While I write this I am, if not in range, at least in hearing of cannon-shot from an army of enemies more than 100,000 strong. I do not expect them to capture this city; but I know they would if I were to send the men and arms from here to defend Louisville, of which there is not a single hostile armed soldier within forty miles, nor any force known to be moving upon it from any distance. It is true the army in our front may make a half-circle around southward and move on Louisville, but when they do we will make a half-circle around northward and meet them; and in the mean time we will get up what forces we can from other sources to also meet them.

I hope Zollicoffer has left Cumberland Gap (though I fear he has not), because, if he has, I rather infer he did it because of his dread of Camp Dick Robinson, reinforced from Cincinnati, moving on him, than because of his intention to move on Louisville. But if he does go round and reinforce Buckner, let Dick Robinson come round and reinforce Sherman, and the thing is substantially as it was when Zollicoffer left Cumberland Gap. I state this as an illustration; for, in fact, I think if the Gap is left open to us Dick Robinson should take it and hold it; while Indiana and the vicinity of Louisville in Kentucky can reinforce Sherman faster than Zollicoffer can Buckner.

You requested that Lieutenant-Colonel Wood of the army should be appointed a brigadier-general. I will only say that very formidable objection has been made to this from Indiana.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

[October 1 ?] 1861.—MEMORANDUM FOR A PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

On or about the 5th of October (the exact date to be determined hereafter) I wish a movement made to seize and hold a point on the railroad connecting Virginia and Tennessee near the mountain-pass called Cumberland Gap. That point is now guarded against us by Zollicoffer, with 6000 or 8000 rebels at Barboursville, Ky.,—say twenty-five miles from the Gap, toward Lexington. We have a force of 5000 or 6000 under General Thomas, at Camp Dick Robinson, about twenty-five miles from Lexington and seventy-five from Zollicoffer's camp, on the road between the two. There is not a railroad anywhere between Lexington and the point to be seized, and along the whole length of which the Union sentiment among the people largely predominates. We have military possession of the railroad from Cincinnati to Lexington, and from Louisville to Lexington, and some home guards, under General Crittenden, are on the latter line. We have posses-

sion of the railroad from Louisville to Nashville, Tenn., so far as Muldraugh's Hill, about forty miles, and the rebels have possession of that road all south of there. At the Hill we have a force of 8000, under General Sherman, and about an equal force of rebels is a very short distance south, under General Buckner.

We have a large force at Paducah, and a smaller at Fort Holt, both on the Kentucky side, with some at Bird's Point, Cairo, Mound City, Evansville, and New Albany, all on the other side, and all which, with the gun-boats on the river, are perhaps sufficient to guard the Ohio from Louisville to its mouth.

About supplies of troops, my general idea is that all from Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas, not now elsewhere, be left to Frémont. All from Indiana and Michigan, not now elsewhere, be sent to Anderson at Louisville. All from Ohio needed in western Virginia be sent there, and any remainder be sent to Mitchel at Cincinnati, for Anderson. All east of the mountains be appropriated to McClellan and to the coast.

As to movements, my idea is that the one for the coast and that on Cumberland Gap be simultaneous, and that in the mean time preparation, vigilant watching, and the defensive only be acted upon; this, however, not to apply to Frémont's operations in northern and middle Missouri. That before these movements Thomas and Sherman shall respectively watch but not attack Zollicoffer and Buckner. That when the coast and Gap movements shall be ready Sherman is merely to stand fast, while all at Cincinnati and all at Louisville, with all on the line, concentrate rapidly at Lexington, and thence to Thomas's camp, joining him, and the whole thence upon the Gap. It is for the military men to decide whether they can find a pass through the mountains at or near the Gap which cannot be defended by the enemy with a greatly inferior force, and what is to be done in regard to this.

The coast and Gap movements made, Generals McClellan and Frémont, in their respective departments, will avail themselves of any advantages the diversions may present.

October 11, 1861.—LETTER TO THE VICEROY OF EGYPT.

WASHINGTON, October 11, 1861.

Great and good Friend: I have received from Mr. Thayer, consul-general of the United States at Alexandria, a full account of the liberal, enlightened, and energetic proceedings which, on his complaint, you have adopted in bringing to speedy and condign punishment the parties, subjects of your highness in Upper Egypt, who were concerned in an act of criminal persecution against Faris, an agent of certain Christian missionaries in Upper Egypt. I pray your highness to be assured that these proceedings, at once so prompt and so just, will be regarded as a new and unmistakable proof equally of your highness's friendship for the United States and of the firmness, integrity, and wisdom with which the government of

your highness is conducted. Wishing you great prosperity and success, I am your friend,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

HIS HIGHNESS MOHAMMED SAID PACHA,
Viceroy of Egypt and its Dependencies, etc.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

October 14, 1861.—ORDER AUTHORIZING SUSPENSION OF THE WRIT OF *Habeas Corpus*.

WASHINGTON, October 14, 1861.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT:

The military line of the United States for the suppression of the insurrection may be extended so far as Bangor, Maine. You and any officer acting under your authority are hereby authorized to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in any place between that place and the city of Washington.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

October 21, 1861.—LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP HUGHES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 21, 1861.

ARCHBISHOP HUGHES.

Right reverend Sir: I am sure you will pardon me if in my ignorance I do not address you with technical correctness. I find no law authorizing the appointment of chaplains for our hospitals; and yet the services of chaplains are more needed, perhaps, in the hospitals than with the healthy soldiers in the field. With this view, I have given a sort of *quasi* appointment (a copy of which I inclose) to each of three Protestant ministers, who have accepted and entered upon the duties.

If you perceive no objection, I will thank you to give me the name or names of one or more suitable persons of the Catholic Church, to whom I may with propriety tender the same service.

Many thanks for your kind and judicious letters to Governor Seward, and which he regularly allows me both the pleasure and the profit of perusing. With the highest respect,

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

October 24, 1861.—LETTERS TO GENERAL CURTIS, WITH INCLOSURES.

WASHINGTON, October 24, 1861.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

My dear Sir: Herewith is a document—half letter, half order—which, wishing you to see, but not to make public, I send unsealed. Please read it and then inclose it to the officer who may be in com-

mand of the Department of the West at the time it reaches him. I cannot now know whether Frémont or Hunter will then be in command. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, October 24, 1861.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

Dear Sir: On receipt of this, with the accompanying inclosures, you will take safe, certain, and suitable measures to have the inclosure addressed to Major-General Frémont delivered to him with all reasonable despatch, subject to these conditions only: that if, when General Frémont shall be reached by the messenger — yourself or any one sent by you — he shall then have, in personal command, fought and won a battle, or shall then be actually in a battle, or shall then be in the immediate presence of the enemy in expectation of a battle, it is not to be delivered, but held for further orders. After, and not till after, the delivery to General Frémont, let the inclosure addressed to General Hunter be delivered to him.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

(General Orders No. 18.)

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, October 24, 1861.

Major-General Frémont, of the United States Army, the present commander of the Western Department of the same, will, on the receipt of this order, call Major-General Hunter, of the United States Volunteers, to relieve him temporarily in that command, when he (Major-General Frémont) will report to general headquarters by letter for further orders.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

By command: E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

WASHINGTON, October 24, 1861.

TO THE COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST.

Sir: The command of the Department of the West having devolved upon you, I propose to offer you a few suggestions. Knowing how hazardous it is to bind down a distant commander in the field to specific lines and operations, as so much always depends on a knowledge of localities and passing events, it is intended, therefore, to leave a considerable margin for the exercise of your judgment and discretion.

The main rebel army (Price's) west of the Mississippi is believed to have passed Dade County in full retreat upon northwestern Arkansas, leaving Missouri almost freed from the enemy, excepting in the southeast of the State. Assuming this basis of fact, it seems desirable, as you are not likely to overtake Price, and are in danger of making too long a line from your own base of supplies and reinforcements, that you should give up the pursuit, halt your main

army, divide it into two corps of observation, one occupying Sedalia and the other Rolla, the present termini of railroads; then recruit the condition of both corps by reëstablishing and improving their discipline and instructions, perfecting their clothing and equipments, and providing less uncomfortable quarters. Of course both railroads must be guarded and kept open, judiciously employing just so much force as is necessary for this. From these two points, Sedalia and Rolla, and especially in judicious coöperation with Lane on the Kansas border, it would be so easy to concentrate and repel any army of the enemy returning on Missouri from the southwest, that it is not probable any such attempt will be made before or during the approaching cold weather. Before spring the people of Missouri will probably be in no favorable mood to renew for next year the troubles which have so much afflicted and impoverished them during this. If you adopt this line of policy, and if, as I anticipate, you will see no enemy in great force approaching, you will have a surplus of force which you can withdraw from these points and direct to others as may be needed, the railroads furnishing ready means of reinforcing these main points if occasion requires. Doubtless local uprisings will for a time continue to occur, but these can be met by detachments and local forces of our own, and will ere long tire out of themselves.

While, as stated in the beginning of the letter, a large discretion must be and is left with yourself, I feel sure that an indefinite pursuit of Price or an attempt by this long and circuitous route to reach Memphis will be exhaustive beyond endurance, and will end in the loss of the whole force engaged in it.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

November 1, 1861.—ORDER RETIRING GENERAL SCOTT AND APPOINTING GENERAL MCCLELLAN HIS SUCCESSOR.

(General Orders No. 94.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, November 1, 1861.

The following order from the President of the United States announcing the retirement from active command of the honored veteran Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott will be read by the army with profound regret:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 1, 1861.

"On the 1st day of November, A. D. 1861, upon his own application to the President of the United States, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott is ordered to be placed, and hereby is placed, upon the list of retired officers of the army of the United States, without reduction in his current pay, subsistence, or allowances.

"The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army, while the President and a unanimous cabinet express their

own and the nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag when assailed by parricidal rebellion.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The President is pleased to direct that Major-General George B. McClellan assume the command of the army of the United States.

The headquarters of the army will be established in the city of Washington.

All communications intended for the commanding general will hereafter be addressed direct to the adjutant-general.

The duplicate returns, orders, and other papers heretofore sent to the assistant adjutant-general, headquarters of the army, will be discontinued.

By order of the Secretary of War: L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

November 6, 1861.—ORDER APPROVING THE PLAN OF GOVERNOR GAMBLE OF MISSOURI.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 5, 1861.

The Governor of the State of Missouri, acting under the direction of the convention of that State, proposes to the Government of the United States that he will raise a military force, to serve within the State as State militia during the war there, to coöperate with the troops in the service of the United States in repelling the invasion of the State and suppressing rebellion therein; the said State militia to be embodied and to be held in the camp and in the field, drilled, disciplined, and governed according to the army regulations and subject to the articles of war; the said State militia not to be ordered out of the State except for the immediate defense of the State of Missouri, but to coöperate with the troops in the service of the United States in military operations within the State or necessary to its defense, and when officers of the State militia act with officers in the service of the United States of the same grade, the officers of the United States service shall command the combined force; the State militia to be armed, equipped, clothed, subsisted, transported, and paid by the United States during such time as they shall be actually engaged as an embodied military force in service in accordance with regulations of the United States Army or general orders as issued from time to time.

In order that the treasury of the United States may not be burdened with the pay of unnecessary officers, the governor proposes that, although the State law requires him to appoint upon the general staff an adjutant-general, a commissary-general, an inspector-general, a quartermaster-general, a paymaster-general, and a surgeon-general, each with the rank of colonel of cavalry, yet he proposes that the Government of the United States pay only the adjutant-general, the quartermaster-general, and inspector-general, their services being necessary in the relations which would exist between the State militia and the United States. The governor further proposes that, while he is allowed by the State law to appoint aides-de-camp to the governor at his discretion, with the rank of colonel, three only shall be reported to the United States for payment. He also proposes that

the State militia shall be commanded by a single major-general and by such number of brigadier-generals as shall allow one for a brigade of not less than four regiments, and that no greater number of staff-officers shall be appointed for regimental, brigade, and division duties than is provided for in the act of Congress of the 22d July, 1861; and that whatever be the rank of such officers as fixed by the law of the State, the compensation that they shall receive from the United States shall only be that which belongs to the rank given by said act of Congress to officers in the United States service performing the same duties.

The field-officers of a regiment in the State militia are one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, and one major, and the company officers are a captain, a first lieutenant, and a second lieutenant.

The governor proposes that, as the money to be disbursed is the money of the United States, such staff officers in the service of the United States as may be necessary to act as disbursing officers for the State militia shall be assigned by the War Department for that duty; or, if such cannot be spared from their present duty, he will appoint such persons disbursing officers for the State militia as the President of the United States may designate. Such regulations as may be required, in the judgment of the President, to insure regularity of returns and to protect the United States from any fraudulent practices, shall be observed and obeyed by all in office in the State militia.

The above propositions are accepted on the part of the United States, and the Secretary of War is directed to make the necessary orders upon the Ordnance, Quartermaster, Commissary, Pay, and Medical departments to carry this agreement into effect. He will cause the necessary staff-officers in the United States service to be detailed for duty in connection with the Missouri State militia, and will order them to make the necessary provision in their respective offices for fulfilling this agreement. All requisitions upon the different officers of the United States under this agreement to be made in substance in the same mode for the Missouri State militia as similar requisitions are made for troops in the service of the United States, and the Secretary of War will cause any additional regulations that may be necessary to insure regularity and economy in carrying this agreement into effect to be adopted and communicated to the Governor of Missouri for the government of the Missouri State militia.

November 6, 1861.

This plan approved, with the modification that the governor stipulates that when he commissions a major-general of militia it shall be the same person at the time in command of the United States Department of the West; and in case the United States shall change such commander of the department, he (the governor) will revoke the State commission given to the person relieved, and give one to the person substituted to the United States command of said department.

A. LINCOLN.

November 10, 1861.—LETTER TO GENERAL MCCLERNAND.

WASHINGTON, November 10, 1861.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MCCLERNAND.

My dear Sir: This is not an official, but a social letter. You have had a battle, and without being able to judge as to the precise mea-

sure of its value, I think it is safe to say that you and all with you have done honor to yourselves and the flag, and service to the country. Most gratefully do I thank you and them. In my present position I must care for the whole nation; but I hope it will be no injustice to any other State for me to indulge a little home pride that Illinois does not disappoint us. I have just closed a long interview with Mr. Washburne, in which he has detailed the many difficulties you and those with you labor under. Be assured we do not forget or neglect you. Much, very much, goes undone; but it is because we have not the power to do it faster than we do. Some of your forces are without arms, but the same is true here and at every other place where we have considerable bodies of troops. The plain matter of fact is, our good people have rushed to the rescue of the government faster than the government can find arms to put into their hands. It would be agreeable to each division of the army to know its own precise destination; but the government cannot immediately, nor inflexibly at any time, determine as to all; nor, if determined, can it tell its friends without at the same time telling its enemies. We know you do all as wisely and well as you can; and you will not be deceived if you conclude the same is true of us. Please give my respects and thanks to all.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

November 18, 1861.—LETTER TO GEORGE BANCROFT.

NEW YORK, November 15, 1861.

My dear Sir: Following out your suggestion, a very numerous meeting of New-Yorkers assembled last week to take measures for relieving the loyal sufferers of Hatteras. I take the liberty to inclose to you some remarks which I made on the occasion. You will find in them a copy of an unpublished letter of one of your most honored predecessors, with which you cannot fail to be pleased.

Your administration has fallen upon times which will be remembered as long as human events find a record. I sincerely wish to you the glory of perfect success. Civil war is the instrument of Divine Providence to root out social slavery. Posterity will not be satisfied with the result unless the consequences of the war shall effect an increase of free States. This is the universal expectation and hope of men of all parties.

Very respectfully yours, GEO. BANCROFT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 18, 1861.

My dear Sir: I esteem it a high honor to have received a note from Mr. Bancroft, inclosing the report of proceedings of a New York meeting taking measures for the relief of Union people of North Carolina. I thank you and all others participating for this benevolent and patriotic movement.

The main thought in the closing paragraph of your letter is one which does not escape my attention, and with which I must deal in all due caution, and with the best judgment I can bring to it.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

HON. GEO. BANCROFT.

[November 26 ?] 1861.—Draft of a Proposed Bill for Compensated Abolishment in Delaware.

Be it enacted by the State of Delaware that on condition the United States of America will, at the present session of Congress, engage by law to pay, and thereafter faithfully pay, to the said State of Delaware, in the six per cent. bonds of said United States, the sum of seven hundred and nineteen thousand and two hundred dollars in thirty-one equal annual instalments, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude at any time after the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, within the said State of Delaware, except in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor, except in the punishment of crime as aforesaid, shall any person who shall be born after the passage of this act, nor any person above the age of thirty-five years, be held in slavery or to involuntary servitude within said State of Delaware at any time after the passage of this act.

And be it further enacted that said State shall in good faith prevent, as far as possible, the carrying of any person out of said State into involuntary servitude beyond the limits of said State at any time after the passage of this act.

And be it further enacted that said State may make provision of apprenticeship, not to extend beyond the age of twenty-one years for males nor eighteen for females, for all minors whose mothers were not free at the respective births of such minors.

On reflection I like No. 2 the better. By it the nation would pay the State $23,200 per annum for thirty-one years, and

All born after the passage of the act would be born free, and

All slaves above the age of thirty-five years would become free on the passage of the act, and

All others would become free on arriving at the age of thirty-five years, until January, 1893, when

All remaining of all ages would become free, subject to apprenticeship for minors born of slave mothers up to the respective ages of twenty-one and eighteen.

If the State would desire to have the money sooner, let the bill be altered only in fixing the time of final emancipation earlier and making the annual instalments correspondingly fewer in number, by which they would also be correspondingly larger in amount. For instance, strike out "1893" and insert "1872," and strike out "thirty-one" annual instalments and insert "ten" annual instalments. The instalments would then be $71,920 instead of $23,200 as now. In all other particulars let the bill stand precisely as it is.

November 27, 1861.—Memorandum of Advice to Mrs. Douglas.

Executive Mansion, November 27, 1861.

Yesterday Mrs. Douglas called, saying she is guardian of the minor children of her late husband; that she is being urged, against

her inclination, to send them South on the plea of avoiding the confiscation of their property there, and asking my counsel in the case.

I expect the United States will overcome the attempt to confiscate property because of loyalty to the government; but if not, I still do not expect the property of absent minor children will be confiscated. I therefore think Mrs. Douglas may safely act her pleasure in the premises.

But it is especially dangerous for my name to be connected with the matter, for nothing would more certainly excite the secessionists to do the worst they can against the children.

[December 1?] 1861.—INQUIRIES FROM THE PRESIDENT ABOUT THE POTOMAC CAMPAIGN.

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1861.

Your Excellency: I inclose the paper you left with me, filled as requested. In arriving at the numbers given, I have left the minimum number in garrison and observation.

Information received recently leads me to believe that the enemy could meet us in front with equal forces nearly, and I have now my mind actively turned toward another plan of campaign that I do not think at all anticipated by the enemy nor by many of our own people.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN, Major-General.

[*Inclosure.*]

[The roman type indicates President Lincoln's handwriting in ink; the italics General McClellan's in pencil.]

If it were determined to make a forward movement of the Army of the Potomac without awaiting further increase of numbers or better drill and discipline, how long would it require to actually get in motion?

If bridge trains ready by December 15, probably 25th.

After leaving all that would be necessary, how many troops could join the movement from southwest of the river?

Seventy-one thousand.

How many from northeast of it?

Thirty-three thousand.

Suppose, then, that of those southwest of the river fifty thousand move forward and menace the enemy at Centreville; the remainder of the movable force on that side move rapidly to the crossing of the Occoquan by the road from Alexandria to Richmond, there to be joined by the whole movable force from northeast of the river, having landed from the Potomac, just below the mouth of the Occoquan, moved by land up the south side of that stream to the crossing point named, then the whole move together by the road thence to Brentsville and beyond to the railroad just south of its crossing of

Broad Run, a strong detachment of cavalry having gone rapidly ahead to destroy the railroad bridges south and north of the point.

If the crossing of the Occoquan by those from above be resisted, those landing from the Potomac below to take the resisting force of the enemy in rear; or, if the landing from the Potomac be resisted, those crossing the Occoquan from above to take that resisting force in the rear. Both points will probably not be successfully resisted at the same time.

The force in front of Centreville, if pressed too hardly, should fight back slowly into the intrenchments behind them.

Armed vessels and transportation should remain at the Potomac landing to cover a possible retreat.

December 2, 1861.—ORDER AUTHORIZING GENERAL HALLECK TO SUSPEND THE WRIT OF *Habeas Corpus*.

MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HALLECK,
Commanding in the Department of Missouri.

General: As an insurrection exists in the United States, and is in arms in the State of Missouri, you are hereby authorized and empowered to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* within the limits of the military division under your command, and to exercise martial law as you find it necessary in your discretion to secure the public safety and the authority of the United States.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, at Washington, this second day of December, A. D. 1861.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

December 3, 1861.—ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: In the midst of unprecedented political troubles we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health and most abundant harvests.

You will not be surprised to learn that, in the peculiar exigencies of the times, our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs.

A disloyal portion of the American people have, during the whole year, been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union. A nation which endures factious domestic division is exposed to disrespect abroad; and one party, if not both, is sure, sooner or later, to invoke foreign intervention. Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the counsels of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortunate and injurious to those adopting them.

The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad, have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose, as the insurgents have seemed to assume, that foreign nations in this case, discarding all moral, social, and treaty obligations, would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including, especially, the acquisition of cotton, those nations appear as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destruction than through the preservation of the Union. If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a sound argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion than by giving encouragement to it.

The principal lever relied on by the insurgents for exciting foreign nations to hostility against us, as already intimated, is the embarrassment of commerce. Those nations, however, not improbably saw from the first that it was the Union which made as well our foreign as our domestic commerce. They can scarcely have failed to perceive that the effort for disunion produces the existing difficulty; and that one strong nation promises more durable peace and a more extensive, valuable, and reliable commerce than can the same nation broken in hostile fragments.

It is not my purpose to review our discussions with foreign states, because, whatever might be their wishes or dispositions, the integrity of our country and the stability of our government mainly depend, not upon them, but on the loyalty, virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people. The correspondence itself, with the usual reservations, is herewith submitted.

I venture to hope it will appear that we have practised prudence and liberality toward foreign powers, averting causes of irritation, and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor.

Since, however, it is apparent that here, as in every other state, foreign dangers necessarily attend domestic difficulties, I recommend that adequate and ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defenses on every side. While under this general recommendation provision for defending our sea-coast line readily occurs to the mind, I also in the same connection ask the attention of Congress to our great lakes and rivers. It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms and munitions, with harbor and navigation improvements, all at well-selected points upon these, would be of great importance to the national defense and preservation. I ask attention to the views of the Secretary of War, expressed in his report upon the same general subject.

I deem it of importance that the loyal regions of East Tennessee and western North Carolina should be connected with Kentucky and other faithful parts of the Union by railroad. I therefore recommend as a military measure that Congress provide for the construction of such road as speedily as possible. Kentucky, no doubt, will coöperate, and, through her legislature, make the most

judicious selection of a line. The northern terminus must connect with some existing railroad; and whether the route shall be from Lexington or Nicholasville to the Cumberland Gap, or from Lebanon to the Tennessee line, in the direction of Knoxville, or on some still different line, can easily be determined. Kentucky and the General Government coöperating, the work can be completed in a very short time; and when done it will be not only of vast present usefulness, but also a valuable permanent improvement, worth its cost in all the future.

Some treaties, designed chiefly for the interests of commerce, and having no grave political importance, have been negotiated, and will be submitted to the Senate for their consideration.

Although we have failed to induce some of the commercial powers to adopt a desirable melioration of the rigor of maritime war, we have removed all obstructions from the way of this humane reform, except such as are merely of temporary and accidental occurrence.

I invite your attention to the correspondence between her Britannic Majesty's minister accredited to this government, and the Secretary of State, relative to the detention of the British ship *Perthshire*, in June last, by the United States steamer *Massachusetts*, for a supposed breach of the blockade. As this detention was occasioned by an obvious misapprehension of the facts, and as justice requires that we should commit no belligerent act not founded in strict right, as sanctioned by public law, I recommend that an appropriation be made to satisfy the reasonable demand of the owners of the vessel for her detention.

I repeat the recommendation of my predecessor, in his annual message to Congress in December last, in regard to the disposition of the surplus which will probably remain after satisfying the claims of American citizens against China, pursuant to the awards of the commissioners under the act of the 3d of March, 1859. If, however, it should not be deemed advisable to carry that recommendation into effect, I would suggest that authority be given for investing the principal, over the proceeds of the surplus referred to, in good securities, with a view to the satisfaction of such other just claims of our citizens against China as are not unlikely to arise hereafter in the course of our extensive trade with that empire.

By the act of the 5th of August last, Congress authorized the President to instruct the commanders of suitable vessels to defend themselves against, and to capture, pirates. This authority has been exercised in a single instance only. For the more effectual protection of our extensive and valuable commerce, in the eastern seas especially, it seems to me that it would also be advisable to authorize the commanders of sailing vessels to recapture any prizes which pirates may make of United States vessels and their cargoes, and the consular courts, now established by law in eastern countries, to adjudicate the cases, in the event that this should not be objected to by the local authorities.

If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discern it. Unwilling, however,

to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approbation of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a *chargé d'affaires* near each of those new states. It does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

The operations of the treasury during the period which has elapsed since your adjournment have been conducted with signal success. The patriotism of the people has placed at the disposal of the government the large means demanded by the public exigencies. Much of the national loan has been taken by citizens of the industrial classes whose confidence in their country's faith, and zeal for their country's deliverance from present peril, have induced them to contribute to the support of the government the whole of their limited acquisitions. This fact imposes peculiar obligations to economy in disbursement and energy in action.

The revenue from all sources, including loans, for the financial year ending on the 30th June, 1861, was $86,835,900.27, and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of the public debt, were $84,578,834.47; leaving a balance in the treasury, on the 1st July, of $2,257,065.80. For the first quarter of the financial year ending on the 30th September, 1861, the receipts from all sources, including the balance of 1st of July, were $102,532,509.27, and the expenses $98,239,733.09; leaving a balance on the 1st October, 1861, of $4,292,776.18.

Estimates for the remaining three quarters of the year, and for the financial year 1863, together with his views of ways and means for meeting the demands contemplated by them, will be submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury. It is gratifying to know that the expenditures made necessary by the rebellion are not beyond the resources of the loyal people, and to believe that the same patriotism which has thus far sustained the government will continue to sustain it till peace and union shall again bless the land.

I respectfully refer to the report of the Secretary of War for information respecting the numerical strength of the army, and for recommendations having in view an increase of its efficiency and the well-being of the various branches of the service intrusted to his care. It is gratifying to know that the patriotism of the people has proved equal to the occasion, and that the number of troops tendered greatly exceeds the force which Congress authorized me to call into the field.

I refer with pleasure to those portions of his report which make allusion to the creditable degree of discipline already attained by our troops, and to the excellent sanitary condition of the entire army.

The recommendation of the secretary for an organization of the militia upon a uniform basis is a subject of vital importance to the future safety of the country, and is commended to the serious attention of Congress.

The large addition to the regular army, in connection with the defection that has so considerably diminished the number of its officers, gives peculiar importance to his recommendation for in-

creasing the corps of cadets to the greatest capacity of the Military Academy.

By mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for hospitals occupied by volunteers. This subject was brought to my notice, and I was induced to draw up the form of a letter, one copy of which, properly addressed, has been delivered to each of the persons, and at the dates respectively named and stated, in a schedule, containing also the form of the letter, marked A, and herewith transmitted.

These gentlemen, I understand, entered upon the duties designated at the times respectively stated in the schedule, and have labored faithfully therein ever since. I therefore recommend that they be compensated at the same rate as chaplains in the army. I further suggest that general provision be made for chaplains to serve at hospitals as well as with regiments.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents in detail the operations of that branch of the service, the activity and energy which have characterized its administration, and the results of measures to increase its efficiency and power. Such have been the additions, by construction and purchase, that it may almost be said a navy has been created and brought into service since our difficulties commenced.

Besides blockading our extensive coast, squadrons larger than ever before assembled under our flag have been put afloat and performed deeds which have increased our naval renown.

I would invite special attention to the recommendation of the secretary for a more perfect organization of the navy by introducing additional grades in the service.

The present organization is defective and unsatisfactory, and the suggestions submitted by the department will, it is believed, if adopted, obviate the difficulties alluded to, promote harmony, and increase the efficiency of the navy.

There are three vacancies on the bench of the Supreme Court—two by the decease of Justices Daniel and McLean, and one by the resignation of Justice Campbell. I have so far forborne making nominations to fill these vacancies for reasons which I will now state. Two of the outgoing judges resided within the States now overrun by revolt; so that if successors were appointed in the same localities they could not now serve upon their circuits; and many of the most competent men there probably would not take the personal hazard of accepting to serve, even here, upon the supreme bench. I have been unwilling to throw all the appointments northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South on the return of peace; although I may remark that to transfer to the North one which has heretofore been in the South, would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust.

During the long and brilliant judicial career of Judge McLean his circuit grew into an empire,—altogether too large for any one judge to give the courts therein more than a nominal attendance,—rising in population from 1,470,018 in 1830, to 6,151,405 in 1860.

Besides this, the country generally has outgrown our present

judicial system. If uniformity was at all intended, the system requires that all the States shall be accommodated with circuit courts, attended by supreme judges, while, in fact, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Florida, Texas, California, and Oregon have never had any such courts. Nor can this well be remedied without a change of the system; because the adding of judges to the Supreme Court, enough for the accommodation of all parts of the country, with circuit courts, would create a court altogether too numerous for a judicial body of any sort. And the evil, if it be one, will increase as new States come into the Union. Circuit courts are useful, or they are not useful. If useful, no State should be denied them; if not useful, no State should have them. Let them be provided for all, or abolished as to all.

Three modifications occur to me, either of which, I think, would be an improvement upon our present system. Let the Supreme Court be of convenient number in every event. Then, first, let the whole country be divided into circuits of convenient size, the supreme judges to serve in a number of them corresponding to their own number, and independent circuit judges to be provided for the rest. Or, secondly, let the supreme judges be relieved from circuit duties, and circuit judges provided for all the circuits. Or, thirdly, dispense with circuit courts altogether, leaving the judicial functions wholly to the district courts and an independent Supreme Court.

I respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress the present condition of the statute laws, with the hope that Congress will be able to find an easy remedy for many of the inconveniences and evils which constantly embarrass those engaged in the practical administration of them. Since the organization of the government, Congress has enacted some 5000 acts and joint resolutions, which fill more than 6000 closely printed pages, and are scattered through many volumes. Many of these acts have been drawn in haste and without sufficient caution, so that their provisions are often obscure in themselves, or in conflict with each other, or at least so doubtful as to render it very difficult for even the best-informed persons to ascertain precisely what the statute law really is.

It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligible as possible, and be reduced to as small a compass as may consist with the fullness and precision of the will of the legislature and the perspicuity of its language. This, well done, would, I think, greatly facilitate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people by placing before them, in a more accessible and intelligible form, the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties.

I am informed by some whose opinions I respect that all the acts of Congress now in force, and of a permanent and general nature, might be revised and rewritten so as to be embraced in one volume (or, at most, two volumes) of ordinary and convenient size; and I respectfully recommend to Congress to consider of the subject, and, if my suggestion be approved, to devise such plan as to their wisdom shall seem most proper for the attainment of the end proposed.

One of the unavoidable consequences of the present insurrection is the entire suppression, in many places, of all the ordinary means of administering civil justice by the officers, and in the forms of existing law. This is the case, in whole or in part, in all the insurgent States; and as our armies advance upon and take possession of parts of those States, the practical evil becomes more apparent. There are no courts nor officers to whom the citizens of other States may apply for the enforcement of their lawful claims against citizens of the insurgent States; and there is a vast amount of debt constituting such claims. Some have estimated it as high as $200,000,000, due, in large part, from insurgents in open rebellion to loyal citizens who are, even now, making great sacrifices in the discharge of their patriotic duty to support the government.

Under these circumstances, I have been urgently solicited to establish, by military power, courts to administer summary justice in such cases. I have thus far declined to do it, not because I had any doubt that the end proposed—the collection of the debts—was just and right in itself, but because I have been unwilling to go beyond the pressure of necessity in the unusual exercise of power. But the powers of Congress, I suppose, are equal to the anomalous occasion, and therefore I refer the whole matter to Congress, with the hope that a plan may be devised for the administration of justice in all such parts of the insurgent States and Territories as may be under the control of this government, whether by a voluntary return to allegiance and order, or by the power of our arms; this, however, not to be a permanent institution, but a temporary substitute, and to cease as soon as the ordinary courts can be reëstablished in peace.

It is important that some more convenient means should be provided, if possible, for the adjustment of claims against the government, especially in view of their increased number by reason of the war. It is as much the duty of government to render prompt justice against itself, in favor of citizens, as it is to administer the same between private individuals. The investigation and adjudication of claims in their nature belong to the judicial department; besides, it is apparent that the attention of Congress will be more than usually engaged, for some time to come, with great national questions. It was intended, by the organization of the Court of Claims, mainly to remove this branch of business from the halls of Congress; but while the court has proved to be an effective and valuable means of investigation, it in great degree fails to effect the object of its creation for want of power to make its judgments final.

Fully aware of the delicacy, not to say the danger, of the subject, I commend to your careful consideration whether this power of making judgments final may not properly be given to the court, reserving the right of appeal on questions of law to the Supreme Court, with such other provisions as experience may have shown to be necessary.

I ask attention to the report of the Postmaster-General, the following being a summary statement of the condition of the department:

The revenue from all sources during the fiscal year ending June

30, 1861, including the annual permanent appropriation of $700,000 for the transportation of "free mail matter," was $9,049,296.40, being about two per cent. less than the revenue for 1860.

The expenditures were $13,606,759.11, showing a decrease of more than eight per cent. as compared with those of the previous year, and leaving an excess of expenditure over the revenue for the last fiscal year of $4,557,462.71.

The gross revenue for the year ending June 30, 1863, is estimated at an increase of four per cent. on that of 1861, making $8,683,000, to which should be added the earnings of the department in carrying free matter, viz., $700,000, making $9,383,000.

The total expenditures for 1863 are estimated at $12,528,000, leaving an estimated deficiency of $3,145,000 to be supplied from the treasury in addition to the permanent appropriation.

The present insurrection shows, I think, that the extension of this District across the Potomac River, at the time of establishing the capital here, was eminently wise, and consequently that the relinquishment of that portion of it which lies within the State of Virginia was unwise and dangerous. I submit for your consideration the expediency of regaining that part of the District and the restoration of the original boundaries thereof, through negotiations with the State of Virginia.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior, with the accompanying documents, exhibits the condition of the several branches of the public business pertaining to that department. The depressing influences of the insurrection have been especially felt in the operations of the Patent and General Land Offices. The cash receipts from the sales of public lands during the past year have exceeded the expenses of our land system only about $200,000. The sales have been entirely suspended in the Southern States, while the interruptions to the business of the country, and the diversion of large numbers of men from labor to military service, have obstructed settlements in the new States and Territories of the Northwest.

The receipts of the Patent Office have declined in nine months about $100,000, rendering a large reduction of the force employed necessary to make it self-sustaining.

The demands upon the Pension Office will be largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, based upon the casualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many who are now upon the pension rolls and in receipt of the bounty of the government are in the ranks of the insurgent army, or giving them aid and comfort. The Secretary of the Interior has directed a suspension of the payment of the pensions of such persons upon proof of their disloyalty. I recommend that Congress authorize that officer to cause the names of such persons to be stricken from the pension rolls.

The relations of the government with the Indian tribes have been greatly disturbed by the insurrection, especially in the Southern Superintendency and in that of New Mexico. The Indian country south of Kansas is in the possession of insurgents from Texas and Arkansas. The agents of the United States appointed since the 4th

of March for this superintendency have been unable to reach their posts, while the most of those who were in office before that time have espoused the insurrectionary cause, and assume to exercise the powers of agents by virtue of commissions from the insurrectionists. It has been stated in the public press that a portion of those Indians have been organized as a military force, and are attached to the army of the insurgents. Although the government has no official information upon this subject, letters have been written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by several prominent chiefs, giving assurance of their loyalty to the United States, and expressing a wish for the presence of Federal troops to protect them. It is believed that upon the repossession of the country by the Federal forces the Indians will readily cease all hostile demonstrations and resume their former relations to the government.

Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a department, nor a bureau, but a clerkship only, assigned to it in the government. While it is fortunate that this great interest is so independent in its nature as to not have demanded and extorted more from the government, I respectfully ask Congress to consider whether something more cannot be given voluntarily with general advantage.

Annual reports exhibiting the condition of our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures would present a fund of information of great practical value to the country. While I make no suggestion as to details, I venture the opinion that an agricultural and statistical bureau might profitably be organized.

The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African slave-trade has been confided to the Department of the Interior. It is a subject of gratulation that the efforts which have been made for the suppression of this inhuman traffic have been recently attended with unusual success. Five vessels being fitted out for the slave-trade have been seized and condemned. Two mates of vessels engaged in the trade, and one person in equipping a vessel as a slaver, have been convicted and subjected to the penalty of fine and imprisonment, and one captain, taken with a cargo of Africans on board his vessel, has been convicted of the highest grade of offense under our laws, the punishment of which is death.

The Territories of Colorado, Dakota, and Nevada, created by the last Congress, have been organized, and civil administration has been inaugurated therein under auspices especially gratifying when it is considered that the leaven of treason was found existing in some of these new countries when the Federal officers arrived there.

The abundant natural resources of these Territories, with the security and protection afforded by organized government, will doubtless invite to them a large immigration when peace shall restore the business of the country to its accustomed channels. I submit the resolutions of the legislature of Colorado, which evidence the patriotic spirit of the people of the Territory. So far, the authority of the United States has been upheld in all the Territories, as it is hoped it will be in the future. I commend their interests and defense to the enlightened and generous care of Congress.

I recommend to the favorable consideration of Congress the interests of the District of Columbia. The insurrection has been the cause of much suffering and sacrifice to its inhabitants; and as they have no representative in Congress, that body should not overlook their just claims upon the government.

At your late session a joint resolution was adopted authorizing the President to take measures for facilitating a proper representation of the industrial interests of the United States at the exhibition of the industry of all nations to be holden at London in the year 1862. I regret to say I have been unable to give personal attention to this subject — a subject at once so interesting in itself, and so extensively and intimately connected with the material prosperity of the world. Through the Secretaries of State and of the Interior a plan, or system, has been devised and partly matured, and which will be laid before you.

Under and by virtue of the act of Congress entitled "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and service of certain other persons have become forfeited; and numbers of the latter, thus liberated, are already dependent on the United States, and must be provided for in some way. Besides this, it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefit respectively, and by operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal. In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation, in lieu, *pro tanto*, of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed on with such States respectively; that such persons, on such acceptance by the General Government, be at once deemed free; and that, in any event, steps be taken for colonizing both classes (or the one first mentioned, if the other shall not be brought into existence) at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practised the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object; for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than on providing room for population.

On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity — that without which the government itself cannot be perpetuated?

The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the legislature.

In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents, instead of putting in force, by proclamation, the law of Congress enacted at the last session for closing those ports.

So, also, obeying the dictates of prudence as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved; and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable.

The inaugural address at the beginning of the administration, and the message to Congress at the late special session, were both mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung. Nothing now occurs to add or subtract, to or from, the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in those documents.

The last ray of hope for preserving the Union peaceably expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter; and a general review of what has occurred since may not be unprofitable. What was painfully uncertain then is much better defined and more distinct now; and the progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line; and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on the point. This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. South of the line, noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland was made to seem against the Union. Our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned, and railroads torn up within her limits, and we were many days, at one time, without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the capital. Now her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the government; she already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union and none to the enemy; and her people, at a regular election, have sustained the Union by a larger majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate or any question. Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly, and, I think, unchangeably, ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet, and, I believe, cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than forty thousand in the field for the Union, while of their citizens certainly not more than

a third of that number, and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtful existence, are in arms against it. After a somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter closes on the Union people of western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country.

An insurgent force of about 1500, for months dominating the narrow peninsular region constituting the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as the eastern shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms, and the people there have renewed their allegiance to and accepted the protection of the old flag. This leaves no armed insurrectionist north of the Potomac or east of the Chesapeake.

Also we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points, on the southern coast, of Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island, near Savannah, and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee.

These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily and certainly southward.

Since your last adjournment Lieutenant-General Scott has retired from the head of the army. During his long life the nation has not been unmindful of his merit; yet, on calling to mind how faithfully, ably, and brilliantly he has served the country from a time far back in our history when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually, I cannot but think we are still his debtors. I submit, therefore, for your consideration what further mark of recognition is due to him and to ourselves as a grateful people.

With the retirement of General Scott came the executive duty of appointing in his stead a general-in-chief of the army. It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council nor country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of General McClellan for the position, and in this the nation seemed to give a unanimous concurrence. The designation of General McClellan is, therefore, in considerable degree the selection of the country as well as of the executive, and hence there is better reason to hope there will be given him the confidence and cordial support thus by fair implication promised, and without which he cannot with so full efficiency serve the country.

It has been said that one bad general is better than two good ones; and the saying is true, if taken to mean no more than that an army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior, than by two superior ones at variance and cross-purposes with each other.

And the same is true in all joint operations wherein those engaged can have none but a common end in view, and can differ only as to the choice of means. In a storm at sea no one on board can wish the ship to sink; and yet not infrequently all go down together because too many will direct, and no single mind can be allowed to control.

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents as well as in

the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded thus far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves. And, further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States a majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families—wives, sons, and daughters—work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital—that is, they labor with their own hands and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our national census to the last are seventy years; and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of those other things which men deem desirable has been even greater. We thus have, at one view, what the popular principle, applied to government, through the machinery of the States and the Union, has produced in a given time; and also what, if firmly maintained, it promises for the future. There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain 250,000,000. The struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day—it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 3, 1861.

Schedule A.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., 1861.

REV. ———.

Sir: Having been solicited by Christian ministers and other pious people to appoint suitable persons to act as chaplains at the hospitals for our sick and wounded soldiers, and feeling the intrinsic propriety of having such persons to so act, and yet believing there is no law conferring the power upon me to appoint them, I think fit to say that if you will voluntarily enter upon and perform the appropriate duties of such position, I will recommend that Congress make compensation therefor at the same rate as chaplains in the army are compensated.

The following are the names and dates, respectively, of the persons and times to whom and when such letters were delivered:

Rev. G. G. Goss	September 25, 1861.
Rev. John G. Butler	September 25, 1861.
Rev. Henry Hopkins	September 25, 1861.
Rev. F. M. Magrath	October 30, 1861.
Rev. F. E. Boyle	October 30, 1861.
Rev. John C. Smith	November 7, 1861.
Rev. Wm. Y. Brown	November 7, 1861.

December 4, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, in reply to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 13th July last, in relation to the correspondence between this government and foreign nations respecting the rights of blockade, privateering, and the recognition of the so-called Confederate States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1861.

December 4, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, in reply to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 31st July last, upon the subject of increasing and extending the trade and commerce of the United States with foreign countries.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1861.

December 6, 1861.—LETTER TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 6, 1861.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: Captain Francis G. Young, of the California regiment (Colonel Baker's), is in some difficulty—I do not precisely understand what. I believe you know I was unfavorably impressed toward him because of apparently contradictory accounts he gave me of some matters at the battle of Ball's Bluff. At length he has brought me the paper which accompanies this, showing, I think, that he is entitled to respectful consideration. As you see, it is signed by several senators and representatives as well as other well-known and respectable gentlemen. I attach considerable consequence to the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaler, late Major Shaler, of the New York Seventh. These things, and his late connection with Colonel Baker, induce me to ask you if, consistently with the public service, the past, whatever it is, cannot be waived, and he placed in service and given another chance? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

December 9, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, in reply to the resolution of the House of the 4th instant, relative to the intervention of certain European powers in the affairs of Mexico.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 9, 1861.

[December 10?] 1861.—DRAFT OF A DESPATCH PROPOSING ARBITRATION IN THE "TRENT" AFFAIR—NOT USED OR SENT.

The despatch of her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, dated the 30th of November, 1861, and of which your Lordship kindly furnished me a copy, has been carefully considered by the President; and he directs me to say that if there existed no fact or facts pertinent to the case beyond those stated in said despatch, the reparation sought by Great Britain from the United States would be justly due and should be promptly made. The President is unwilling to believe that her Majesty's government will press for a categorical answer upon what appears to him to be only a partial record, in the making up of which he has been allowed no part. He is reluctant to volunteer his view of the case with no assurance that her Majesty's government will consent to hear him; yet this much he directs me to say, that this government has intended no affront to the British flag or to the British nation; nor has it intended to force into discussion an embarrassing question, all of which is evident by the fact hereby asserted, that the act complained of was done by the officer without orders from or expectation of the government. But being done, it was no longer left to us to consider whether we might not, to avoid a controversy, waive an unimportant though a strict right; because we, too, as well as Great Britain, have a people justly jealous of their rights, and in whose presence our government could undo the act complained of only upon a fair showing that it was wrong, or at least very questionable. The United States Government and people are still willing to make reparation upon such showing.

Accordingly I am instructed by the President to inquire whether her Majesty's government will hear the United States upon the matter in question. The President desires, among other things, to bring into view and have considered the existing rebellion in the United States; the position Great Britain has assumed, including her Majesty's proclamation in relation thereto; the relation the persons whose seizure is the subject of complaint bore to the United States, and the object of their voyage at the time they were seized; the knowledge which the master of the *Trent* had of their relation to the United States, and of the object of their voyage at the time he received them on board for the voyage; the place of the seizure; and the precedents and respective positions assumed in analogous cases between Great Britain and the United States.

Upon a submission containing the foregoing facts, with those set forth in the before-mentioned despatch to your lordship, together with all other facts which either party may deem material, I am instructed to say the Government of the United States will, if agreed to by her Majesty's government, go to such friendly arbitration as is usual among nations, and will abide the award.

Or, in the alternative, her Majesty's government may, upon the same record, determine whether any—and, if any, what—reparation is due from the United States; provided no such reparation shall be

different in character from nor transcend that proposed by your lordship as instructed in and by the despatch aforesaid; and provided further, that the determination thus made shall be the law for all future analogous cases between Great Britain and the United States.

December 14, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of your honorable body "that the President be requested to furnish to the Senate copies of the charges, testimony, and finding of the recent court of inquiry in the case of Colonel Dixon S. Miles, of the United States Army," I have the honor to transmit herewith the copies desired, which have been procured from the War Department.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 14, 1861.

December 17, 1861.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to the Senate and House of Representatives copies of the correspondence between the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the governor of the State of Maine, on the subject of the fortification of the sea-coast and lakes.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1861.

December 20, 1861.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a letter from the secretary of the executive committee of the commission appointed to represent the interests of those American citizens who may desire to become exhibitors at the industrial exhibition to be held in London in 1862, and a memorial of that commission, with a report of the executive committee thereof, and copies of circulars announcing the decisions of her Majesty's commissioners in London, giving directions to be observed in regard to articles intended for exhibition, and also of circular forms of application, demands for space, approvals, etc., according to the rules prescribed by the British commissioners.

As these papers fully set forth the requirements necessary to enable those citizens of the United States who may wish to become exhibitors to avail themselves of the privileges of the exhibition, I commend them to your early consideration, especially in view of the near approach of the time when the exhibition will begin.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1861.

December 23, 1861.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 13th July last, requesting information respecting the Asiatic coolie-trade, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, with the documents which accompanied it.

WASHINGTON, December 23, 1861. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 30, 1861.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a correspondence which has taken place between the Secretary of State and authorities of Great Britain and France on the subject of the recent removal of certain citizens of the United States from the British mail-steamer *Trent*, by order of Captain Wilkes, in command of the United States war-steamer *San Jacinto*.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 30, 1861.

December 31, 1861.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL HALLECK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 31, 1861.

GENERAL H. W. HALLECK, St. Louis, Missouri:

General McClellan is sick. Are General Buell and yourself in concert? When he moves on Bowling Green, what hinders it being reinforced from Columbus? A simultaneous movement by you on Columbus might prevent it.

A. LINCOLN.

[Similar despatch to Buell same date.]

January 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. C. BUELL.

WASHINGTON CITY, January 1, 1862.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL BUELL, Louisville:

General McClellan should not yet be disturbed with business. I think you better get in concert with General Halleck at once. I write you to-night. I also telegraph and write Halleck.

A. LINCOLN.

January 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WASHINGTON CITY, January 1, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, St. Louis, Missouri:

General McClellan should not yet be disturbed with business. I think General Buell and yourself should be in communication and concert at once. I write you to-night and also telegraph and write him.

A. LINCOLN.

January 1, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 1, 1862.

My dear General Halleck: General McClellan is not dangerously ill, as I hope, but would better not be disturbed with business. I am very anxious that, in case of General Buell's moving toward Nashville, the enemy shall not be greatly reinforced, and I think there is danger he will be from Columbus. It seems to me that a real or feigned attack on Columbus from up-river at the same time would either prevent this or compensate for it by throwing Columbus into our hands. I wrote General Buell a letter similar to this, meaning that he and you shall communicate and act in concert, unless it be your judgment and his that there is no necessity for it. You and he will understand much better than I how to do it. Please do not lose time in this matter. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 2, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

I have just been with General McClellan; and he is very much better.

A. LINCOLN.

January 2, 1862.

January 2, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a letter to the Secretary of State from James R. Partridge, secretary to the executive committee of the industrial exhibition to be held in London in the course of the present year, and a copy of the correspondence to which it refers relative to a vessel for the purpose of taking such articles as persons in this country may wish to exhibit on that occasion. As it appears that no naval vessel can be spared for the purpose, I recommend that authority be given to charter a suitable merchant vessel, in order that facilities similar to those afforded by the government for the exhibition of 1851 may also be extended to those citizens of the United States who may desire to contribute to the exhibition of this year.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 2, 1862.

January 4, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. C. BUELL.

WASHINGTON, January 4, 1862.

GENERAL BUELL:

Have arms gone forward for East Tennessee? Please tell me the progress and condition of the movement in that direction. Answer.

A. LINCOLN.

January 6, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL D. C. BUELL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 6, 1862.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL BUELL.

My dear Sir: Your despatch of yesterday has been received, and it disappoints and distresses me. I have shown it to General McClellan, who says he will write you to-day. I am not competent to criticize your views, and therefore what I offer is in justification of myself. Of the two, I would rather have a point on the railroad south of Cumberland Gap than Nashville. First, because it cuts a great artery of the enemy's communication, which Nashville does not; and secondly, because it is in the midst of loyal people who would rally around it, while Nashville is not. Again, I cannot see why the movement on East Tennessee would not be a diversion in your favor rather than a disadvantage, assuming that a movement toward Nashville is the main object. But my distress is that our friends in East Tennessee are being hanged and driven to despair, and even now, I fear, are thinking of taking rebel arms for the sake of personal protection. In this we lose the most valuable stake we have in the South. My despatch, to which yours is an answer, was sent with the knowledge of Senator Johnson and Representative Maynard of East Tennessee, and they will be upon me to know the answer, which I cannot safely show them. They would despair, possibly resign to go and save their families somehow, or die with them. I do not intend this to be an order in any sense, but merely, as intimated before, to show you the grounds of my anxiety.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 7, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BUELL.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1862.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL D. C. BUELL, Louisville:

Please name as early a day as you safely can on or before which you can be ready to move southward in concert with Major-General Halleck. Delay is ruining us, and it is indispensable for me to have something definite. I send a like despatch to Major-General Halleck.

A. LINCOLN.

January 9, 1862.—INDORSEMENT ABOUT ALLOTMENT COMMISSIONERS FOR IOWA.

It would afford me great pleasure to oblige Mr. Vandever in the within matter, if I knew it would not be disagreeable to the other Iowa members. Will he please procure their names with his own and send them to me?

January 9, 1862.

January 10, 1862.—Message to Congress.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a translation of an instruction to the minister of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria accredited to this government, and a copy of a note to that minister from the Secretary of State relative to the questions involved in the taking from the British steamer *Trent* of certain citizens of the United States by order of Captain Wilkes of the United States Navy. This correspondence may be considered as a sequel to that previously communicated to Congress relating to the same subject.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, January 10, 1862.

January 10, 1862.—Indorsement on Letter from General Halleck.

Headquarters Department of the Missouri,
St. Louis, January 6, 1861.

To His Excellency the President.

In reply to your Excellency's letter of the 1st instant, I have to state that on receiving your telegram I immediately communicated with General Buell, and have since sent him all the information I could obtain of the enemy's movements about Columbus and Camp Beauregard. No considerable force has been sent from those places to Bowling Green. They have about 22,000 men at Columbus, and the place is strongly fortified. I have at Cairo, Fort Holt, and Paducah only about 15,000, which, after leaving guards at these places, would give me but little over 10,000 men with which to assist General Buell. It would be madness to attempt anything serious with such a force, and I cannot at the present time withdraw any from Missouri without risking the loss of this State. The troops recently raised in other States of this department have, without my knowlege, been sent to Kentucky and Kansas.

I am satisfied that the authorities at Washington do not appreciate the difficulties with which we have to contend here. The operations of Lane, Jennison, and others have so enraged the people of Missouri that it is estimated that there is a majority of 80,000 against the government. We are virtually in an enemy's country. Price and others have a considerable army in the southwest, against which I am operating with all my available force.

This city and most of the middle and northern counties are insurrectionary,—burning bridges, destroying telegraph lines, etc.,—and can be kept down only by the presence of troops. A large portion of the foreign troops organized by General Frémont are unreliable; indeed, many of them are already mutinous. They have been tampered with by politicians, and made to believe that if they get up a mutiny and demand Frémont's return the government will be forced to restore him to duty here. It is believed that some high officers are in the plot. I have already been obliged to disarm several of these organizations, and I am daily expecting more serious outbreaks. Another grave difficulty is the want of proper general officers to command the troops and enforce order and discipline, and especially to protect public property from robbery and plunder. Some of the brigadier-generals assigned to this department are entirely ignorant of their duties and unfit for any command. I assure you, Mr. President, it is very difficult to accomplish

much with such means. I am in the condition of a carpenter who is required to build a bridge with a dull ax, a broken saw, and rotten timber. It is true that I have some very good green timber, which will answer the purpose as soon as I can get it into shape and season it a little.

I know nothing of General Buell's intended operations, never having received any information in regard to the general plan of campaign. If it be intended that his column shall move on Bowling Green while another moves from Cairo or Paducah on Columbus or Camp Beauregard, it will be a repetition of the same strategic error which produced the disaster of Bull Run. To operate on exterior lines against an enemy occupying a central position will fail, as it always has failed, in ninety-nine cases out a hundred. It is condemned by every military authority I have ever read.

General Buell's army and the forces at Paducah occupy precisely the same position in relation to each other and to the enemy as did the armies of McDowell and Patterson before the battle of Bull Run.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK, Major-General.

[*Indorsement.*]

The within is a copy of a letter just received from General Halleck. It is exceedingly discouraging. As everywhere else, nothing can be done.

A. LINCOLN.

January 10, 1862.

January 11, 1862.— CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE RESIGNATION OF SECRETARY CAMERON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 11, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: As you have more than once expressed a desire for a change of position, I can now gratify you consistently with my view of the public interest. I therefore propose nominating you to the Senate next Monday as minister to Russia.

Very sincerely, your friend, A. LINCOLN.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 11, 1862.

Dear Sir: Though I have said nothing hitherto in response to your wish, expressed long since, to resign your seat in the Cabinet, I have not been unmindful of it. I have been only unwilling to consent to a change at a time and under circumstances which might give occasion to misconstruction, and unable till now to see how such misconstruction could be avoided.

But the desire of Mr. Clay to return home and to offer his services to his country in the field enables me now to gratify your wish, and at the same time evince my personal regard for you, and my confidence in your ability, patriotism, and fidelity to public trust.

I therefore tender to your acceptance, if you still desire to resign your present position, the post of minister to Russia. Should you

accept it, you will bear with you the assurance of my undiminished confidence, of my affectionate esteem, and of my sure expectation that, near the great sovereign whose personal and hereditary friendship for the United States so much endears him to Americans, you will be able to render services to your country not less important than those you could render at home.

Very sincerely, your friend, A. LINCOLN.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, January 11, 1862.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of this date, and to thank you, with profound respect, for its kind and generous tone. When you were elected President, a result to which I contributed my best exertions, I had no thought of leaving the Senate of the United States or of accepting any position within your gift. But when you invited me to Springfield, Illinois, and presented me the choice of one of two named places in the list of your constitutional advisers, I could not, for grave public reasons and after great reflection, refuse a trust so trying and laborious.

My life had been one of constant labor and excitement. I looked to the Senate as the best field, after such a life, in which to serve my country and my State. It was only when I realized that I might be of service to the general cause in the darkly foreshadowed future that I ventured to undertake the manifold and various responsibilities of the War Department.

I felt when I saw the traitors leaving their seats in Congress, and when the *Star of* [*the*] *West* was fired upon in Charleston harbor, that a bloody conflict was inevitable.

I have devoted myself without interruption to my official duties, and have given to them all my energies. I have done my best. It was impossible, in the direction of operations so extensive, but that some mistakes should have happened and some complications and complaints should have arisen. In view of such considerations, I thank you for the expression of your confidence in my ability, patriotism, and fidelity to public trust. Thus my own conscientious sense of doing my duty by the executive and by my country is approved by the acknowledged head of the government himself.

When I became a member of your administration I avowed my purpose to retire from the cabinet as soon as my duty to my country would allow me to do so. In your letter of this day's date, so illustrative of your just and upright character, you revive the fact that I some time ago expressed the same purpose to you, and in reminding me of this you proffer for my acceptance one of the highest diplomatic positions at your bestowal as an additional mark of your confidence and esteem.

In retiring from the War Department I feel that the mighty army of the United States is ready to do battle for the Constitution; that it is marshaled by gallant and experienced leaders; that it is animated with the greatest enthusiasm for the good cause, and also that my successor in this department is my personal friend, who unites to wonderful intellect and vigor the grand essential of being in earnest in the present struggle, and of being resolved upon a speedy and overwhelming triumph of our arms. I therefore frankly accept the new distinction you have tendered me, and as soon as important and long-neglected private business can be arranged I will enter upon the important duties of the mission which you have assigned me.

I have the honor to be, my dear sir,

Your obedient and humble servant, SIMON CAMERON.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President.

January 13, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL D. C. BUELL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 13, 1862.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL BUELL.

My dear Sir: Your despatch of yesterday is received, in which you say: "I have received your letter and General McClellan's, and will at once devote all my efforts to your views and his." In the midst of my many cares, I have not seen nor asked to see General McClellan's letter to you. For my own views, I have not offered and do not now offer them as orders; and while I am glad to have them respectfully considered, I would blame you to follow them contrary to your own clear judgment, unless I should put them in the form of orders. As to General McClellan's views, you understand your duty in regard to them better than I do. With this preliminary, I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both if he makes no change; and if he weakens one to strengthen the other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much. To illustrate: Suppose, last summer, when Winchester ran away to reinforce Manassas, we had forborne to attack Manassas, but had seized and held Winchester. I mention this to illustrate and not to criticize. I did not lose confidence in McDowell, and I think less harshly of Patterson than some others seem to. In application of the general rule I am suggesting, every particular case will have its modifying circumstances, among which the most constantly present and most difficult to meet will be the want of perfect knowledge of the enemy's movements. This had its part in the Bull Run case; but worse in that case was the expiration of the terms of the three months' men. Applying the principle to your case, my idea is that Halleck shall menace Columbus and "down river" generally, while you menace Bowling Green and East Tennessee. If the enemy shall concentrate at Bowling Green, do not retire from his front, yet do not fight him there either, but seize Columbus and East Tennessee, one or both, left exposed by the concentration at Bowling Green. It is a matter of no small anxiety to me, and one which I am sure you will not overlook, that the East Tennessee line is so long and over so bad a road. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 13, 1862.

Having to-day written General Buell a letter, it occurs to me to send General Halleck a copy of it.

A. LINCOLN.

January 15, 1862.—LETTERS TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 15, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

My dear Sir: This will introduce Governor G. Koerner, of Illinois, who is my personal friend, and who calls on you at my particular request. Please open the sealed letter he will hand you before he leaves you and confer with him as to its contents.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

[*Inclosure.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 15, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

My dear Sir: The Germans are true and patriotic, and so far as they have got cross in Missouri it is upon mistake and misunderstanding. Without a knowledge of its contents, Governor Koerner, of Illinois, will hand you this letter. He is an educated and talented German gentleman, as true a man as lives. With his assistance you can set everything right with the Germans. I write this without his knowledge, asking him at the same time, by letter, to deliver it. My clear judgment is that, with reference to the German element in your command, you should have Governor Koerner with you; and if agreeable to you and him, I will make him a brigadier-general, so that he can afford to so give his time. He does not wish to command in the field, though he has more military knowledge than many who do. If he goes into the place he will simply be an efficient, zealous, and unselfish assistant to you. I say all this upon intimate personal acquaintance with Governor Koerner.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 17, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a translation of an instruction to the minister of his Majesty the King of Prussia accredited to this government, and a copy of a note to that minister from the Secretary of State relating to the capture and detention of certain citizens of the United States, passengers on board the British steamer *Trent*, by order of Captain Wilkes of the United States Navy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 17, 1862.

January 22, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 22, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: On reflection I think it will not do, as a rule, for the adjutant-general to attend me wherever I go: not that I have

any objection to his presence, but that it would be an uncompensating encumbrance both to him and me. When it shall occur to me to go anywhere, I wish to be free to go at once, and not to have to notify the adjutant-general and wait till he can get ready.

It is better, too, for the public service that he shall give his time to the business of his office, and not to personal attendance on me.

While I thank you for the kindness of the suggestion, my view of the matter is as I have stated. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 24, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I submit to Congress the accompanying copy of a correspondence between the Secretary of State, the Spanish minister, and the Secretary of the Navy, concerning the bark *Providencia*, a Spanish vessel seized on her voyage from Havana to New York by a steamer of the United States blockading squadron, and subsequently released. I recommend the appropriation of the amount of the award of the referee.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1862.

January 24, 1862.—INDORSEMENT ON LETTER FROM SECRETARY STANTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, January 24, 1862.

MR. PRESIDENT:

In my opinion the success of military operations and the safety of the country require some changes to be made in the Bureau of Ordnance, and perhaps some others, in order to secure more vigor and activity; and I desire to have your sanction for making them.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, EDWIN M. STANTON.

[*Indorsement.*]

The Secretary of War has my authority to exercise his discretion in the matter within mentioned.

A. LINCOLN.

January 24, 1862.

January 24, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 24, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: On reflection, I think you better make a peremptory order on the ordnance officer at Pittsburg to ship the ten mortars and two beds to Cairo instantly, and all others as fast as finished, till ordered to stop, reporting each shipment to the department here.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 27, 1862.—PRESIDENT'S GENERAL WAR ORDER NO. 1.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 27, 1862.

Ordered, That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of all the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces. That especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe; the Army of the Potomac; the Army of Western Virginia; the army near Munfordville, Kentucky; the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready to move on that day.

That all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

That the heads of departments, and especially the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their subordinates, and the general-in-chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for prompt execution of this order.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 31, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: It is my wish that the expedition commonly called the "Lane Expedition" shall be, as much as has been promised at the adjutant-general's office, under the supervision of General McClellan, and not any more. I have not intended, and do not now intend, that it shall be a great, exhausting affair, but a snug, sober column of 10,000 or 15,000. General Lane has been told by me many times that he is under the command of General Hunter, and assented to it as often as told. It was the distinct agreement between him and me, when I appointed him, that he was to be under Hunter.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 31, 1862.—PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL WAR ORDER NO. 1.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1862.

Ordered, That all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defense of Washington, be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of seizing and occupying a point upon the railroad southwestward of what is known as Manassas Junction, all details to be in the discretion of the commander-in-chief, and the expedition to move before or on the 22d day of February next.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 31, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: As a sequel to the correspondence on the subject, previously communicated, I transmit to Congress extracts from a despatch of the 20th ultimo from Mr. Adams, United States minister at London, to the Secretary of State, and a copy of an instruction from Earl Russell to Lord Lyons, of the 10th instant, relative to the removal of certain citizens of the United States from the British mail-steamer *Trent* by order of the commander of the United States war-steamer *San Jacinto.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 31, 1862.

February 3, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac—yours to be down the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and across land to the terminus of the railroad on the York River; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas.

If you will give me satisfactory answers to the following questions, I shall gladly yield my plan to yours.

First. Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of time and money than mine?

Second. Wherein is a victory more certain by your plan than mine?

Third. Wherein is a victory more valuable by your plan than mine?

Fourth. In fact, would it not be less valuable in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would?

Fifth. In case of disaster, would not a retreat be more difficult by your plan than mine? Yours truly,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

Memorandum accompanying Letter of President Lincoln to General McClellan, dated February 3, 1862.

First. Suppose the enemy should attack us in force before we reach the Occoquan, what?

Second. Suppose the enemy in force shall dispute the crossing of the Occoquan, what? In view of this, might it not be safest for us to cross the Occoquan at Colchester, rather than at the village of Occoquan? This would cost the enemy two miles more of travel to meet us, but would, on the contrary, leave us two miles farther from our ultimate destination.

Third. Suppose we reach Maple Valley without an attack, will we not be attacked there in force by the enemy marching by the several roads from Manassas; and if so, what?

February 3, 1862.—LETTER TO WM. H. HERNDON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 3, 1862.

Dear William: Yours of January 30th just received. Do just as you say about the money matter. As you well know, I have not time to write a letter of respectable length. God bless you, says

Your friend, A. LINCOLN.

February 4, 1862.—LETTER TO L. W. POWELL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 4, 1862.

My dear Sir: I herewith return the letters and printed paper submitted by you in behalf of Mr. Samuel B. Churchill. While I would be glad to oblige you, I cannot now interfere with the case.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 4, 1862.—RESPITE FOR NATHANIEL GORDON.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas it appears that at a term of the Circuit Court of the United States of America for the southern district of New York, held in the month of November, A. D. 1861, Nathaniel Gordon was indicted and convicted for being engaged in the slave-trade, and was by the said court sentenced to be put to death by hanging by the neck on Friday the 7th day of February, A. D. 1862;

And whereas a large number of respectable citizens have earnestly besought me to commute the said sentence of the said Nathaniel Gordon to a term of imprisonment for life, which application I have felt it to be my duty to refuse;

And whereas it has seemed to me probable that the unsuccessful application made for the commutation of his sentence may have prevented the said Nathaniel Gordon from making the necessary preparation for the awful change which awaits him:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, have granted and do hereby grant unto him, the said Nathaniel Gordon, a respite of the above-recited sentence until Friday, the 21st day of February, A. D. 1862, between the hours of twelve o'clock at noon and three o'clock in the afternoon of the said day, when the said sentence shall be executed.

In granting this respite it becomes my painful duty to admonish the prisoner that, relinquishing all expectation of pardon by human

authority, he refer himself alone to the mercy of the common God and Father of all men.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 4th day of February, [L. S.] A. D. 1862, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

February 4, 1862.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: The third section of the "Act further to promote the efficiency of the navy," approved December 21, 1861, provides:

> That the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have the authority to detail from the retired list of the navy, for the command of squadrons and single ships, such officers as he may believe that the good of the service requires to be thus placed in command; and such officers may, if upon the recommendation of the President of the United States they shall receive a vote of thanks of Congress for their services and gallantry in action against an enemy, be restored to the active list, and not otherwise.

In conformity with this law, Captain Samuel F. Du Pont, of the navy, was nominated to the Senate for continuance as the flag-officer in command of the squadron which recently rendered such important service to the Union in the expedition to the coast of South Carolina.

Believing that no occasion could arise which would more fully correspond with the intention of the law, or be more pregnant with happy influence as an example, I cordially recommend that Captain Samuel F. Du Pont receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture of Forts Walker and Beauregard, commanding the entrance of Port Royal harbor, on the 7th of November, 1861.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1862.

February 7, 1862.— MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 5th instant, requesting a communication of any recent correspondence relating to the presentation of American citizens to the court of France, I transmit a copy of a despatch of the 14th ultimo from the United States minister at Paris to the Secretary of State, and of an instruction of Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton of the 3d instant.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 7, 1862.

February 9, 1862.—DIRECTIONS TO GENERAL BUELL.

WASHINGTON, February 9, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL D. C. BUELL, Louisville:

The President directs me to say that he has read your communication to Major-General G. B. McClellan, dated the 1st and mailed the 6th of this month, and that he approves the operations you propose therein, and believes, if vigorously prosecuted, they cannot fail. He desires you and Major-General Halleck to coöperate as far as possible, and says that your two heads together will succeed.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

February 10, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERALS D. HUNTER AND J. H. LANE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 10, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER AND BRIGADIER-GENERAL LANE, Leavenworth, Kansas:

My wish has been and is to avail the government of the services of both General Hunter and General Lane, and, so far as possible, to personally oblige both. General Hunter is the senior officer, and must command when they serve together; though in so far as he can consistently with the public service and his own honor oblige General Lane, he will also oblige me. If they cannot come to an amicable understanding, General Lane must report to General Hunter for duty, according to the rules, or decline the service.

A. LINCOLN.

February 12, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a special treaty between the United States and his Majesty the King of Hanover for the abolition of the state dues, which was signed at Berlin on the 6th of November last. In this treaty, already approved by the Senate and ratified on the part of the United States, it is stipulated that the sums specified in Articles III and IV to be paid to the Hanoverian government shall be paid at Berlin on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

I therefore recommend that seasonable provision be made to enable the executive to carry this stipulation into effect.

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 14, 1862.—AMNESTY TO POLITICAL OR STATE PRISONERS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, February 14, 1862.

The breaking out of a formidable insurrection, based on a conflict of political ideas, being an event without precedent in the United States, was

necessarily attended by great confusion and perplexity of the public mind. Disloyalty, before unsuspected, suddenly became bold, and treason astonished the world by bringing at once into the field military forces superior in numbers to the standing army of the United States.

Every department of the government was paralyzed by treason. Defection appeared in the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the cabinet, in the Federal courts; ministers and consuls returned from foreign countries to enter the insurrectionary councils, or land or naval forces; commanding and other officers of the army and in the navy betrayed the councils or deserted their posts for commands in the insurgent forces. Treason was flagrant in the revenue and in the post-office service, as well as in the Territorial governments and in the Indian reserves.

Not only governors, judges, legislators, and ministerial officers in the States, but even whole States, rushed, one after another, with apparent unanimity, into rebellion. The capital was besieged, and its connection with all the States cut off.

Even in the portions of the country which were most loyal, political combinations and secret societies were formed, furthering the work of disunion; while, from motives of disloyalty or cupidity, or from excited passions or perverted sympathies, individuals were found furnishing men, money, and materials of war and supplies to the insurgents' military and naval forces. Armies, ships, fortifications, navy-yards, arsenals, military posts and garrisons, one after another were betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents.

Congress had not anticipated and so had not provided for the emergency. The municipal authorities were powerless and inactive. The judicial machinery seemed as if it had been designed not to sustain the government, but to embarrass and betray it.

Foreign intervention, openly invited and industriously instigated by the abettors of the insurrection, became imminent, and has only been prevented by the practice of strict and impartial justice, with the most perfect moderation, in our intercourse with nations.

The public mind was alarmed and apprehensive, though fortunately not distracted or disheartened. It seemed to be doubtful whether the Federal Government, which one year before had been thought a model worthy of universal acceptance, had indeed the ability to defend and maintain itself.

Some reverses, which perhaps were unavoidable, suffered by newly levied and inefficient forces, discouraged the loyal, and gave new hopes to the insurgents. Voluntary enlistments seemed about to cease, and desertions commenced. Parties speculated upon the question whether conscription had not become necessary to fill up the armies of the United States.

In this emergency the President felt it his duty to employ with energy the extraordinary powers which the Constitution confides to him in cases of insurrection. He called into the field such military and naval forces, unauthorized by the existing laws, as seemed necessary. He directed measures to prevent the use of the post-office for treasonable correspondence. He subjected passengers to and from foreign countries to new passport regulations, and he instituted a blockade, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in various places, and caused persons who were represented to him as being or about to engage in disloyal or treasonable practices to be arrested by special civil as well as military agencies, and detained in military custody, when necessary, to prevent them and deter others from such practices. Examinations of such cases were instituted, and some of the persons so arrested have been discharged from time to time, under circumstances or upon conditions compatible, as was thought, with the public safety.

Meantime a favorable change of public opinion has occurred. The line between loyalty and disloyalty is plainly defined; the whole structure of the government is firm and stable; apprehensions of public danger and facilities for treasonable practices have diminished with the passions which prompted heedless persons to adopt them. The insurrection is believed to have culminated and to be declining.

The President, in view of these facts, and anxious to favor a return to the normal course of the administration, as far as regard for the public welfare will allow, directs that all political prisoners or state prisoners now held in military custody be released on their subscribing to a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States.

The Secretary of War will, however, at his discretion, except from the effect of this order any persons detained as spies in the service of the insurgents, or others whose release at the present moment may be deemed incompatible with the public safety.

To all persons who shall be so released, and who shall keep their parole, the President grants an amnesty for any past offenses of treason or disloyalty which they may have committed.

Extraordinary arrests will hereafter be made under the direction of the military authorities alone.

By order of the President:

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

February 15, 1862.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: The third section of the "Act further to promote the efficiency of the navy," approved December 21, 1861, provides:

> That the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have the authority to detail from the retired list of the navy, for the command of squadrons and single ships, such officers as he may believe that the good of the service requires to be thus placed in command; and such officers may, if upon the recommendation of the President of the United States they shall receive a vote of thanks of Congress for their services and gallantry in action against an enemy, be restored to the active list, and not otherwise.

In conformity with this law, Captain Louis M. Goldsborough, of the navy, was nominated to the Senate for continuance as flag-officer in command of the North Atlantic blockading squadron which recently rendered such important service to the Union in the expedition to the coast of North Carolina.

Believing that no occasion could arise which would more fully correspond with the intention of the law, or be more pregnant with happy influence as an example, I cordially recommend that Louis M. Goldsborough receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the combined attack of the forces commanded by him and Brigadier-General Burnside in the capture of Roanoke Island and the destruction of rebel gunboats on the 7th, 8th, and 10th of February, 1862.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1862.

February 15, 1862.—NOTE CONCERNING "CONTRABANDS."

I shall be obliged if the Secretary of the Treasury will in his discretion give Mr. Pierce such instructions in regard to Port Royal contrabands as may seem judicious.

A. LINCOLN.

February 15, 1862.

February 16, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 16, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, St. Louis, Missouri:

You have Fort Donelson safe, unless Grant shall be overwhelmed from outside; to prevent which latter will, I think, require all the vigilance, energy, and skill of yourself and Buell, acting in full coöperation. Columbus will not get at Grant, but the force from Bowling Green will. They hold the railroad from Bowling Green to within a few miles of Fort Donelson, with the bridge at Clarksville undisturbed. It is unsafe to rely that they will not dare to expose Nashville to Buell. A small part of their force can retire slowly toward Nashville, breaking up the railroad as they go, and keep Buell out of that city twenty days. Meanwhile Nashville will be abundantly defended by forces from all South and perhaps from here at Manassas. Could not a cavalry force from General Thomas on the Upper Cumberland dash across, almost unresisted, and cut the railroad at or near Knoxville, Tennessee? In the midst of a bombardment at Fort Donelson, why could not a gunboat run up and destroy the bridge at Clarksville? Our success or failure at Fort Donelson is vastly important, and I beg you to put your soul in the effort. I send a copy of this to Buell.

A. LINCOLN.

February 19, 1862.—PROCLAMATION CONCERNING WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

It is recommended to the people of the United States that they assemble in their customary places of meeting for public solemnities on the 22d day of February instant, and celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Father of his Country, by causing to be read to them his immortal farewell address.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, at Washington, the 19th day of February, in the year of our [L. S.] Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

February 25, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of an instruction from Prince Gortchacow to Mr. de Stoeckl, the minister of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia accredited to this government, and of a note of the Secretary of State to the latter, relative to the adjustment of the question between the United States and Great Britain, growing out of the removal of certain of our citizens from the British mail-steamer *Trent* by order of the commander of the United States war-steamer *San Jacinto.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1862.

February 26, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In transmitting to Congress the accompanying copy of two letters, bearing date the 14th of February, 1861, from his Majesty the Major King of Siam to the President of the United States, and of the President's answer thereto, I submit for their consideration the question as to the proper place of deposit of the gifts received with the royal letters referred to.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 26, 1862.

February 27, 1862.—EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 2.—IN RELATION TO STATE PRISONERS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, February 27, 1862.

It is ordered:

First. That a special commission of two persons, one of military rank and the other in civil life, be appointed to examine the cases of the state prisoners remaining in the military custody of the United States, and to determine whether in view of the public safety and the existing rebellion they should be discharged, or remain in military custody, or be remitted to the civil tribunals for trial.

Second. That Major-General John A. Dix, commanding in Baltimore, and the Hon. Edwards Pierrepont, of New York, be, and they are hereby appointed, commissioners for the purposes above mentioned; and they are authorized to examine, hear, and determine the cases aforesaid *ex parte* and in a summary manner, at such times and places as in their discretion they may appoint, and make full report to the War Department.

By order of the President:

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

February 28, 1862.—ORDER RELATING TO COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE.

Considering that the existing circumstances of the country allow a partial restoration of commercial intercourse between the inhabi-

tants of those parts of the United States heretofore declared to be in insurrection and the citizens of the loyal States of the Union, and exercising the authority and discretion confided to me by the act of Congress, approved July 13, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," I hereby license and permit such commercial intercourse in all cases within the rules and regulations which have been or may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury for conducting and carrying on the same on the inland waters and ways of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1862.

March 3, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a despatch to the Secretary of State from the minister resident of the United States at Lisbon concerning recent measures which have been adopted by the government of Portugal intended to encourage the growth and to enlarge the area of the culture of cotton in its African possessions.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1862.

March 3, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives of the United States: I transmit herewith a communication of the Secretary of War, inclosing a report of the adjutant-general, in answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 22d of January, 1862.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1862.

March 3, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a translation of an instruction to the minister of his Majesty the King of Italy accredited to this government, and a copy of a note to that minister from the Secretary of State, relating to the settlement of the question arising out of the capture and detention of certain citizens of the United States, passengers on board the British steamer *Trent*, by order of Captain Wilkes of the United States navy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1862.

March 6, 1862.—Message to Congress recommending Compensated Emancipation.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows:

Resolved, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The Federal Government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that this government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such part will then say, "The Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section." To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion; and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it as to all the States initiating it. The point is not that all the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation; but that while the offer is equally made to all, the more Northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more Southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say "initiation" because, in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all. In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and treasury reports before him, can readily see for himself how very soon the current expenditures of this war would purchase, at fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State. Such a proposition on the part of the General Government sets up no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits, referring, as it does, the absolute control of the subject in each case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

In the annual message, last December, I thought fit to say, "The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed." I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been made, and continues to be, an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue; and it is impos-

sible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency, toward ending the struggle, must and will come.

The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offense to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned than are the institution and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs?

While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important practical results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1862.

March 7, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 7, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE.

My dear Sir: Mr. James F. B. Marshall, of Massachusetts, is now with me on the question of the Honolulu commissioner. It pains me some that this tilt for the place of Colonel Baker's friend grows so fierce now the colonel is no longer alive to defend him. I presume, however, we shall have no rest from it. Mr. Marshall appears to be a very intelligent gentleman, and well acquainted with the affairs of the Sandwich Islands. The California delegation also expect the place for some one of their citizens. In self-defense I am disposed to say, "Make a selection and send it to me."

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 8, 1862.—PRESIDENT'S GENERAL WAR ORDER No. 2.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 8, 1862.

Ordered, 1. That the major-general commanding the Army of the Potomac proceed forthwith to organize that part of the said army destined to enter upon active operations (including the reserve, but excluding the troops to be left in the fortifications about Washington) into four army corps, to be commanded, according to seniority of rank, as follows:

First corps to consist of four divisions, and to be commanded by Major-General I. McDowell. Second corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. V. Sumner. Third corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General S. P. Heintzelman. Fourth corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. D. Keyes.

2. That the divisions now commanded by the officers above assigned to the commands of army corps shall be embraced in and form part of their respective corps.

3. The forces left for the defense of Washington will be placed in command of Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth, who shall also be military governor of the District of Columbia.

4. That this order be executed with such promptness and despatch as not to delay the commencement of the operations already directed to be undertaken by the Army of the Potomac.

5. A fifth army corps, to be commanded by Major-General N. P. Banks, will be formed from his own and General Shields's (late General Lander's) divisions.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 8, 1862.—PRESIDENT'S GENERAL WAR ORDER No. 3.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 8, 1862.

Ordered, That no change of the base of operations of the Army of the Potomac shall be made without leaving in and about Washington such a force as in the opinion of the general-in-chief and the commanders of all the army corps shall leave said city entirely secure.

That no more than two army corps (about 50,000 troops) of said Army of the Potomac shall be moved *en route* for a new base of operations until the navigation of the Potomac from Washington to the Chesapeake Bay shall be freed from enemy's batteries and other obstructions, or until the President shall hereafter give express permission.

That any movement as aforesaid *en route* for a new base of operations which may be ordered by the general-in-chief, and which may be intended to move upon the Chesapeake Bay, shall begin to move upon the bay as early as the 18th day of March instant, and the general-in-chief shall be responsible that it so move as early as that day.

Ordered, That the army and navy coöperate in an immediate effort to capture the enemy's batteries upon the Potomac between Washington and the Chesapeake Bay.

A. LINCOLN.

LORENZO THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

March 8, 1862.—INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL BUELL CONCERNING COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 8, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL D. C. BUELL, Louisville:

The President directs me to inform you that the act of Congress of July 13, 1861, prohibits commercial intercourse with States proclaimed to be in rebellion (which includes all south of Kentucky and Missouri), except under license of the President and under rules and

regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. By the President's directions the secretary has lately made rules and regulations, copies of which are this day sent by mail. The President desires you to enforce no rules inconsistent with them, and if any such have been made, that you will rescind them. Please acknowledge receipt of this instruction.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

[Same to General H. W. Halleck.]

March 9, 1862.—LETTER TO HENRY J. RAYMOND.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 9, 1862.

HON. HENRY J. RAYMOND.

My dear Sir: I am grateful to the New York journals, and not less so to the "Times" than to others, for their kind notices of the late special message to Congress.

Your paper, however, intimates that the proposition, though well intentioned, must fail on the score of expense. I do hope you will reconsider this. Have you noticed the facts that less than one half day's cost of this war would pay for all the slaves in Delaware at $400 per head—that eighty-seven days' cost of this war would pay for all in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Kentucky, and Missouri at the same price? Were those States to take the step, do you doubt that it would shorten the war more than eighty-seven days, and thus be an actual saving of expense?

Please look at these things and consider whether there should not be another article in the "Times."

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 10, 1862.—MEMORANDUM OF AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND SOME BORDER SLAVE STATE REPRESENTATIVES, BY HON. J. W. CRISFIELD.

Dear Sir: I called, at the request of the President, to ask you to come to the White House to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, and bring such of your colleagues as are in town.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1862.

Yesterday, on my return from church, I found Mr. Postmaster-General Blair in my room, writing the above note, which he immediately suspended, and verbally communicated the President's invitation, and stated that the President's purpose was to have some conversation with the delegations of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware, in explanation of his message of the 6th instant.

This morning these delegations, or such of them as were in town, assembled at the White House at the appointed time, and after some

little delay were admitted to an audience. Mr. Leary and myself were the only members from Maryland present, and, I think, were the only members of the delegation at that time in the city. I know that Mr. Pearce, of the Senate, and Messrs. Webster and Calvert, of the House, were absent.

After the usual salutations, and we were seated, the President said, in substance, that he had invited us to meet him to have some conversation with us in explanation of his message of the 6th; that since he had sent it in several of the gentlemen then present had visited him, but had avoided any allusion to the message, and he therefore inferred that the import of the message had been misunderstood, and was regarded as inimical to the interests we represented; and he had resolved he would talk with us, and disabuse our minds of that erroneous opinion.

The President then disclaimed any intent to injure the interests or wound the sensibilities of the slave States. On the contrary, his purpose was to protect the one and respect the other; that we were engaged in a terrible, wasting, and tedious war; immense armies were in the field, and must continue in the field as long as the war lasts; that these armies must, of necessity, be brought into contact with slaves in the States we represented and in other States as they advanced; that slaves would come to the camps, and continual irritation was kept up; that he was constantly annoyed by conflicting and antagonistic complaints: on the one side a certain class complained if the slave was not protected by the army; persons were frequently found who, participating in these views, acted in a way unfriendly to the slaveholder; on the other hand, slaveholders complained that their rights were interfered with, their slaves induced to abscond and protected within the lines; these complaints were numerous, loud, and deep; were a serious annoyance to him and embarrassing to the progress of the war; that it kept alive a spirit hostile to the government in the States we represented; strengthened the hopes of the Confederates that at some day the border States would unite with them, and thus tend to prolong the war; and he was of opinion, if this resolution should be adopted by Congress and accepted by our States, these causes of irritation and these hopes would be removed, and more would be accomplished toward shortening the war than could be hoped from the greatest victory achieved by Union armies; that he made this proposition in good faith, and desired it to be accepted, if at all, voluntarily, and in the same patriotic spirit in which it was made; that emancipation was a subject exclusively under the control of the States, and must be adopted or rejected by each for itself; that he did not claim nor had this government any right to coerce them for that purpose; that such was no part of his purpose in making this proposition, and he wished it to be clearly understood; that he did not expect us there to be prepared to give him an answer, but he hoped we would take the subject into serious consideration, confer with one another, and then take such course as we felt our duty and the interests of our constituents required of us.

Mr. Noell, of Missouri, said that in his State slavery was not con-

sidered a permanent institution; that natural causes were there in operation which would at no distant day extinguish it, and he did not think that this proposition was necessary for that; and, besides that, he and his friends felt solicitous as to the message on account of the different constructions which the resolution and message had received. The New York "Tribune" was for it, and understood it to mean that we must accept gradual emancipation according to the plan suggested, or get something worse.

The President replied that he must not be expected to quarrel with the New York "Tribune" before the right time; he hoped never to have to do it; he would not anticipate events. In respect to emancipation in Missouri, he said that what had been observed by Mr. Noell was probably true, but the operation of these natural causes had not prevented the irritating conduct to which he had referred, or destroyed the hopes of the Confederates that Missouri would at some time range herself alongside of them, which, in his judgment, the passage of this resolution by Congress and its acceptance by Missouri would accomplish.

Mr. Crisfield, of Maryland, asked what would be the effect of the refusal of the State to accept this proposal, and desired to know if the President looked to any policy beyond the acceptance or rejection of this scheme.

The President replied that he had no designs beyond the action of the States on this particular subject. He should lament their refusal to accept it, but he had no designs beyond their refusal of it.

Mr. Menzies, of Kentucky, inquired if the President thought there was any power except in the States themselves to carry out his scheme of emancipation.

The President replied that he thought there could not be. He then went off into a course of remarks not qualifying the foregoing declaration nor material to be repeated to a just understanding of his meaning.

Mr. Crisfield said he did not think the people of Maryland looked upon slavery as a permanent institution; and he did not know that they would be very reluctant to give it up if provision was made to meet the loss and they could be rid of the race; but they did not like to be coerced into emancipation, either by the direct action of the government or by indirection, as through the emancipation of slaves in this District, or the confiscation of Southern property as now threatened; and he thought before they would consent to consider this proposition they would require to be informed on these points.

The President replied that, unless he was expelled by the act of God or the Confederate armies, he should occupy that house for three years; and as long as he remained there Maryland had nothing to fear either for her institutions or her interests on the points referred to.

Mr. Crisfield immediately added: Mr. President, if what you now say could be heard by the people of Maryland, they would consider your proposition with a much better feeling than I fear without it they will be inclined to do.

The President: That (meaning a publication of what he said) will not do; it would force me into a quarrel before the proper time; and, again intimating, as he had before done, that a quarrel with the "Greeley faction" was impending, he said he did not wish to encounter it before the proper time, nor at all if it could be avoided.

Governor Wickliffe, of Kentucky, then asked him respecting the constitutionality of his scheme.

The President replied: As you may suppose, I have considered that; and the proposition now submitted does not encounter any constitutional difficulty. It proposes simply to coöperate with any State by giving such State pecuniary aid; and he thought that the resolution, as proposed by him, would be considered rather as the expression of a sentiment than as involving any constitutional question.

Mr. Hall, of Missouri, thought that if this proposition was adopted at all, it should be by the votes of the free States, and come as a proposition from them to the slave States, affording them an inducement to put aside this subject of discord; that it ought not to be expected that members representing slaveholding constituencies should declare at once, and in advance of any proposition to them, for the emancipation of slavery.

The President said he saw and felt the force of the objection; it was a fearful responsibility, and every gentleman must do as he thought best; that he did not know how this scheme was received by the members from the free States; some of them had spoken to him and received it kindly; but for the most part they were as reserved and chary as we had been, and he could not tell how they would vote. And in reply to some expression of Mr. Hall as to his own opinion regarding slavery, he said he did not pretend to disguise his antislavery feeling; that he thought it was wrong, and should continue to think so; but that was not the question we had to deal with now. Slavery existed, and that, too, as well by the act of the North as of the South; and in any scheme to get rid of it, the North as well as the South was morally bound to do its full and equal share. He thought the institution wrong and ought never to have existed; but yet he recognized the rights of property which had grown out of it, and would respect those rights as fully as similar rights in any other property; that property can exist, and does legally exist. He thought such a law wrong, but the rights of property resulting must be respected; he would get rid of the odious law, not by violating the right, but by encouraging the proposition and offering inducements to give it up.

Here the interview, so far as this subject is concerned, terminated by Mr. Crittenden's assuring the President that, whatever might be our final action, we all thought him solely moved by a high patriotism and sincere devotion to the happiness and glory of his country; and with that conviction we should consider respectfully the important suggestions he had made.

After some conversation on the current war news, we retired, and I immediately proceeded to my room and wrote out this paper.

J. W. CRISFIELD.

We were present at the interview described in the foregoing paper of Mr. Crisfield, and we certify that the substance of what passed on the occasion is in this paper faithfully and fully given.

J. W. MENZIES,
J. J. CRITTENDEN,
R. MALLORY.

March 10, 1862.

March 10, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 10, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Thomas H. Campbell, bearer of this, has several times been our auditor of State, and I personally know him to be an honest man, of thorough business capacity. He is here now to do something in adjusting the accounts of the State and the United States growing out of the war. He is thoroughly disinterested, not even receiving pay for what he does. No man can be more safely trusted. I beg you to afford him all proper facilities, with perfect assurance that no confidence reposed in him will be abused.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 10, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BUELL.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1862.

GENERAL D. C. BUELL:

The evidence is very strong that the enemy in front of us here is breaking up and moving off. General McClellan is after him. Some part of the force may be destined to meet you. Look out and be prepared. I telegraphed Halleck, asking him to assist you if needed.

A. LINCOLN.

March 10, 1862.—INSTRUCTIONS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOX.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, March 10, 1862. 10.27 A. M.

CAPTAIN G. V. FOX, Assistant Secretary of Navy, Fort Monroe:

It is directed by the President that the *Monitor* be not too much exposed, and that in no event shall any attempt be made to proceed with her unattended to Norfolk. If vessels can be procured and loaded with stone and sunk in the channel, it is important that it should be done. *San Jacinto* and *Dacotah* have sailed from Boston for Hampton Roads, and the *Sabine* in tow of *Baltic*, and a tug from New York. Gunboats will be ordered forthwith. Would it not be well to detain the *Minnesota* until other vessels arrive?

GIDEON WELLES.

March 11, 1862.—PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL WAR ORDER NO. 3.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 11, 1862.

Major-General McClellan having personally taken the field as the head of the Army of the Potomac, until otherwise ordered he is relieved from the command of the other military departments, he retaining command of the Department of the Potomac.

Ordered further, that the two departments now under the respective commands of Generals Halleck and Hunter, together with so much of that under General Buell as lies west of a north and south line indefinitely drawn through Knoxville, Tenn., be consolidated and designated the Department of the Mississippi, and that until otherwise ordered Major-General Halleck have command of said department.

Ordered also, that the country west of the Department of the Potomac and east of the Department of the Mississippi be a military department to be called the Mountain Department, and that the same be commanded by Major-General Frémont.

That all the commanders of departments, after the receipt of this order by them respectively, report severally and directly to the Secretary of War, and that prompt, full, and frequent reports will be expected of all and each of them.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 12, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 11th instant, requesting a "copy of any correspondence on the records or files of the Department of State in regard to railway systems in Europe," I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the papers by which it was accompanied.

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 14, 1862.—LETTER TO J. A. MCDOUGALL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 14, 1862.

HON. JAMES A. MCDOUGALL, United States Senate.

My dear Sir: As to the expensiveness of the plan of gradual emancipation with compensation, proposed in the late message, please allow me one or two brief suggestions.

Less than one half day's cost of this war would pay for all the slaves in Delaware at four hundred dollars per head.

Thus, all the slaves in Delaware by the census of 1860, are	1,798
	400
Cost of the slaves	$719,200
One day's cost of the war	2,000,000

Again, less than eighty-seven days' cost of this war would, at the same price, pay for all in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Kentucky, and Missouri.

Thus, slaves in	Delaware	1,798
" "	Maryland	87,188
" "	District of Columbia	3,181
" "	Kentucky	225,490
" "	Missouri	114,965
		432,622
		400
Cost of slaves		$173,048,800
Eighty-seven days' cost of the war		174,000,000

Do you doubt that taking the initiatory steps on the part of those States and this District would shorten the war more than eighty-seven days, and thus be an actual saving of expense?

A word as to the time and manner of incurring the expense. Suppose, for instance, a State devises and adopts a system by which the institution absolutely ceases therein by a named day — say January 1, 1882. Then let the sum to be paid to such a State by the United States be ascertained by taking from the census of 1860 the number of slaves within the State, and multiplying that number by four hundred — the United States to pay such sums to the State in twenty equal annual instalments, in six per cent. bonds of the United States.

The sum thus given, as to time and manner, I think, would not be half as onerous as would be an equal sum raised now for the indefinite prosecution of the war; but of this you can judge as well as I. I inclose a census table for your convenience.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 14, 1862.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I submit to Congress the accompanying copy of a correspondence between the Secretary of State, the Danish *chargé d'affaires*, and the Secretary of the Navy, concerning the case of the bark *Jargen Lorentzen*, a Danish vessel seized on her voyage from Rio de Janeiro to Havana by the United States ship *Morning Light*, and subsequently released. I recommend the appropriation of the award of the referees.

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 15, 1862.— LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 15, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: It is represented to me that Messrs. Hedden and Hoey had a contract with the government, closed on the 26th of

October last, to deliver fifty thousand arms by the 15th of the then next January — that within the time they delivered twenty-eight thousand, which were accepted and paid for; that not on time, but ten days after time, they were ready and offered to deliver the remaining twenty-two thousand, which were refused simply on the question of time.

If this statement be true and these men acted in good faith, I think they should not be ruined by the transaction, but that the guns should be accepted and paid for. Of course, I understand the principle of strict law would not oblige the government to take them, even if it were an individual. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 15, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 15, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE.

My dear Sir: I am very glad of your note saying "recent despatches from him" [Dryer at Honolulu] "are able, judicious, and loyal," and that if I agree we will leave him there. I am glad to agree so long as the public interest does not seem to require his removal. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 19, 1862.—LETTER TO DR. S. B. TOBEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 19, 1862.

DR. SAMUEL BOYD TOBEY.

My dear Sir: A domestic affliction, of which doubtless you are informed, has delayed me so long in making acknowledgment of the very kind and appropriate letter signed on behalf and by direction of a meeting of the representatives of the Society of Friends for New England, held at Providence, Rhode Island, the 8th of second month, 1862, by Samuel Boyce, clerk, and presented to me by yourself and associates.

Engaged as I am in a great war, I fear it will be difficult for the world to understand how fully I appreciate the principles of peace inculcated in this letter and everywhere by the Society of Friends.

Grateful to the good people you represent for the prayers in behalf of our common country, I look forward hopefully to an early end of war and return to peace. Your obliged friend,

A. LINCOLN.

March 20, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: The third section of the "Act further to promote the efficiency of the navy," approved December 21, 1861, provides:

That the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have the authority to detail from the retired

list of the navy for the command of squadrons and single ships such officers as he may believe that the good of the service requires to be thus placed in command; and such officers may, if upon the recommendation of the President of the United States they shall receive a vote of thanks of Congress for their services and gallantry in action against an enemy, be restored to the active list, and not otherwise.

In conformity with this law, Captain Samuel F. Du Pont, of the navy, was nominated to the Senate for continuance as the flag-officer in command of the squadron which recently rendered such important service to the Union in the expedition to the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Believing that no occasion could arise which would more fully correspond with the intention of the law, or be more pregnant with happy influence as an example, I cordially recommend that Captain Samuel F. Du Pont receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture, since the 21st of December, 1861, of various points on the coasts of Georgia and Florida, particularly Brunswick, Cumberland Island and Sound, Amelia Island, the towns of St. Mary's, St. Augustine, Jacksonville, and Fernandina.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1862.

March 21, 1862.— DESPATCH TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WASHINGTON, March 21, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please suspend the order sending General Denver to Kansas until you hear from the Secretary of War or myself.

A. LINCOLN.

March 26, 1862.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit a copy of a communication of the 21st of December last, addressed to the Secretary of State by the governor of the Territory of Nevada, and commend to the particular attention of Congress those parts of it which show that further legislation is desirable for the public welfare in that quarter.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 26, 1862.

March 31, 1862.— LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 31, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: This morning I felt constrained to order Blenker's division to Frémont, and I write this to assure you I did so with

great pain, understanding that you would wish it otherwise. If you could know the full pressure of the case, I am confident that you would justify it, even beyond a mere acknowledgment that the commander-in-chief may order what he pleases.

Yours very truly, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 3, 1862.—INSTRUCTION TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 3, 1862.

The Secretary of War will order that one or the other of the corps of General McDowell and General Sumner remain in front of Washington until further orders from the department, to operate at or in the direction of Manassas Junction, or otherwise, as occasion may require; that the other corps not so ordered to remain go forward to General McClellan as speedily as possible; that General McClellan commence his forward movements from his new base at once, and that such incidental modifications as the foregoing may render proper be also made.

A. LINCOLN.

April 3, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, St. Louis, Missouri:

Colonel James A. Barrett, with a cavalry regiment now at St. Louis, wishes to be ordered to New Mexico. Let him go if, in your discretion, you think it not inconsistent with the public interest.

A. LINCOLN.

April 4, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 4, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, St. Louis, Missouri:

I am sorry to learn that, after all, General Denver has gone to Kansas. Cannot General Davis go there? There is a hard pressure on me in this matter.

A. LINCOLN.

April 5, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of yesterday, requesting any information which may have been received at the Department of State showing the system of revenue and finance now existing in any foreign country, I transmit a copy of a recent despatch from Mr. Pike, the United States minister at The Hague. This is understood

to be the only information on the subject of the resolution recently received which has not been made public.

WASHINGTON, April 5, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 6, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, April 6, 1862. 8 P. M.

GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN:

Yours of 11 A. M. to-day received. Secretary of War informs me that the forwarding of transportation, ammunition, and Woodbury's brigade, under your orders, is not, and will not be, interfered with. You now have over one hundred thousand troops with you, independent of General Wool's command. I think you better break the enemy's line from Yorktown to Warwick River at once. This will probably use time as advantageously as you can.

A. LINCOLN, President.

April 9, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: Your despatches, complaining that you are not properly sustained, while they do not offend me, do pain me very much.

Blenker's division was withdrawn from you before you left here, and you knew the pressure under which I did it, and, as I thought, acquiesced in it—certainly not without reluctance.

After you left I ascertained that less than 20,000 unorganized men, without a single field-battery, were all you designed to be left for the defense of Washington and Manassas Junction, and part of this even was to go to General Hooker's old position; General Banks's corps, once designed for Manassas Junction, was divided and tied up on the line of Winchester and Strasburg, and could not leave it without again exposing the upper Potomac and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This presented (or would present, when McDowell and Sumner should be gone) a great temptation to the enemy to turn back from the Rappahannock and sack Washington. My explicit order that Washington should, by the judgment of all the commanders of corps, be left entirely secure, had been neglected. It was precisely this that drove me to detain McDowell.

I do not forget that I was satisfied with your arrangement to leave Banks at Manassas Junction; but when that arrangement was broken up and nothing was substituted for it, of course I was not satisfied. I was constrained to substitute something for it myself.

And now allow me to ask, do you really think I should permit the line from Richmond *via* Manassas Junction to this city to be entirely open, except what resistance could be presented by less than 20,000 unorganized troops? This is a question which the country will not allow me to evade.

There is a curious mystery about the number of the troops now with you. When I telegraphed you on the 6th, saying you had over 100,000 with you, I had just obtained from the Secretary of War a statement, taken as he said from your own returns, making 108,000 then with you and *en route* to you. You now say you will have but 85,000 when all *en route* to you shall have reached you. How can this discrepancy of 23,000 be accounted for?

As to General Wool's command, I understand it is doing for you precisely what a like number of your own would have to do if that command was away. I suppose the whole force which has gone forward to you is with you by this time; and if so, I think it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. By delay the enemy will relatively gain upon you—that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone.

And once more let me tell you it is indispensable to you that you strike a blow. I am powerless to help this. You will do me the justice to remember I always insisted that going down the bay in search of a field, instead of fighting at or near Manassas, was only shifting and not surmounting a difficulty; that we would find the same enemy and the same or equal intrenchments at either place. The country will not fail to note—is noting now—that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated.

I beg to assure you that I have never written you or spoken to you in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as in my most anxious judgment I consistently can; but you must act. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 10, 1862.—PROCLAMATION RECOMMENDING THANKSGIVING FOR VICTORIES.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

It has pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe signal victories to the land and naval forces engaged in suppressing an internal rebellion, and at the same time to avert from our country the dangers of foreign intervention and invasion:

It is therefore recommended to the people of the United States that, at their next weekly assemblages in their accustomed places of public worship which shall occur after notice of this proclamation shall have been received, they especially acknowledge and render thanks to our Heavenly Father for these inestimable blessings; that they then and there implore spiritual consolation in behalf of all who have been brought into affliction by the casualties and calamities of sedition and civil war; and that they reverently invoke the divine guidance for our national counsels, to the end that they may speedily result in the restoration of peace, harmony, and unity throughout

our borders, and hasten the establishment of fraternal relations among all the countries of the earth.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

April 10, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO R. YATES AND WM. BUTLER.

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1862.

HON. R. YATES AND WILLIAM BUTLER, Springfield, Illinois:

I fully appreciate General Pope's splendid achievements, with their invaluable results; but you must know that major-generalships in the regular army are not as plenty as blackberries.

A. LINCOLN.

April 14, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 3d ultimo, requesting information in regard to the present condition of Mexico, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1862.

April 16, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: The act entitled "An act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia" has this day been approved and signed.

I have never doubted the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in this District; and I have ever desired to see the national capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. Hence there has never been in my mind any question upon the subject except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances. If there be matters within and about this act which might have taken a course or shape more satisfactory to my judgment, I do not attempt to specify them. I am gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in the act.

In the matter of compensation, it is provided that claims may be presented within ninety days from the passage of the act, "but not

thereafter"; and there is no saving for minors, *femmes covert*, insane or absent persons. I presume this is an omission by mere oversight, and I recommend that it be supplied by an amendatory or supplemental act.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 16, 1862.

April 18, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a correspondence between the Secretary of State and Benjamin E. Brewster, of Philadelphia, relative to the arrest in that city of Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, at the suit of Pierce Butler, for trespass *vi et armis*, assault and battery, and false imprisonment.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1862.

April 21, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your despatch of the 19th was received that day. Fredericksburg is evacuated and the bridges destroyed by the enemy, and a small part of McDowell's command occupies this side of the Rappahannock, opposite the town. He purposes moving his whole force to that point.

A. LINCOLN.

April 22, 1862.—UNSIGNED DRAFT OF LETTER TO J. G. BERRETT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 22, 1862.

HON. JAMES G. BERRETT.

My dear Sir: With some reluctance and in accordance with the request made in your letter of the 17th, I have withdrawn the nomination of yourself to the Senate to be one of the commissioners under the act of Congress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. In so far as your letter assumes that the tendering you the office without your solicitation or knowledge attests my confidence in your loyalty to the United States, now and heretofore, you are entirely right. So far, however, as it assumes that, in my judgment, your imprisonment mentioned was wholly undeserved, an explanatory word from me is due. I think you made a mistake which justified men having less evidence to the contrary than I have to suspect your loyalty, and to act accordingly. The arrest, though made by my general authority, was in fact made without my knowledge at the time; but being done, the question of undoing it was a little different from that of the original making, and required a little time to solve it satisfactorily.

April 23, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON to GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 23, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Pittsburg Landing:

The President desires to know why you have made no official report to this department respecting the late battle at Pittsburg Landing, and whether any neglect or misconduct of General Grant or any other officer contributed to the sad casualties that befell our forces on Sunday.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

April 24, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 24, 1862.

To the Senate of the United States: In obedience to your resolution of the 17th instant, I herewith communicate the testimony and judgment of the recent naval court of inquiry in the case of Lieutenant Charles E. Fleming, of the United States navy; also the testimony and finding of the naval retiring board in the case of said Lieutenant Fleming.

I have the honor to state that the judgment and finding aforesaid have not been approved by me.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 26, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 24th of February last, requesting information in regard to insurgent privateers in foreign ports, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1862.

April 27, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 27, 1862.

GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Your despatch of yesterday just received, as also, in due course, was your former one. The former one was sent to General Halleck, and we have his answer, by which I have no doubt he (General Halleck) is in communication with you before this. General Halleck understands better than we can here, and he must be allowed to control in that quarter. If you are not in communication with Halleck, telegraph him at once, freely and frankly.

A. LINCOLN.

May 1, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate [of April 22] in relation to Brigadier-General Stone, I have the honor to state that he was arrested and imprisoned under my general authority, and upon evidence which, whether he be guilty or innocent, required, as appears to me, such proceedings to be had against him for the public safety. I deem it incompatible with the public interest, as also, perhaps, unjust to General Stone, to make a more particular statement of the evidence.

He has not been tried because, in the state of military operations at the time of his arrest and since, the officers to constitute a court martial and for witnesses could not be withdrawn from duty without serious injury to the service. He will be allowed a trial without any unnecessary delay; the charges and specifications will be furnished him in due season, and every facility for his defense will be afforded him by the War Department.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1862.

May 1, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In accordance with the suggestion of the Secretary of the Treasury, contained in the accompanying letter, I have the honor to transmit the inclosed petition and report thereon of the Third Auditor for the consideration of Congress.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1862.

May 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 1, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your call for Parrott guns from Washington alarms me, chiefly because it argues indefinite procrastination. Is anything to be done?

A. LINCOLN.

May 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 1, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee:

I am pressed by the Missouri members of Congress to give General Schofield independent command in Missouri. They insist that for want of this their local troubles gradually grow worse. I have forborne, so far, for fear of interfering with and embarrassing your operations. Please answer, telling me whether anything, and what, I can do for them without injuriously interfering with you.

A. LINCOLN.

May 4, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL J. E. WOOL.

(*Cipher.*) WAR DEPARTMENT, May 4, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL WOOL, Fortress Monroe:

The President desires to know whether your force is in condition for a sudden movement, if one should be ordered under your command.

Please have it in readiness. EDWIN M. STANTON.

[May 6?] 1862.—RESPONSE TO EVANGELICAL LUTHERANS.

Gentlemen: I welcome here the representatives of the Evangelical Lutherans of the United States. I accept with gratitude their assurances of the sympathy and support of that enlightened, influential, and loyal class of my fellow-citizens in an important crisis which involves, in my judgment, not only the civil and religious liberties of our own dear land, but in a large degree the civil and religious liberties of mankind in many countries and through many ages. You well know, gentlemen, and the world knows, how reluctantly I accepted this issue of battle forced upon me on my advent to this place by the internal enemies of our country. You all know, the world knows, the forces and the resources the public agents have brought into employment to sustain a government against which there has been brought not one complaint of real injury committed against society at home or abroad. You all may recollect that in taking up the sword thus forced into our hands, this government appealed to the prayers of the pious and the good, and declared that it placed its whole dependence upon the favor of God. I now humbly and reverently, in your presence, reiterate the acknowledgment of that dependence, not doubting that, if it shall please the Divine Being who determines the destinies of nations, this shall remain a united people, and that they will, humbly seeking the Divine guidance, make their prolonged national existence a source of new benefits to themselves and their successors, and to all classes and conditions of mankind.

May 7, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO FLAG-OFFICER L. M. GOLDSBOROUGH.

FORT MONROE, VIRGINIA, May 7, 1862.

FLAG-OFFICER GOLDSBOROUGH:

Sir: Major-General McClellan telegraphs that he has ascertained by a reconnaissance that the battery at Jamestown has been abandoned, and he again requests that gunboats may be sent up the James River.

If you have tolerable confidence that you can successfully contend with the *Merrimac* without the help of the *Galena* and two accompanying gunboats, send the *Galena* and two gunboats up the James River at once. Please report your action on this to me at once. I shall be found either at General Wool's headquarters or on board the *Miami*. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

May 9, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

FORT MONROE, VIRGINIA, May 9, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: I have just assisted the Secretary of War in framing part of a despatch to you relating to army corps, which despatch of course will have reached you long before this will.

I wish to say a few words to you privately on this subject. I ordered the army corps organization not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals whom you had selected and assigned as generals of division, but also on the unanimous opinion of every military man I could get an opinion from (and every modern military book), yourself only excepted. Of course I did not on my own judgment pretend to understand the subject. I now think it indispensable for you to know how your struggle against it is received in quarters which we cannot entirely disregard. It is looked upon as merely an effort to pamper one or two pets and to persecute and degrade their supposed rivals. I have had no word from Sumner, Heintzelman, or Keyes. The commanders of these corps are of course the three highest officers with you, but I am constantly told that you have no consultation or communication with them; that you consult and communicate with nobody but General Fitz-John Porter and perhaps General Franklin. I do not say these complaints are true or just, but at all events it is proper you should know of their existence. Do the commanders of corps disobey your orders in anything?

When you relieved General Hamilton of his command the other day, you thereby lost the confidence of at least one of your best friends in the Senate. And here let me say, not as applicable to you personally, that senators and representatives speak of me in their places as they please without question, and that officers of the army must cease addressing insulting letters to them for taking no greater liberty with them.

But to return. Are you strong enough—are you strong enough, even with my help—to set your foot upon the necks of Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes all at once? This is a practical and very serious question for you.

The success of your army and the cause of the country are the same, and of course I only desire the good of the cause.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

May 10, 1862.—LETTER TO FLAG-OFFICER L. M. GOLDSBOROUGH

FORT MONROE, VIRGINIA, May 10, 1862.

FLAG-OFFICER GOLDSBOROUGH.

My dear Sir: I send you this copy of your report of yesterday for the purpose of saying to you in writing that you are quite right in supposing the movement made by you and therein reported was made in accordance with my wishes verbally expressed to you in advance. I avail myself of the occasion to thank you for your courtesy and all your conduct, so far as known to me, during my brief visit here. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 12, 1862.—PROCLAMATION RAISING THE BLOCKADE OF CERTAIN PORTS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by my proclamation of the 19th of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, it was declared that the ports of certain States, including those of Beaufort, in the State of North Carolina, Port Royal, in the State of South Carolina, and New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, were, for reasons therein set forth, intended to be placed under blockade; and whereas the said ports of Beaufort, Port Royal, and New Orleans have since been blockaded; but as the blockade of the same ports may now be safely relaxed with advantage to the interests of commerce:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority in me vested by the fifth section of the act of Congress approved on the 13th of July last, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," do hereby declare that the blockade of the said ports of Beaufort, Port Royal, and New Orleans shall so far cease and determine, from and after the first day of June next, that commercial intercourse with those ports, except as to persons, things, and information contraband of war, may from that time be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, and to the limitations and in pursuance of the regulations which are prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury in his order of this date, which is appended to this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 12th day of May, in the [L. S.] year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

May 14, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: The third section of the "Act further to promote the efficiency of the navy," approved 21st of December, 1861, provides:

> That the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have the authority to detail from the retired list of the navy for the command of squadrons and single ships such officers as he may believe that the good of the service requires to be thus placed in command; and such officers may, if upon the recommendation of the President of the United States they shall receive a vote of thanks of Congress for their services and gallantry in action against an enemy, be restored to the active list, and not otherwise.

In conformity with this law, Captain David G. Farragut was nominated to the Senate for continuance as flag-officer in command of the squadron which recently rendered such important service to the Union by his successful operations on the lower Mississippi and capture of New Orleans.

Believing that no occasion could arise which would more fully correspond with the intention of the law, or be more pregnant with happy influence as an example, I cordially recommend that Captain D. G. Farragut receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture, since the 21st of December, 1861, of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, city of New Orleans, and the destruction of various rebel gunboats, rams, etc.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14, 1862.

May 14, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I submit herewith a list of naval officers who commanded vessels engaged in the recent brilliant operations of the squadron commanded by Flag-officer Farragut, which led to the capture of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, city of New Orleans, and the destruction of rebel gunboats, rams, etc., in April, 1862. For their services and gallantry on those occasions I cordially recommend that they should, by name, receive a vote of thanks of Congress:

LIST.

Captain Theodorus Bailey.
Captain Henry W. Morris.
Captain Thomas T. Craven.
Commander Henry H. Bell.
Commander Samuel Phillips Lee.
Commander Samuel Swartwout.
Commander Melancton Smith.
Commander Charles Stewart Boggs.
Commander John De Camp.

Commander James Alden.
Commander David D. Porter.
Commander Richard Wainwright.
Commander William B. Renshaw.
Lieutenant Commanding Abram D. Harrell.
Lieutenant Commanding Edward Donaldson.
Lieutenant Commanding George H. Preble.
Lieutenant Commanding Edward T. Nichols.
Lieutenant Commanding Jonathan M. Wainwright.
Lieutenant Commanding John Guest.
Lieutenant Commanding Charles H. B. Caldwell.
Lieutenant Commanding Napoleon B. Harrison.
Lieutenant Commanding Albert N. Smith.
Lieutenant Commanding Pierce Crosby.
Lieutenant Commanding George M. Ransom.
Lieutenant Commanding Watson Smith.
Lieutenant Commanding John H. Russell.
Lieutenant Commanding Walter W. Queen.
Lieutenant Commanding K. Randolph Breese.
Acting Lieutenant Commanding Selim E. Woolworth.
Acting Lieutenant Commanding Charles H. Baldwin.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14, 1862.

May 15, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, May 15, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, Cumberland, Virginia:

Your long despatch of yesterday is just received. I will answer more fully soon. Will say now that all your despatches to the Secretary of War have been promptly shown to me. Have done and shall do all I could and can to sustain you. Hoped that the opening of James River and putting Wool and Burnside in communication, with an open road to Richmond, or to you, had effected something in that direction. I am still unwilling to take all our force off the direct line between Richmond and here.

A. LINCOLN.

[May 15?] 1862.—REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT TO RESOLUTIONS OF THE EAST BALTIMORE METHODIST CONFERENCE.

REVS. I. A. GERE, A. A. REESE, D. D., G. D. CHENOWETH.

Gentlemen: Allow me to tender to you, and through you to the East Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, my grateful thanks for the preamble and resolutions of that body, copies of which you did me the honor to present yesterday. These kind words of approval, coming from so numerous a body of intelligent Christian people, and so free from all suspicion of sinister motives, are indeed encouraging to me. By the help of an all-wise Provi-

dence, I shall endeavor to do my duty, and I shall expect the continuance of your prayers for a right solution of our national difficulties and the restoration of our country to peace and prosperity.

Your obliged and humble servant, A. LINCOLN.

May 16, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, May 16, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Franklin:

The President desires to know whether you design to move on to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad and break it between Newbern and Salem, according to the plan you proposed and he approved; and also whether, having reached and broken that road, you cannot move forward rapidly upon Richmond by that route; and by what time you can reach the railroad, and how long it will take you from there to reach Richmond. Please answer immediately.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 16, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, May 16, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL:

What is the strength of your force now actually with you?

A. LINCOLN.

May 17, 1862.—MEMORANDUM, IN THE HANDWRITING OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN, OF HIS PROPOSED ADDITIONS TO INSTRUCTIONS OF ABOVE DATE TO GENERAL MCDOWELL, AND GENERAL MEIGS'S INDORSEMENT THEREON.

You will retain the separate command of the forces taken with you; but while coöperating with General McClellan you will obey his orders, except that you are to judge, and are not to allow your force to be disposed otherwise than so as to give the greatest protection to this capital which may be possible from that distance.

[*Indorsement.*]

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

The President having shown this to me, I suggested that it is dangerous to direct a subordinate not to obey the orders of his superior in any case, and that to give instructions to General McClellan to this same end and furnish General McDowell with a copy thereof would effect the object desired by the President. He desired me to say that the sketch of instructions to General McClellan herewith he thought made this addition unnecessary. Respectfully,

M. C. M.

May 17, 1862.—INDORSEMENT RELATING TO GENERAL DAVID HUNTER'S ORDER OF MILITARY EMANCIPATION.

No commanding general shall do such a thing upon my responsibility without consulting me. A. LINCOLN.

May 18, 1862.—LETTER FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 18, 1862. 2 P. M.

General: Your despatch to the President, asking reinforcements, has been received and carefully considered.

The President is not willing to uncover the capital entirely; and it is believed that even if this were prudent, it would require more time to effect a junction between your army and that of the Rappahannock by the way of the Potomac and York rivers than by a land march. In order, therefore, to increase the strength of the attack upon Richmond at the earliest moment, General McDowell has been ordered to march upon that city by the shortest route. He is ordered, keeping himself always in position to save the capital from all possible attack, so to operate as to put his left wing in communication with your right wing, and you are instructed to cooperate so as to establish this communication as soon as possible by extending your right wing to the north of Richmond.

It is believed that this communication can be safely established either north or south of the Pamunkey River.

In any event, you will be able to prevent the main body of the enemy's forces from leaving Richmond and falling in overwhelming force upon General McDowell. He will move with between thirty-five and forty thousand men.

A copy of the instructions to General McDowell are with this. The specific task assigned to his command has been to provide against any danger to the capital of the nation.

At your earnest call for reinforcements, he is sent forward to coöperate in the reduction of Richmond, but charged, in attempting this, not to uncover the city of Washington; and you will give no order, either before or after your junction, which can put him out of position to cover this city. You and he will communicate with each other by telegraph or otherwise as frequently as may be necessary for efficient coöperation. When General McDowell is in position on your right, his supplies must be drawn from West Point, and you will instruct your staff-officers to be prepared to supply him by that route.

The President desires that General McDowell retain the command of the Department of the Rappahannock and of the forces with which he moves forward.

By order of the President:

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,
Commanding Army of the Potomac, before Richmond.

May 19, 1862.—Proclamation revoking General Hunter's Order of Military Emancipation.

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas there appears in the public prints what purports to be a proclamation of Major-General Hunter, in the words and figures following, to wit:

(General Orders No. 11.)

Headquarters Department of the South,
Hilton Head, Port Royal, S. C., May 9, 1862.

The three States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, comprising the military department of the South, having deliberately declared themselves no longer under the protection of the United States of America, and having taken up arms against the said United States, it became a military necessity to declare martial law. This was accordingly done on the 25th day of April, 1862. Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible; the persons in these three States — Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina — heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free.

By command of Major-General D. Hunter:

(*Official.*) Ed. W. Smith, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

And whereas the same is producing some excitement and misunderstanding: therefore,

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, proclaim and declare that the Government of the United States had no knowledge, information, or belief of an intention on the part of General Hunter to issue such a proclamation; nor has it yet any authentic information that the document is genuine. And further, that neither General Hunter, nor any other commander or person, has been authorized by the Government of the United States to make a proclamation declaring the slaves of any State free; and that the supposed proclamation now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void so far as respects such a declaration.

I further make known that, whether it be competent for me, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether, at any time, in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field. These are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies and camps.

On the sixth day of March last, by special message, I recommended to Congress the adoption of a joint resolution, to be substantially as follows:

Resolved, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State

pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.

The resolution, in the language above quoted, was adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress, and now stands an authentic, definite, and solemn proposal of the nation to the States and people most immediately interested in the subject-matter. To the people of those States I now earnestly appeal. I do not argue —I beseech you to make arguments for yourselves. You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partizan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done, by one effort, in all past time, as in the providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred [L. S.] and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

May 21, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 21, 1862.

MAJOR GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

I have just been waited on by a large committee who present a petition signed by twenty-three senators and eighty-four representatives asking me to restore General Hamilton to his division. I wish to do this, and yet I do not wish to be understood as rebuking you. Please answer at once.

A. LINCOLN.

May 22, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, May 22, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your long despatch of yesterday just received. You will have just such control of General McDowell and his forces as you therein indicate. McDowell can reach you by land sooner than he could get aboard of boats, if the boats were ready at Fredericksburg, unless his march shall be resisted, in which case the force resisting him will certainly not be confronting you at Richmond. By land he

can reach you in five days after starting, whereas by water he would not reach you in two weeks, judging by past experience. Franklin's single division did not reach you in ten days after I ordered it.

A. LINCOLN, President United States.

May 22, 1862.—INDORSEMENT ON LETTER OF G. MONTAGUE HICKS.

This note, as Colonel Hicks did verbally yesterday, attempts to excite me against the Secretary of War, and therein is offensive to me. My "order," as he is pleased to call it, is plainly no order at all.

A. LINCOLN.

May 22, 1862.

May 22, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 20th instant, requesting information in regard to the indemnity obtained by the consul-general of the United States at Alexandria, Egypt, for the maltreatment of Faris-El-Hakim, an agent in the employ of the American missionaries in that country, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1862.

May 23, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, in answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 22d instant, calling for further correspondence relative to Mexican affairs.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 23, 1862.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1862. 4 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN:

In consequence of General Banks's critical position, I have been compelled to suspend General McDowell's movements to join you. The enemy are making a desperate push upon Harper's Ferry, and we are trying to throw General Frémont's force and part of General McDowell's in their rear.

A. LINCOLN, President.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN:

I left General McDowell's camp at dark last evening. Shields's command is there, but it is so worn that he cannot move before Monday morning, the 26th. We have so thinned our line to get troops for other places that it was broken yesterday at Front Royal, with a probable loss to us of one regiment infantry, two companies cavalry, putting General Banks in some peril.

The enemy's forces under General Anderson now opposing General McDowell's advance have as their line of supply and retreat the road to Richmond.

If, in conjunction with McDowell's movement against Anderson, you could send a force from your right to cut off the enemy's supplies from Richmond, preserve the railroad bridges across the two forks of the Pamunkey, and intercept the enemy's retreat, you will prevent the army now opposed to you from receiving an accession of numbers of nearly 15,000 men; and if you succeed in saving the bridges you will secure a line of railroad for supplies in addition to the one you now have. Can you not do this almost as well as not while you are building the Chickahominy bridges? McDowell and Shields both say they can, and positively will, move Monday morning. I wish you to move cautiously and safely.

You will have command of McDowell, after he joins you, precisely as you indicated in your long despatch to us of the 21st.

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL RUFUS SAXTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1862. 1 P. M.

GENERAL SAXTON:

Geary reports Jackson with 20,000 moving from Ashby's Gap by the Little River turnpike, through Aldie, toward Centreville. This, he says, is reliable. He is also informed of large forces south of him. We know a force of some 15,000 broke up Saturday night from in front of Fredericksburg and went we know not where. Please inform us, if possible, what has become of the force which pursued Banks yesterday; also any other information you have.

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO COLONEL D. S. MILES.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1862. 1.30 P. M.

COLONEL MILES, Harper's Ferry, Virginia:

Could you not send scouts from Winchester who would tell whether enemy are north of Banks, moving on Winchester? What is the latest you have?

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1862. 4. P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Franklin:

You are authorized to purchase the 400 horses, or take them wherever or however you can get them.

The exposed condition of General Banks makes his immediate relief a point of paramount importance. You are therefore directed by the President to move against Jackson at Harrisonburg and operate against the enemy in such way as to relieve Banks. This movement must be made immediately. You will acknowledge the receipt of this order, and specify the hour it is received by you.

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1862. 7.15 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Franklin, Virginia:

Many thanks for the promptness with which you have answered that you will execute the order. Much—perhaps all—depends upon the celerity with which you can execute it. Put the utmost speed into it. Do not lose a minute.

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, near Corinth, Mississippi:

Several despatches from Assistant Secretary Scott and one from Governor Morton asking reinforcements for you have been received. I beg you to be assured we do the best we can. I mean to cast no blame when I tell you each of our commanders along our line from Richmond to Corinth supposes himself to be confronted by numbers superior to his own. Under this pressure we thinned the line on the upper Potomac, until yesterday it was broken at heavy loss to us, and General Banks put in great peril, out of which he is not yet extricated, and may be actually captured. We need men to repair this breach, and have them not at hand. My dear general, I feel justified to rely very much on you. I believe you and the brave officers and men with you can and will get the victory at Corinth.

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1862. 5 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL, Fredericksburg:

General Frémont has been ordered by telegraph to move from Franklin on Harrisonburg to relieve General Banks, and capture or destroy Jackson's and Ewell's forces.

You are instructed, laying aside for the present the movement on Richmond, to put 20,000 men in motion at once for the Shenandoah, moving on the line or in advance of the line of the Manassas Gap Railroad. Your object will be to capture the forces of Jackson and Ewell, either in coöperation with General Frémont, or, in case want of supplies or of transportation interferes with his movements, it is believed that the force which you move will be sufficient to accomplish this object alone. The information thus far received here makes it probable that if the enemy operate actively against General Banks, you will not be able to count upon much assistance from him, but may even have to release him.

Reports received this moment are that Banks is fighting with Ewell eight miles from Winchester.

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,
May 24, 1862. 8 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL:

I am highly gratified by your alacrity in obeying my order. The change was as painful to me as it can possibly be to you or to any one.

Everything now depends upon the celerity and vigor of your movement.

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL, Falmouth:

In view of the operations of the enemy on the line of General Banks, the President thinks the whole force you designed to move from Fredericksburg should not be taken away, and he therefore directs that one brigade in addition to what you designed to leave at Fredericksburg should be left there: this brigade to be the least effective of your command.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

May 24, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS, Winchester:

In your despatch of this evening to the President, you say tha you intend to return with your command to Strasburg. The question is suggested whether you will not by that movement expose your

stores and trains at Winchester. The President desires, therefore, more detailed information than you have yet furnished respecting the force and position of the enemy in your neighborhood before you make a movement that will subject Winchester or Harper's Ferry to danger from sudden attack.

You will please report fully before moving.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 24, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: I transmit a report from the Secretary of State in answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 22d instant, calling for further correspondence relative to Mexican affairs.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1862.

May 25, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. W. GEARY.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 25, 1862. 1.45 P. M.

GENERAL GEARY, White Plains:

Please give us your best present impression as to the number of the enemy's forces north of Strasburg and Front Royal. Are the forces still moving north through the gap at Front Royal and between you and there?

A. LINCOLN.

May 25, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 25, 1862. 2 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

The enemy is moving north in sufficient force to drive General Banks before him — precisely in what force we cannot tell. He is also threatening Leesburg and Geary, on the Manassas Gap Railroad, from both north and south—in precisely what force we cannot tell. I think the movement is a general and concerted one, such as would not be if he was acting upon the purpose of a very desperate defense of Richmond. I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defense of Washington. Let me hear from you instantly.

A. LINCOLN, President.

May 25, 1862.—ORDER TAKING MILITARY POSSESSION OF RAILROADS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 25, 1862.

Ordered: By virtue of the authority vested by act of Congress, the President takes military possession of all the railroads in the

United States, from and after this date until further order, and directs that the respective railroad companies, their officers and servants, shall hold themselves in readiness for the transportation of such troops and munitions of war as may be ordered by the military authorities, to the exclusion of all other business.

By order of the Secretary of War:

M. C. MEIGS, Quartermaster-General.

May 25, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY CHASE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 25, 1862.

SECRETARY CHASE, Fredericksburg, Virginia:

It now appears that Banks got safely into Winchester last night, and is this morning retreating on Harper's Ferry. This justifies the inference that he is pressed by numbers superior to his own. I think it not improbable that Ewell, Jackson, and Johnson are pouring through the gap they made day before yesterday at Front Royal, making a dash northward. It will be a very valuable and very honorable service for General McDowell to cut them off. I hope he will put all possible energy and speed into the effort.

A. LINCOLN.

May 25, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. SAXTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 25, 1862. 4.15 P. M.

GENERAL SAXTON, Harper's Ferry:

If Banks reaches Martinsburg, is he any the better for it? Will not the enemy cut him from thence to Harper's Ferry? Have you sent anything to meet him and assist him at Martinsburg? This is an inquiry, not an order.

A. LINCOLN.

May 25, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. SAXTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 25, 1862. 6.50 P. M.

GENERAL SAXTON, Harper's Ferry:

One good six-gun battery, complete in its men and appointments, is now on its way to you from Baltimore. Eleven other guns, of different sorts, are on their way to you from here. Hope they will all reach you before morning. As you have but 2500 men at Harper's Ferry, where are the rest which were in that vicinity and which we have sent forward? Have any of them been cut off?

A. LINCOLN.

May 25, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. SAXTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 25, 1862.

GENERAL SAXTON, Harper's Ferry:

I fear you have mistaken me. I did not mean to question the correctness of your conduct; on the contrary, I approve what you have

done. As the 2500 reported by you seemed small to me, I feared some had got to Banks and been cut off with him. Please tell me the exact number you now have in hand.

A. LINCOLN.

May 25, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

(*Sent in cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,
May 25, 1862. 8.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your despatch received. General Banks was at Strasburg, with about 6000 men, Shields having been taken from him to swell a column for McDowell to aid you at Richmond, and the rest of his force scattered at various places. On the 23d a rebel force of 7000 to 10,000 fell upon one regiment and two companies guarding the bridge at Front Royal, destroying it entirely; crossed the Shenandoah, and on the 24th (yesterday) pushed to get north of Banks, on the road to Winchester. Banks ran a race with them, beating them into Winchester yesterday evening. This morning a battle ensued between the two forces, in which Banks was beaten back into full retreat toward Martinsburg, and probably is broken up into a total rout. Geary, on the Manassas Gap Railroad, just now reports that Jackson is now near Front Royal, with 10,000, following up and supporting, as I understand, the force now pursuing Banks; also that another force of 10,000 is near Orleans, following on in the same direction. Stripped bare, as we are here, it will be all we can do to prevent them crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry or above. We have about 20,000 of McDowell's force moving back to the vicinity of Front Royal, and General Frémont, who was at Franklin, is moving to Harrisonburg; both these movements intended to get in the enemy's rear.

One more of McDowell's brigades is ordered through here to Harper's Ferry; the rest of his force remains for the present at Fredericksburg. We are sending such regiments and dribs from here and Baltimore as we can spare to Harper's Ferry, supplying their places in some sort by calling in militia from the adjacent States. We also have eighteen cannon on the road to Harper's Ferry, of which arm there is not a single one yet at that point. This is now our situation.

If McDowell's force was now beyond our reach, we should be utterly helpless. Apprehension of something like this, and no unwillingness to sustain you, has always been my reason for withholding McDowell's force from you. Please understand this, and do the best you can with the force you have.

A. LINCOLN.

May 26, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: The insurrection which is yet existing in the United States and aims at the overthrow

of the Federal Constitution and the Union, was clandestinely prepared during the winter of 1860 and 1861, and assumed an open organization in the form of a treasonable provisional government at Montgomery, in Alabama, on the 18th day of February, 1861. On the 12th day of April, 1861, the insurgents committed the flagrant act of civil war by the bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter, which cut off the hope of immediate conciliation. Immediately afterward all the roads and avenues to this city were obstructed, and the capital was put into the condition of a siege. The mails in every direction were stopped and the lines of telegraph cut off by the insurgents, and military and naval forces which had been called out by the government for the defense of Washington were prevented from reaching the city by organized and combined treasonable resistance in the State of Maryland. There was no adequate and effective organization for the public defense. Congress had indefinitely adjourned. There was no time to convene them. It became necessary for me to choose whether, using only the existing means, agencies, and processes which Congress had provided, I should let the government fall at once into ruin, or whether, availing myself of the broader powers conferred by the Constitution in cases of insurrection, I would make an effort to save it with all its blessings for the present age and for posterity.

I thereupon summoned my constitutional advisers, the heads of all the departments, to meet on Sunday, the 21st day of April, 1861, at the office of the Navy Department; and then and there, with their unanimous concurrence, I directed that an armed revenue cutter should proceed to sea, to afford protection to the commercial marine and especially the California treasure-ships then on their way to this coast. I also directed the commandant of the navy-yard at Boston to purchase, or charter, and arm as quickly as possible, five steamships for purposes of public defense. I directed the commandant of the navy-yard at Philadelphia to purchase, or charter, and arm an equal number for the same purpose. I directed the commandant at New York to purchase, or charter, and arm an equal number. I directed Commander Gillis to purchase, or charter, and arm and put to sea two other vessels. Similar directions were given to Commodore Du Pont, with a view to the opening of passages by water to and from the capital. I directed the several officers to take the advice and obtain the aid and efficient services in the matter of his Excellency Edwin D. Morgan, the Governor of New York, or, in his absence, George D. Morgan, William M. Evarts, R. M. Blatchford, and Moses H. Grinnell, who were, by my direction, especially empowered by the Secretary of the Navy to act for his department in that crisis, in matters pertaining to the forwarding of troops and supplies for the public defense.

On the same occasion I directed that Governor Morgan and Alexander Cummings, of the city of New York, should be authorized by the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, to make all necessary arrangements for the transportation of troops and munitions of war, in aid and assistance of the officers of the army of the United States, until communication by mails and telegraph should be completely

reëstablished between the cities of Washington and New York. No security was required to be given by them, and either of them was authorized to act in case of inability to consult with the other.

On the same occasion I authorized and directed the Secretary of the Treasury to advance, without requiring security, two millions of dollars of public money to John A. Dix, George Opdyke, and Richard M. Blatchford, of New York, to be used by them in meeting such requisitions as should be directly consequent upon the military and naval measures necessary for the defense and support of the government, requiring them only to act without compensation, and to report their transactions when duly called upon.

The several departments of the government at that time contained so large a number of disloyal persons that it would have been impossible to provide safely through official agents only for the performance of the duties thus confided to citizens favorably known for their ability, loyalty, and patriotism.

The several orders issued upon these occurrences were transmitted by private messengers, who pursued a circuitous way to the seaboard cities, inland, across the States of Pennsylvania and Ohio and the northern lakes. I believe that by these and other similar measures taken in that crisis, some of which were without any authority of law, the government was saved from overthrow. I am not aware that a dollar of the public funds thus confided without authority of law to unofficial persons was either lost or wasted, although apprehensions of such misdirection occurred to me as objections to those extraordinary proceedings, and were necessarily overruled.

I recall these transactions now because my attention has been directed to a resolution which was passed by the House of Representatives on the 30th day of last month, which is in these words:

> Resolved, That Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, by investing Alexander Cummings with the control of large sums of the public money, and authority to purchase military supplies without restriction, without requiring from him any guarantee for the faithful performance of his duties, when the services of competent public officers were available, and by involving the government in a vast number of contracts with persons not legitimately engaged in the business pertaining to the subject-matter of such contracts, especially in the purchase of arms for future delivery, has adopted a policy highly injurious to the public service, and deserves the censure of the House.

Congress will see that I should be wanting equally in candor and in justice if I should leave the censure expressed in this resolution to rest exclusively or chiefly upon Mr. Cameron. The same sentiment is unanimously entertained by the heads of departments who participated in the proceedings which the House of Representatives has censured. It is due to Mr. Cameron to say that, although he fully approved the proceedings, they were not moved nor suggested by himself, and that not only the President but all the other heads of departments were at least equally responsible with him for whatever error, wrong, or fault was committed in the premises.

WASHINGTON, May 26, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

May 26, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 26, 1862. 12.40 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

We have General Banks's official report. He has saved his army and baggage, and has made a safe retreat to the river, and is probably safe at Williamsport. He reports the attacking force at 15,000.

A. LINCOLN, President.

May 26, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 26, 1862. 1 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL, Falmouth, Virginia:

Despatches from Geary just received have been sent you. Should not the remainder of your forces, except sufficient to hold the point at Fredericksburg, move this way — to Manassas Junction or Alexandria? As commander of this department, should you not be here? I ask these questions.

A. LINCOLN.

May 26, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 26, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN:

Can you not cut the Aquia Creek Railroad? Also, what impression have you as to intrenched works for you to contend with in front of Richmond? Can you get near enough to throw shells into the city?

A. LINCOLN, President.

May 26, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL J. B. RICKETTS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 26, 1862.

GENERAL RICKETTS, Alexandria:

The President wishes your brigade to move at once to Manassas by railroad. General Wadsworth has gone to Alexandria to assist in forwarding.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 27, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

May 27, 1862. 9.58 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT:

I see that you are at Moorefield. You were expressly ordered to march to Harrisonburg. What does this mean?

A. LINCOLN.

May 27, 1862.— TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GOVERNOR ANDREW.

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1862.

GOVERNOR ANDREW, Boston:

The President directs that the militia be relieved, and the enlistments made for three years, or during the war. This, I think, will practically not be longer than for a year. The latest intelligence from General Banks states that he has saved nearly his whole command with small loss.

Concentrations of our force have been made, which it is hoped will capture the enemy.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 28, 1862.— TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Moorefield:

The President directs you to halt at Moorefield and await orders, unless you hear of the enemy being in the general direction of Romney, in which case you will move upon him.

Acknowledge the receipt of this order, and the hour it is received.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 28, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1862. 1 P. M.

GENERAL MCDOWELL, Manassas Junction:

General McClellan at 6.30 P. M. yesterday telegraphed that Fitz-John Porter's division had fought and driven 13,000 of the enemy, under General Branch, from Hanover Court House, and was driving them from a stand they had made on the railroad at the time the messenger left. Two hours later he telegraphed that Stoneman had captured an engine and six cars on the Virginia Central, which he at once sent to communicate with F. J. Porter. Nothing further from McClellan. .

If Porter effects a lodgment on both railroads near Hanover Court House, consider whether your forces in front of Fredericksburg should not push through and join him.

A. LINCOLN.

May 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

What of F. J. Porter's expedition? Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

May 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. McDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1862. 4 P. M.

GENERAL McDOWELL, Manassas Junction:

You say General Geary's scouts report that they find no enemy this side of the Blue Ridge. Neither do I. Have they been to the Blue Ridge looking for them?

A. LINCOLN.

May 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. McDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1862. 5.40 P. M.

GENERAL McDOWELL, Manassas Junction:

. I think the evidence now preponderates that Ewell and Jackson are still about Winchester. Assuming this, it is for you a question of legs. Put in all the speed you can. I have told Frémont as much, and directed him to drive at them as fast as possible. By the way, I suppose you know Frémont has got up to Moorefield, instead of going to Harrisonburg.

A. LINCOLN.

May 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. McCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1862. 8.40 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL McCLELLAN:

I am very glad of General F. J. Porter's victory. Still, if it was a total rout of the enemy, I am puzzled to know why the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad was not seized again, as you say you have all the railroads but the Richmond and Fredericksburg. I am puzzled to see how, lacking that, you can have any, except the scrap from Richmond to West Point. The scrap of the Virginia Central from Richmond to Hanover Junction, without more, is simply nothing. That the whole of the enemy is concentrating on Richmond, I think cannot be certainly known to you or me. Saxton, at Harper's Ferry, informs us that large forces, supposed to be Jackson's and Ewell's, forced his advance from Charlestown to-day. General King telegraphs us from Fredericksburg that contrabands give certain information that 15,000 left Hanover Junction Monday morning to reinforce Jackson. I am painfully impressed with the importance of the struggle before you, and shall aid you all I can consistently with my view of due regard to all points.

A. LINCOLN.

May 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Moorefield:

The following despatch has just been received from General Hamilton, at Harper's Ferry:

HARPER'S FERRY, May 28.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

There is very little doubt that Jackson's force is between Winchester and Charlestown. His troops were too much fatigued to pursue Banks. A large body of rebel cavalry is near Charlestown now.

Jackson and Ewell were near Bunker Hill yesterday at noon.

Of this last there is no doubt.

C. S. HAMILTON, Brigadier-General.

The above probably indicates the true position of the enemy at this time. The President directs you to move upon him by the best route you can.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1862. 11 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. FRÉMONT, Moorefield:

The order to remain at Moorefield was based on the supposition that it would find you there.

Upon subsequent information that the enemy were still operating in the vicinity of Winchester and Martinsburg, you were directed to move against the enemy.

The President now again directs you to move against the enemy without delay.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this, and the time received.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 29, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MARCY.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1862. 10 A. M.

GENERAL R. B. MARCY, McClellan's Headquarters:

Yours just received. I think it cannot be certainly known whether the force which fought General Porter is the same which recently confronted McDowell. Another item of evidence bearing on it is that General Branch commanded against Porter, while it was General Anderson who was in front of McDowell. He and McDowell were in correspondence about prisoners.

A. LINCOLN.

May 29, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.
May 29, 1862. 10.30 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

I think we shall be able within three days to tell you certainly whether any considerable force of the enemy—Jackson or any

one else — is moving on to Harper's Ferry or vicinity. Take this expected development into your calculations.

A. LINCOLN.

May 29, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1862. 12 M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS, Williamsport, Maryland:

General McDowell's advance should, and probably will, be at or near Front Royal at twelve (noon) to-morrow. General Frémont will be at or near Strasburg as soon. Please watch the enemy closely, and follow and harass and detain him if he attempts to retire. I mean this for General Saxton's force as well as that immediately with you.

A. LINCOLN.

May 29, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1862. 12 M.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Moorefield, Virginia:

General McDowell's advance, if not checked by the enemy, should, and probably will, be at Front Royal by twelve (noon) to-morrow. His force, when up, will be about 20,000. Please have your force at Strasburg, or, if the route you are moving on does not lead to that point, as near Strasburg as the enemy may be by the same time. Your despatch No. 30 received and satisfactory.

A. LINCOLN.

May 29, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1862. 12 M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL, Manassas Junction:

General Frémont's force should, and probably will, be at or near Strasburg by twelve (noon) to-morrow. Try to have your force, or the advance of it, at Front Royal as soon.

A. LINCOLN.

May 29, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MARCY.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1862. 1.20 P. M.

GENERAL R. B. MARCY:

Your despatch as to the South Anna and Ashland being seized by our forces this morning is received. Understanding these points to be on the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, I heartily congratulate the country, and thank General McClellan and his army for their seizure.

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1862. 10 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL, Manassas Junction:

I somewhat apprehend that Frémont's force, in its present condition, may not be quite strong enough in case it comes in collision with the enemy. For this additional reason I wish you to push forward your column as rapidly as possible. Tell me what number your force reaching Front Royal will amount to.

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1862. 10.15 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS,

Williamsport, Maryland, *via* Harper's Ferry:

If the enemy in force is in or about Martinsburg, Charlestown, and Winchester, or any or all of them, he may come in collision with Frémont, in which case I am anxious that your force, with you and at Harper's Ferry, should so operate as to assist Frémont if possible; the same if the enemy should engage McDowell. This was the meaning of my despatch yesterday.

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1862. 11.30 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Moorefield, Virginia:

Yours of this morning from Moorefield just received. There cannot be more than 20,000, probably not more than 15,000, of the enemy at or about Winchester. Where is your force? It ought this minute to be near Strasburg. Answer at once.

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1862. 12.40.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL, Rectortown:

Your despatch of to-day received and is satisfactory. Frémont has nominally 22,000, really about 17,000. Blenker's division is part of it. I have a despatch from Frémont this morning, not telling me where he is; but he says:

Scouts and men from Winchester represent Jackson's force variously at 30,000 to 60,000. With him Generals Ewell and Longstreet.

The high figures erroneous, of course. Do you know where Longstreet is? Corinth is evacuated and occupied by us.

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1862. 2.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Moorefield, Virginia:

Yours, saying you will reach Strasburg or vicinity at 5 P. M. Saturday, has been received and sent to General McDowell, and he directed to act in view of it. You must be up to time you promised, if possible.

Corinth was evacuated last night, and is occupied by our troops to-day; the enemy gone south to Okolona, on the railroad to Mobile.

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1862. 2.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL:

Herewith I send a telegram just received from General Frémont. The despatch is dated of last night, and the point he says he will be at five o'clock Saturday afternoon is "Strasburg, or as near it as it may be to the enemy at that time."

I direct Frémont to come to time as fixed by himself, and you will act your discretion, taking this information into your calculation.

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY,
May 30, 1862. 9.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL, Rectortown, Virginia:

I send you a despatch just received from Saxton at Harper's Ferry:

The rebels are in line of battle in front of our lines. They have nine pieces of artillery, and in position, and cavalry. I shelled the woods in which they were, and they in return threw a large number of shells into the lines and tents from which I moved last night to take up a stronger position. I expect a great deal from the battery on the mountain, having there 9-inch Dahlgren bearing directly on the enemy's approaches. The enemy appeared this morning and then retired, with the intention of drawing us on. I shall act on the defensive, as my position is a strong one. In a skirmish which took place this afternoon I took one horse. The enemy lost two men killed and seven wounded.

R. SAXTON, Brigadier-General.

It seems the game is before you. Have sent a copy to General Frémont.

A. LINCOLN.

May 31, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. A. MCCALL.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1862. 3.35.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MCCALL, Commanding, Fredericksburg:

Are you about to withdraw from Fredericksburg; and if so, why, and by whose orders?

A. LINCOLN.

May 31, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1862. 10.20 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

A circle whose circumference shall pass through Harper's Ferry, Front Royal, and Strasburg, and whose center shall be a little northeast of Winchester, almost certainly has within it this morning the forces of Jackson, Ewell, and Edward Johnson. Quite certainly they were within it two days ago. Some part of their forces attacked Harper's Ferry at dark last evening, and are still in sight this morning. Shields, with McDowell's advance, retook Front Royal at 11 A. M. yesterday, with a dozen of our own prisoners taken there a week ago, 150 of the enemy, two locomotives, and eleven cars, some other property and stores, and saved the bridge.

General Frémont, from the direction of Moorefield, promises to be at or near Strasburg at 5 P. M. to-day. General Banks at Williamsport, with his old force and his new force at Harper's Ferry, is directed to coöperate. Shields at Front Royal reports a rumor of still an additional force of the enemy, supposed to be Anderson's, having entered the valley of Virginia. This last may or may not be true. Corinth is certainly in the hands of General Halleck.

A. LINCOLN.

May 31, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL G. A. MCCALL.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1862.

GENERAL MCCALL:

The President directs me to say to you that there can be nothing to justify a panic at Fredericksburg. He expects you to maintain your position there as becomes a soldier and a general.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., June 1, 1862. 9.30.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

You are probably engaged with the enemy. I suppose he made the attack. Stand well on your guard, hold all your ground, or

yield any only inch by inch and in good order. This morning we merge General Wool's department into yours, giving you command of the whole, and sending General Dix to Fort Monroe and General Wool to Fort McHenry. We also send General Sigel to report to you for duty.

A. LINCOLN.

June 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., June 1, 1862. 1.15 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

You are already notified that General Sigel is to report to you for duty. I suggest (do not order) that he have command of such of the forces about Fort Monroe, Norfolk, Newport News, etc., as you may see fit to put into active service, or such other command as may be suitable to his rank.

A. LINCOLN.

June 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,
June 1, 1862. 5 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Thanks for what you could and did say in your despatch of noon to-day to the Secretary of War. If the enemy shall not have renewed the attack this afternoon, I think the hardest of your work is done.

Shields's advance came in collision with part of the enemy yesterday evening, six miles from Front Royal, in a direction between Winchester and Strasburg, driving them back, capturing a few prisoners and one rifled cannon. Firing in that direction to-day, heard both from Harper's Ferry and Front Royal, indicates a probability that Frémont has met the enemy.

We have concluded to send General Sigel to Harper's Ferry, so that what I telegraphed you about him this morning is revoked. Dix goes to Fort Monroe to-night.

A. LINCOLN.

June 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

WASHINGTON, June 1, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS, Williamsport:

Major-General Sigel has been assigned to command of the troops at Harper's Ferry, numbering about 10,000, and directed to report to you. That force has been added to your command, and it will receive further additions.

Immediately on his arrival at Harper's Ferry—for which place he will start this evening—the President desires you to assume

actively the offensive against the retreating enemy without the loss of an hour. You will please communicate with General Sigel as speedily as possible. You will, of course, see that Harper's Ferry is left secure.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 3, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, June 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

With these continuous rains I am very anxious about the Chickahominy—so close in your rear and crossing your line of communication. Please look to it.

A. LINCOLN, President.

June 3, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

WASHINGTON, June 3, 1862. 6.15 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL, Front Royal, Virginia:

Anxious to know whether Shields can head or flank Jackson. Please tell about where Shields and Jackson, respectively, are at the time this reaches you.

A. LINCOLN.

June 4, 1862.—LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECRETARY TO JUDGE-ADVOCATE LEE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 4, 1862.

MAJOR J. F. LEE, Judge-Advocate.

Dear Sir: The President directs me to say that the rules of law stated in your within letter are correct and approved by him, and that he desires them to be followed. The order in Captain Cothran's case, mentioned in your letter, was evidently an oversight, and is not to be regarded as a precedent. Yours truly,

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

June 4, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: I transmit herewith a report of the Secretary of War in answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 2d of June, in relation to the authority and action of the Hon. Edward Stanley, military governor of North Carolina.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1862.

June 4, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth:

Your despatch of to-day to Secretary of War received. Thanks for the good news it brings.

Have you anything from Memphis or other parts of the Mississippi River? Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

June 4, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

(*Cipher.*)

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1862.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Do you really wish to have control of the question of releasing rebel prisoners so far as they may be Tennesseeans? If you do, please tell us so. Your answer not to be made public.

A. LINCOLN.

June 6, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL I. MCDOWELL.

(*Cipher.*)

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOWELL:

The President directs that McCall's division be sent by water to General McClellan immediately, and that you place such force at Fredericksburg by the time McCall leaves there as may, in your judgment, be necessary to hold that place. In respect to the operations of the residue of your force, the President reserves directions, to be given as soon as he determines.

Transportation has been ordered up the Rappahannock from here and from Fortress Monroe.

Adjutant-General shall issue the order.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

June 7, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1862.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

The President has received your two despatches of the 5th instant. He approves your proceedings of reprisal against the secessionists.

In regard to the release of the rebel prisoners, he holds the question as to the time when executive clemency shall be exercised under consideration. It has always been the design of the government to leave the exercise of that clemency to your judgment and discretion whenever the period arrives that it can properly be exercised.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 8, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth, Mississippi:

We are changing one of the departmental lines, so as to give you all of Kentucky and Tennessee. In your movement upon Chattanooga I think it probable that you include some combination of the force near Cumberland Gap under General Morgan. Do you?

A. LINCOLN.

June 9, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS, Winchester:

We are arranging a general plan for the valley of the Shenandoah, and in accordance with this you will move your main force to the Shenandoah at or opposite Front Royal as soon as possible.

A. LINCOLN.

June 9, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT:

Halt at Harrisonburg, pursuing Jackson no farther. Get your force well in hand and stand on the defensive, guarding against a movement of the enemy either back toward Strasburg or toward Franklin, and await further orders, which will soon be sent you.

A. LINCOLN.

June 9, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

(*Cipher.*)

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1862.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Your despatch about seizing seventy rebels to exchange for a like number of Union men was duly received. I certainly do not disapprove the proposition.

A. LINCOLN.

June 9, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Fortress Monroe:

Your despatch in relation to the gunboats has been laid before the President. He has directed the *Hunchback* and *Perry* to remain where they are, and that Goldsborough's order for their removal be countermanded. This I understand to be satisfactory to you. I should be glad to have a detailed statement of your force and its position.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 10, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a treaty for the suppression of the African slave-trade, between the United States and her Britannic Majesty, signed in this city on the 7th of April last, and the ratifications of which were exchanged at London on the 20th ultimo.

A copy of the correspondence which preceded the conclusion of the instrument, between the Secretary of State and Lord Lyons, her Britannic Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, is also herewith transmitted.

It is desirable that such legislation as may be necessary to carry the treaty into effect should be enacted as soon as may comport with the convenience of Congress.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1862.

June 12, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1862. 11 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT:

Your despatch of yesterday to the President has just been received.

He directs me to say that Mount Jackson will serve the purpose he had in view as well as Harrisonburg, except that it does not so well guard against the enemy's operations toward western Virginia. But if, in view of all the circumstances, you prefer the position of Mount Jackson, you will occupy it instead of Harrisonburg.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 12, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In obedience to the resolution of your honorable body of the 9th instant, requesting certain in-

formation in regard to the circuit court of the United States for the State of California, and the judge of said court, I have the honor to transmit a letter of the Attorney-General, with copies of two other letters, and of an indorsement of my own upon one of them, all which, taken together, contain all the information within my power to give upon the subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1862.

June 12, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL F. SIGEL.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIGEL, Winchester:

Your despatches of yesterday and to-day were received. It cannot be possible that Jackson has any such reinforcement as thirty or thirty-five thousand.

McClellan telegraphs that two regiments of reinforcements were sent from Richmond to Jackson.

What necessity can there be for General Banks to fall back from Front Royal and his positions until Frémont comes up?

Does it not leave a gap for Jackson to pass through Front Royal as before?

The President directs that your forces and Banks's shall not fall back from Front Royal and their present positions until further developments.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 12, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT:

Accounts, which we do not credit, represent that Jackson is largely reinforced and turning upon you. Get your forces well in hand and keep us well and frequently advised; and if you find yourself really pressed by a superior force of the enemy, fall back cautiously toward or to Winchester, and we will have in due time Banks in position to sustain you. Do not fall back upon Harrisonburg unless upon tolerably clear necessity. We understand Jackson is on the other side of the Shenandoah from you, and hence cannot in any event press you into any necessity of a precipitate withdrawal.

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. Yours, preferring Mount Jackson to Harrisonburg, is just received. On this point use your discretion, remembering that our object is to give such protection as you can to western Virginia. Many thanks to yourself, officers, and men for the gallant battle of last Sunday.

A. L.

June 13, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives: I herewith transmit a memorial addressed and presented to me in behalf of the State of New York, in favor of enlarging the locks of the Erie and Oswego canals. While I have not given, nor have leisure to give, the subject a careful examination, its great importance is obvious and unquestionable. The large amount of valuable statistical information which is collated and presented in the memorial will greatly facilitate the mature consideration of the subject, which I respectfully ask for it at your hands.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, June 13, 1862.

June 13, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, June 13, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT:

We cannot afford to keep your force and Banks's and McDowell's engaged in keeping Jackson south of Strasburg and Front Royal. You fought Jackson alone and worsted him. He can have no substantial reinforcements so long as a battle is pending at Richmond. Surely you and Banks in supporting distance are capable of keeping him from returning to Winchester. But if Sigel be sent forward to you, and McDowell (as he must) be put to other work, Jackson will break through at Front Royal again. He is already on the right side of the Shenandoah to do it, and on the wrong side of it to attack you. The orders already sent you and Banks place you and him in the proper positions for the work assigned you. Jackson cannot move his whole force on either of you before the other can learn of it and go to his assistance. He cannot divide his force, sending part against each of you, because he will be too weak for either. Please do as I directed in the order of the 8th and my despatch of yesterday, the 12th, and neither you nor Banks will be overwhelmed by Jackson. By proper scout lookouts, and beacons of smoke by day and fires by night, you can always have timely notice of the enemy's approach. I know not as to you, but by some this has been too much neglected.

A. LINCOLN.

June 15, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., June 15, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: The night between your two late battles of Saturday and Sunday I went earnestly to work to find a way of putting General Wool's force under your control without wounding any one's feelings. But, after all, General Dix was a little hurt at being taken from an independent command and put in a dependent one.

I could not help this without giving up the principal object of the move. So soon as you can (which I do not expect is yet), I wish you to give me the benefit of your suggestions as to how an independent command can be given him without detriment.

The Secretary of War has turned over to me your despatch about sending McDowell to you by water, instead of by land. I now fear he cannot get to you either way in time. Shields's division has got so terribly out of shape, out at elbows, and out at toes, that it will require a long time to get it in again. I expect to see McDowell within a day or two, when I will again talk with him about the mode of moving. McCall's division has nearly or quite reached you by now. This, with what you get from General Wool's old command, and the new regiments sent you, must give you an increase since the late battles of over twenty thousand. Doubtless the battles and other causes have decreased you half as much in the same time; but then the enemy have lost as many in the same way. I believe I would come and see you were it not that I fear my presence might divert you and the army from more important matters.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 15, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., June 15, 1862.
MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 12th by Colonel Zagonyi is just received. In answer to the principal part of it, I repeat the substance of an order of the 8th and one or two telegraphic despatches sent you since.

We have no indefinite power of sending reinforcements; so that we are compelled rather to consider the proper disposal of the forces we have than of those we could wish to have. We may be able to send you some dribs by degrees, but I do not believe we can do more. As you alone beat Jackson last Sunday, I argue that you are stronger than he is to-day, unless he has been reinforced; and that he cannot have been materially reinforced, because such reinforcement could only have come from Richmond, and he is much more likely to go to Richmond than Richmond is to come to him. Neither is very likely. I think Jackson's game — his assigned work — now is to magnify the accounts of his numbers and reports of his movements, and thus by constant alarms keep three or four times as many of our troops away from Richmond as his own force amounts to. Thus he helps his friends at Richmond three or four times as much as if he were there. Our game is not to allow this. Accordingly, by the order of the 8th, I directed you to halt at Harrisonburg, rest your force, and get it well in hand, the objects being to guard against Jackson's returning by the same route to the upper Potomac, over which you have just driven him out, and at the same time give some protection against a raid into West Virginia. Already I have given you discretion to occupy Mount Jackson instead, if, on full considera-

tion, you think best. I do not believe Jackson will attack you, but certainly he cannot attack you by surprise; and if he comes upon you in superior force, you have but to notify us, fall back cautiously, and Banks will join you in due time. But while we know not whether Jackson will move at all, or by what route, we cannot safely put you and Banks both on the Strasburg line, and leave no force on the Front Royal line—the very line upon which he prosecuted his late raid. The true policy is to place one of you on one line and the other on the other, in such positions that you can unite once you actually find Jackson moving upon it. And this is precisely what we are doing. This protects that part of our frontier, so to speak, and liberates McDowell to go to the assistance of McClellan. I have arranged this, and am very unwilling to have it deranged. While you have only asked for Sigel, I have spoken only of Banks, and this because Sigel's force is now the principal part of Banks's force.

About transferring General Schenck's command, the purchase of supplies, and the promotion and appointment of officers, mentioned in your letter, I will consult with the Secretary of War to-morrow.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 16, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Mount Jackson, Virginia:

Your despatch of yesterday, reminding me of a supposed understanding that I would furnish you a corps of 35,000 men, and asking of me the "fulfilment of this understanding," is received. I am ready to come to a fair settlement of accounts with you on the fulfilment of understandings.

Early in March last, when I assigned you to the command of the Mountain Department, I did tell you I would give you all the force I could, and that I hoped to make it reach 35,000. You at the same time told me that within a reasonable time you would seize the railroad at or east of Knoxville, Tenn., if you could. There was then in the department a force supposed to be 25,000, the exact number as well known to you as to me. After looking about two or three days, you called and distinctly told me that if I would add the Blenker division to the force already in the department, you would undertake the job. The Blenker division contained 10,000, and at the expense of great dissatisfaction to General McClellan I took it from his army and gave it to you. My promise was literally fulfilled. I have given you all I could, and I have given you very nearly, if not quite, 35,000.

Now for yours. On the 23d of May, largely over two months afterward, you were at Franklin, Va., not within 300 miles of Knoxville, nor within 80 miles of any part of the railroad east of it, and not moving forward, but telegraphing here that you could not move for lack of everything. Now, do not misunderstand me. I do not say you have not done all you could. I presume you met unexpected

difficulties; and I beg you to believe that as surely as you have done your best, so have I. I have not the power now to fill up your corps to 35,000. I am not demanding of you to do the work of 35,000. I am only asking of you to stand cautiously on the defensive, get your force in order, and give such protection as you can to the valley of the Shenandoah and to western Virginia.

Have you received the orders, and will you act upon them?

A. LINCOLN.

June 16, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL C. SCHURZ.

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1862.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SCHURZ, Mount Jackson, Virginia:

Your long letter is received. The information you give is valuable. You say it is fortunate that Frémont did not intercept Jackson; that Jackson had the superior force, and would have overwhelmed him. If this is so, how happened it that Frémont fairly fought and routed him on the 8th? Or is the account that he did fight and route him false and fabricated? Both General Frémont and you speak of Jackson having beaten Shields. By our accounts he did not beat Shields. He had no engagement with Shields. He did meet and drive back with disaster about 2000 of Shields's advance till they were met by an additional brigade of Shields's, when Jackson himself turned and retreated. Shields himself and more than half his force were not nearer than twenty miles to any of it.

A. LINCOLN.

June 17, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: The resolution of the House of Representatives of the 9th instant, asking whether any legislation is necessary in order to give effect to the provisions of the act of April 16, 1862, providing for the reorganization of the medical department of the army, was referred to the Secretary of War, whose report thereon is hereby communicated.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 17, 1862.

June 17, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL F. SIGEL.

WASHINGTON, June 17, 1862.

GENERAL SIGEL, Winchester:

The forces at Front Royal are there by order of the President. When he desires their position to be changed, the order will be given by him.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 17, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL J. C. FRÉMONT.

WASHINGTON, June 17, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRÉMONT, Mount Jackson:

It is reported here that you understand the President's order to you as requiring you to remain at Mount Jackson. The President directs me to say that he does wish you to hold your position at Mount Jackson if you can safely do so; but, if pressed beyond your strength, that you will then fall back toward Strasburg, for support from General Banks. General Banks is now here, and will see you immediately upon his return to his command.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 18, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth, Mississippi:

It would be of both interest and value to us here to know how the expedition toward East Tennessee is progressing, if in your judgment you can give us the information with safety.

A. LINCOLN.

June 18, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 18, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Yours of to-day, making it probable that Jackson has been reinforced by about 10,000 from Richmond, is corroborated by a despatch from General King at Fredericksburg, saying a Frenchman, just arrived from Richmond by way of Gordonsville, met 10,000 to 15,000 passing through the latter place to join Jackson.

If this is true, it is as good as a reinforcement to you of an equal force. I could better dispose of things if I could know about what day you can attack Richmond, and would be glad to be informed, if you think you can inform me with safety.

A. LINCOLN.

June 19, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Yours of last night just received, and for which I thank you.

If large reinforcements are going from Richmond to Jackson, it proves one of two things: either that they are very strong at Richmond, or do not mean to defend the place desperately.

On reflection, I do not see how reinforcements from Richmond to Jackson could be in Gordonsville, as reported by the Frenchman and your deserters. Have not all been sent to deceive?

A. LINCOLN.

June 20, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 20, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

We have this morning sent you a despatch of General Sigel corroborative of the proposition that Jackson is being reinforced from Richmond. This may be reality, and yet may only be contrivance for deception, and to determine which is perplexing. If we knew it was not true, we could send you some more force; but as the case stands we do not think we safely can. Still, we will watch the signs and do so if possible.

In regard to a contemplated execution of Captains Spriggs and Triplett the government has no information whatever, but will inquire and advise you.

A. LINCOLN.

June 21, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1862. 6 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN:

Your despatch of yesterday (2 P. M.) was received this morning. If it would not divert too much of your time and attention from the army under your immediate command, I would be glad to have your views as to the present state of military affairs throughout the whole country, as you say you would be glad to give them. I would rather it should be by letter than by telegraph, because of the better chance of secrecy. As to the numbers and positions of the troops not under your command in Virginia and elsewhere, even if I could do it with accuracy, which I cannot, I would rather not transmit either by telegraph or letter, because of the chances of its reaching the enemy. I would be very glad to talk with you, but you cannot leave your camp, and I cannot well leave here.

A. LINCOLN, President.

June 22, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 22, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS, Middletown:

I am very glad you are looking well to the west for a movement of the enemy in that direction. You know my anxiety on that point. All was quiet at General McClellan's headquarters at two o'clock to-day.

A. LINCOLN.

June 23, 1862.— MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: The bill which has passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, entitled "An act to repeal that part of an act of Congress which prohibits the circulation of bank-notes of a less denomination than five dollars in the District of Columbia," has received my attentive consideration, and I now return it to the Senate, in which it originated, with the following objections:

1. The bill proposes to repeal the existing legislation prohibiting the circulation of bank-notes of a less denomination than five dollars within the District of Columbia, without permitting the issuing of such bills by banks not now legally authorized to issue them. In my judgment, it will be found impracticable, in the present condition of the currency, to make such a discrimination. The banks have generally suspended specie payments; and a legal sanction given to the circulation of the irredeemable notes of one class of them will almost certainly be so extended, in practical operation, as to include those of all classes, whether authorized or unauthorized. If this view be correct, the currency of the District, should this act become a law, will certainly and greatly deteriorate, to the serious injury of honest trade and honest labor.

2. This bill seems to contemplate no end which cannot be otherwise more certainly and beneficially attained. During the existing war it is peculiarly the duty of the National Government to secure to the people a sound circulating medium. This duty has been, under existing circumstances, satisfactorily performed, in part at least, by authorizing the issue of United States notes, receivable for all government dues except customs, and made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except interest on public debt. The object of the bill submitted to me—namely, that of providing a small note currency during the present suspension—can be fully accomplished by authorizing the issue—as part of any new emission of United States notes made necessary by the circumstances of the country—of notes of a similar character, but of less denomination, than five dollars. Such an issue would answer all the beneficial purposes of the bill, would save a considerable amount to the treasury in interest, would greatly facilitate payments to soldiers and other creditors of small sums, and would furnish to the people a currency as safe as their own government.

Entertaining these objections to the bill, I feel myself constrained to withhold from it my approval, and return it for the further consideration and action of Congress.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

June 23, 1862.

June 24, 1862.— LETTER FROM GENERAL SCOTT TO THE PRESIDENT.

WEST POINT, June 24, 1862.

The President, having stated to me, orally, the present numbers and positions of our forces in front of the rebel armies south and

southwest of the Potomac, has done me the honor to ask my views in writing as to the further dispositions now to be made of the former, and particularly of the army under McDowell, toward the suppression of the rebellion.

Premising that, although the statements of the President were quite full and most distinct and lucid, yet from my distance from the scenes of operations, and not having recently followed them up with closeness, many details are still wanting to give professional value to my suggestions, I shall, nevertheless, with great deference proceed to offer such as most readily occur to me, each of which has been anticipated by the President.

I consider the numbers and positions of Frémont and Banks adequate to the protection of Washington against any force the enemy can bring by the way of the upper Potomac, and the troops at Manassas Junction, with the garrisons of the forts on the Potomac and of Washington, equally adequate to its protection on the south.

The force at Fredericksburg seems entirely out of position, and it cannot be called up directly and in time by McClellan, from the want of railroad transportation, or an adequate supply train moved by animals.

If, however, there be a sufficient number of vessels at hand, that force might reach the head of York River, by water, in time to aid in the operations against Richmond; or, in the very improbable case of disaster there, to serve as a valuable reinforcement to McClellan.

The defeat of the rebels at Richmond, or their forced retreat thence, combined with our previous victories, would be a viritual end of the rebellion, and soon restore entire Virginia to the Union.

The remaining important points to be occupied by us are Mobile, Charleston, Chattanooga. These must soon come into our hands.

McDowell's force at Manassas might be ordered to Richmond by the Potomac and York rivers, and be replaced at Manassas by King's brigade, if there be adequate transports at or near Alexandria. Most respectfully submitted,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

June 26, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, June 26, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your three despatches of yesterday in relation to the affair, ending with the statement that you completely succeeded in making your point, are very gratifying.

The latter one of 6.15 P. M., suggesting the probability of your being overwhelmed by 200,000, and talking of where the responsibility will belong, pains me very much. I give you all I can, and act on the presumption that you will do the best you can with what you have, while you continue, ungenerously I think, to assume that

I could give you more if I would. I have omitted and shall omit no opportunity to send you reinforcements whenever I possibly can.

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. General Pope thinks if you fall back it would be much better toward York River than toward the James. As Pope now has charge of the capital, please confer with him through the telegraph.

June 26, 1862.—ORDER CONSTITUTING THE ARMY OF VIRGINIA.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 26, 1862.

Ordered—1st. The forces under Major-Generals Frémont, Banks, and McDowell, including the troops now under Brigadier-General Sturgis at Washington, shall be consolidated and form one army, to be called the Army of Virginia.

2d. The command of the Army of Virginia is specially assigned to Major-General John Pope, as commanding general. The troops of the Mountain Department, heretofore under command of General Frémont, shall constitute the First Army Corps, under the command of General Frémont; the troops of the Shenandoah Department, now under General Banks, shall constitute the Second Army Corps, and be commanded by him; the troops under the command of General McDowell, except those within the fortifications and city of Washington, shall form the Third Army Corps, and be under his command.

3d. The Army of Virginia shall operate in such manner as, while protecting western Virginia and the national capital from danger or insult, it shall in the speediest manner attack and overcome the rebel forces under Jackson and Ewell, threaten the enemy in the direction of Charlottesville, and render the most effective aid to relieve General McClellan and capture Richmond.

4th. When the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Virginia shall be in position to communicate and directly coöperate at or before Richmond, the chief command, while so operating together, shall be governed, as in like cases, by the Rules and Articles of War.

A. LINCOLN.

June 26, 1862.—LETTER TO J. W. CRISFIELD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 26, 1862.

HON. JOHN W. CRISFIELD.

My dear Sir: I have been considering the appeal made by yourself and Senator Pearce in behalf of Judge Carmichael. His charge to the Grand Jury was left with me by the senator, and on reading it I must confess I was not very favorably impressed toward the judge. The object of the charge, I understand, was to procure prosecution and punishment of some men for arresting or doing violence to some secessionists—that is, the judge was trying to

help a little by giving the protection of law to those who were endeavoring to overthrow the supreme law—trying if he could find a safe place for certain men to stand on the Constitution, whilst they should stab it in another place.

But possibly I am mistaken.

The Secretary of War and I have agreed that if the judge will take the oath of allegiance usually taken in such cases, he may be discharged. Please ascertain and inform me whether he will do it.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 28, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

The enemy have concentrated in such force at Richmond as to render it absolutely necessary, in the opinion of the President, for you immediately to detach 25,000 of your force and forward it by the nearest and quickest route by way of Baltimore and Washington to Richmond. It is believed that the quickest route would be by way of Columbus, Ky., and up the Ohio River. But in detaching your force the President directs that it be done in such a way as to enable you to hold your ground and not interfere with the movement against Chattanooga and East Tennessee. This condition being observed, the forces to be detached and the routes they are to be sent are left to your own judgment.

The direction to send these forces immediately is rendered imperative by a serious reverse suffered by General McClellan before Richmond yesterday, the full extent of which is not yet known.

You will acknowledge the receipt of this despatch, stating the day and hour it is received, and inform me what your action will be, so that we may take measures to aid in river and railroad transportation.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1862.

GENERAL BURNSIDE:

I think you had better go, with any reinforcements you can spare, to General McClellan.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 28, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Newbern:

We have intelligence that General McClellan has been attacked in large force and compelled to fall back toward the James River.

We are not advised of his exact condition, but the President directs that you shall send him all the reinforcements from your command to the James River that you can safely do without abandoning your own position. Let it be infantry entirely, as he said yesterday that he had cavalry enough.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, June 28, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Save your army, at all events. Will send reinforcements as fast as we can, Of course they cannot reach you to-day, to-morrow, or next day. I have not said you were ungenerous for saying you needed reinforcements. I thought you were ungenerous in assuming that I did not send them as fast as I could. I feel any misfortune to you and your army quite as keenly as you feel it yourself. If you have had a drawn battle, or a repulse, it is the price we pay for the enemy not being in Washington. We protected Washington, and the enemy concentrated on you. Had we stripped Washington, he would have been upon us before the troops could have gotten to you. Less than a week ago you notified us that reinforcements were leaving Richmond to come in front of us. It is the nature of the case, and neither you nor the government is to blame. Please tell at once the present condition and aspect of things.

A. LINCOLN.

June 28, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 28, 1862.

HON. W. H. SEWARD.

My dear Sir: My view of the present condition of the war is about as follows:

The evacuation of Corinth and our delay by the flood in the Chickahominy have enabled the enemy to concentrate too much force in Richmond for McClellan to successfully attack. In fact there soon will be no substantial rebel force anywhere else. But if we send all the force from here to McClellan, the enemy will, before we can know of it, send a force from Richmond and take Washington. Or if a large part of the western army be brought here to McClellan, they will let us have Richmond, and retake Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, etc. What should be done is to hold what we have in the West, open the Mississippi, and take Chattanooga and East Tennessee without more. A reasonable force should in every event be kept about Washington for its protection. Then let the country give us a hundred thousand new troops in the shortest possible time, which, added to McClellan directly or indirectly, will take Richmond without endangering any other place which we now hold, and

will substantially end the war. I expect to maintain this contest until successful, or till I die, or am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forsake me; and I would publicly appeal to the country for this new force were it not that I fear a general panic and stampede would follow, so hard it is to have a thing understood as it really is. I think the new force should be all, or nearly all, infantry, principally because such can be raised most cheaply and quickly. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. A. DIX.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1862.

GENERAL DIX:

Communication with McClellan by White House is cut off. Strain every nerve to open communication with him by James River, or any other way you can. Report to me.

A. LINCOLN.

June 28, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO FLAG-OFFICER L. M. GOLDSBOROUGH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1862.

FLAG-OFFICER GOLDSBOROUGH, Fort Monroe:

Enemy has cut McClellan's communication with White House, and is driving Stoneman back on that point. Do what you can for him with gunboats at or near that place. McClellan's main force is between the Chickahominy and the James. Also do what you can to communicate with him and support him there.

A. LINCOLN.

June 29, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 29, 1862. 6 P. M.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Astor House, New York:

Not much more than when you left. Fulton of "Baltimore American" is now with us. He left White House at 11 A. M. yesterday. He conversed fully with a paymaster who was with Porter's force during the fight of Friday and fell back to nearer McClellan's quarters just a little sooner than Porter did, seeing the whole of it; stayed on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy over night, and left for White House at 5 A. M. Saturday. He says Porter retired in perfect order under protection of the guns arranged for the purpose, under orders and not from necessity; and with all other of our forces, except what was left on purpose to go to White House, was safely in pontoons over the Chickahominy before morning, and that there was heavy firing on the Richmond side, begun at five and ceased at 7 A. M. Saturday. On the whole, I think we have had the better of it up to that point of

time. What has happened since we still know not, as we have no communication with General McClellan. A despatch from Colonel Ingalls shows that he thinks McClellan is fighting with the enemy at Richmond to-day, and will be to-morrow. We have no means of knowing upon what Colonel Ingalls founds his opinion. All confirmed about saving all property. Not a single unwounded straggler came back to White House from the field, and the number of wounded reaching there up to 11 A. M. Saturday was not large.

A. LINCOLN.

To what the President has above stated I will only add one or two points that may be satisfactory for you to know.

First. All the sick and wounded were safely removed from White House; not a man left behind.

Second. A despatch from Burnside shows that he is in condition to afford efficient support, and is probably doing so.

Third. The despatch from Colonel Ingalls impresses me with the conviction that the movement was made by General McClellan to concentrate on Richmond, and was successful to the latest point of which we have any information.

Fourth. Mr. Fulton says that on Friday night, between twelve and one o'clock, General McClellan telegraphed Commodore Goldsborough that the result of the movement was satisfactory to him.

Fifth. From these and the facts stated by the President, my inference is that General McClellan will probably be in Richmond within two days.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

June 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 30, 1862.

HON. WM. H. SEWARD, New York:

We are yet without communication with General McClellan, and this absence of news is our point of anxiety. Up to the latest point to which we are posted, he effected everything in such exact accordance with his plan, contingently announced to us before the battle began, that we feel justified to hope that he has not failed since. He had a severe engagement in getting the part of his army on this side of the Chickahominy over to the other side, in which the enemy lost certainly as much as we did. We are not dissatisfied with this, only that the loss of enemies does not compensate for the loss of friends. The enemy cannot come below White House; certainly is not there now, and probably has abandoned the whole line. Dix's pickets are at New Kent Court House.

A. LINCOLN.

June 30, 1862.—CALL FOR TROOPS.

NEW YORK, June 30, 1862.

To the Governors of the several States: The capture of New Orleans, Norfolk, and Corinth by the national forces has enabled the insurgents to concentrate a large force at and about Richmond, which

place we must take with the least possible delay; in fact, there will soon be no formidable insurgent force except at Richmond. With so large an army there, the enemy can threaten us on the Potomac and elsewhere. Until we have reëstablished the national authority, all these places must be held, and we must keep a respectable force in front of Washington. But this, from the diminished strength of our army by sickness and casualties, renders an addition to it necessary in order to close the struggle which has been prosecuted for the last three months with energy and success. Rather than hazard the misapprehension of our military condition and of groundless alarm by a call for troops by proclamation, I have deemed it best to address you in this form. To accomplish the object stated, we require, without delay, 150,000 men, including those recently called for by the Secretary of War. Thus reinforced, our gallant army will be enabled to realize the hopes and expectations of the government and the people.

A. LINCOLN.

June 30, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. A. DIX.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, June 30, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe:

Is it not probable the enemy have abandoned the line between White House and McClellan's rear? He could have but little object to maintain it, and nothing to subsist upon. Would not Stoneman better move up and see about it? I think a telegraphic communication can at once be opened to White House from Williamsburg. The wires must be up still.

A. LINCOLN.

June 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 30, 1862. 3 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth:

Your telegram of this date just received. The Chattanooga expedition must not on any account be given up. The President regards that and the movement against East Tennessee as one of the most important movements of the war, and its occupation nearly as important as the capture of Richmond. He is not pleased with the tardiness of the movement toward Chattanooga, and directs that no force be sent here if you cannot do it without breaking up the operations against that point and East Tennessee. Infantry only are needed; our cavalry and artillery are strong enough. The first reports from Richmond were more discouraging than the truth warranted. If the advantage is not on our side, it is balanced. General McClellan has moved his whole force on the line of the James River, and is supported there by our gunboats; but he must be largely strengthened before advancing, and hence the call on you, which I am glad you answered so promptly. Let me know to what point on the river you will send your forces, so as to provide immediately for transportation.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 30, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth, Mississippi:

Would be very glad of 25,000 infantry; no artillery or cavalry; but please do not send a man if it endangers any place you deem important to hold, or if it forces you to give up or weaken or delay the expedition against Chattanooga. To take and hold the railroad at or east of Cleveland, in East Tennessee, I think fully as important as the taking and holding of Richmond.

A. LINCOLN.

July 1, 1862.—CALL FOR 300,000 VOLUNTEERS.

June 28, 1862.

The undersigned, governors of States of the Union, impressed with the belief that the citizens of the States which they respectively represent are of one accord in the hearty desire that the recent successes of the Federal arms may be followed up by measures which must insure the speedy restoration of the Union, and believing that, in view of the present state of the important military movements now in progress, and the reduced condition of our effective forces in the field, resulting from the usual and unavoidable casualties in the service, the time has arrived for prompt and vigorous measures to be adopted by the people in support of the great interests committed to your charge, respectfully request, if it meets with your entire approval, that you at once call upon the several States for such number of men as may be required to fill up all military organizations now in the field, and add to the armies heretofore organized such additional number of men as may, in your judgment, be necessary to garrison and hold all the numerous cities and military positions that have been captured by our armies, and to speedily crush the rebellion that still exists in several of the Southern States, thus practically restoring to the civilized world our great and good government. All believe that the decisive moment is near at hand, and to that end the people of the United States are desirous to aid promptly in furnishing all reinforcements that you may deem needful to sustain our government.

ISRAEL WASHBURN, JR., Governor of Maine.
H. S. BERRY, Governor of New Hampshire.
FREDERICK HOLBROOK, Governor of Vermont.
WILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM, Governor of Connecticut.
E. D. MORGAN, Governor of New York.
CHARLES S. OLDEN, Governor of New Jersey.
A. G. CURTIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.
A. W. BRADFORD, Governor of Maryland,
F. H. PIERPOINT, Governor of Virginia.
AUSTIN BLAIR, Governor of Michigan.
J. B. TEMPLE, President Military Board of Kentucky.
ANDREW JOHNSON, Governor of Tennessee.
H. R. GAMBLE, Governor of Missouri.
O. P. MORTON, Governor of Indiana.
DAVID TODD, Governor of Ohio.
ALEXANDER RAMSEY, Governor of Minnesota.
RICHARD YATES, Governor of Illinois.
EDWARD SALOMON, Governor of Wisconsin.

THE PRESIDENT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 1, 1862.

Gentlemen: Fully concurring in the wisdom of the views expressed to me in so patriotic a manner by you, in the communication of the twenty-eighth day of June, I have decided to call into the service an additional force of 300,000 men. I suggest and recommend that the troops should be chiefly of infantry. The quota of your State would be———. I trust that they may be enrolled without delay, so as to bring this unnecessary and injurious civil war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. An order fixing the quotas of the respective States will be issued by the War Department to-morrow.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 1, 1862.—PROCLAMATION CONCERNING TAXES IN REBELLIOUS STATES.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, in and by the second section of an act of Congress passed on the seventh day of June, A. D. 1862, entitled "An act for the collection of direct taxes in insurrectionary districts within the United States, and for other purposes," it is made the duty of the President to declare, on or before the first day of July then next following, by his proclamation, in what States and parts of States insurrection exists:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and proclaim that the States of South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and the State of Virginia (except the following counties: Hancock, Brooke, Ohio, Marshall, Wetzel, Marion, Monongalia, Preston, Taylor, Pleasants, Tyler, Ritchie, Doddridge, Harrison, Wood, Jackson, Wirt, Roane, Calhoun, Gilmer, Barbour, Tucker, Lewis, Braxton, Upshur, Randolph, Mason, Putnam, Kanawha, Clay, Nicholas, Cabell, Wayne, Boone, Logan, Wyoming, Webster, Fayette, and Raleigh), are now in insurrection and rebellion, and by reason thereof the civil authority of the United States is obstructed so that the provisions of the "Act to provide increased revenue from imports, to pay the interest on the public debt, and for other purposes," approved August fifth, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, cannot be peaceably executed; and that the taxes legally chargeable upon real estate, under the act last aforesaid, lying within the States and parts of States as aforesaid, together with a penalty of fifty per centum of said taxes, shall be a lien upon the tracts or lots of the same, severally charged, till paid.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: F. W. SEWARD, Acting Secretary of State.

July 1, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I most cordially recommend that Captain Andrew H. Foote, of the United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his eminent services in organizing the flotilla on the western waters, and for his gallantry at Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Island Number Ten, and at various other places, whilst in command of the naval forces, embracing a period of nearly ten months.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 1, 1862.

July 1, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, July 1, 1862. 3.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN:

It is impossible to reinforce you for your present emergency. If we had a million of men, we could not get them to you in time. We have not the men to send. If you are not strong enough to face the enemy, you must find a place of security, and wait, rest, and repair. Maintain your ground if you can, but save the army at all events, even if you fall back to Fort Monroe. We still have strength enough in the country, and will bring it out.

A. LINCOLN.

July 2, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MORGAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 2, 1862.

GOVERNOR E. D. MORGAN, ALBANY, New York.

It was thought safest to mark high enough. It is 300,000.

A. LINCOLN.

July 2, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your despatch of Tuesday morning induces me to hope your army is having some rest. In this hope allow me to reason with you a moment. When you ask for 50,000 men to be promptly sent you, you surely labor under some gross mistake of fact. Recently you

sent papers showing your disposal of forces made last spring for the defense of Washington, and advising a return to that plan. I find it included in and about Washington 75,000 men. Now, please be assured I have not men enough to fill that very plan by 15,000. All of Frémont's in the valley, all of Banks's, all of McDowell's not with you, and all in Washington, taken together, do not exceed, if they reach, 60,000. With Wool and Dix added to those mentioned, I have not, outside of your army, 75,000 men east of the mountains. Thus the idea of sending you 50,000, or any other considerable force, promptly, is simply absurd. If, in your frequent mention of responsibility, you have the impression that I blame you for not doing more than you can, please be relieved of such impression. I only beg that in like manner you will not ask impossibilities of me. If you think you are not strong enough to take Richmond just now, I do not ask you to try just now. Save the army, material and personal, and I will strengthen it for the offensive again as fast as I can. The governors of eighteen States offer me a new levy of 300,000, which I accept.

A. LINCOLN.

July 2, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth, Mississippi:

Your several despatches of yesterday to Secretary of War and myself received. I did say, and now repeat, I would be exceedingly glad for some reinforcements from you. Still do not send a man if in your judgment it will endanger any point you deem important to hold, or will force you to give up or weaken or delay the Chattanooga expedition.

Please tell me could you not make me a flying visit for consultation without endangering the service in your department.

A. LINCOLN.

July 2, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: I herewith return to your honorable body, in which it originated, an act entitled "An act to provide for additional medical officers of the volunteer service," without my approval.

My reason for so doing is that I have approved an act of the same title passed by Congress after the passage of the one first mentioned, for the express purpose of correcting errors in and superseding the same, as I am informed.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 2, 1862.

July 3, 1862.—CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE GOVERNORS.

(*Private and Confidential.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 3, 1862. 10.30 A. M.

GOVERNOR WASHBURN, Maine [and other governors].

I should not want the half of 300,000 new troops if I could have them now. If I had 50,000 additional troops here now, I believe I could substantially close the war in two weeks. But time is everything, and if I get 50,000 new men in a month, I shall have lost 20,000 old ones during the same month, having gained only 30,000, with the difference between old and new troops still against me. The quicker you send, the fewer you will have to send. Time is everything. Please act in view of this. The enemy having given up Corinth, it is not wonderful that he is thereby enabled to check us for a time at Richmond. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 3, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN:

Yours of 5.30 yesterday is just received. I am satisfied that yourself, officers, and men have done the best you could. All accounts say better fighting was never done. Ten thousand thanks for it.

On the 28th we sent General Burnside an order to send all the force he could spare to you. We then learned that you had requested him to go to Goldsborough; upon which we said to him our order was intended for your benefit, and we did not wish to be in conflict with your views.

We hope you will have help from him soon. To-day we have ordered General Hunter to send you all he can spare. At last advices General Halleck thinks he cannot send reinforcements without endangering all he has gained.

A. LINCOLN, President.

July 3, 1862.—SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, July 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL B. F. BUTLER, New Orleans:

I wrote you last under date of the 29th ultimo, and have now to say that your despatch of the 18th ultimo, with the accompanying report of General Phelps concerning certain fugitive negroes that have come to his pickets, has been considered by the President.

He is of opinion that under the law of Congress they cannot be sent back to their masters; that in common humanity they must not

be permitted to suffer for want of food, shelter, or other necessaries of life; that to this end they should be provided for by the quartermaster's and commissary's departments; and that those who are capable of labor should be set to work and paid reasonable wages.

In directing this to be done, the President does not mean, at present, to settle any general rule in respect to slaves or slavery, but simply to provide for the particular case under the circumstances in which it is now presented.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

July 4, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., July 4, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

I understand your position as stated in your letter and by General Marcy. To reinforce you so as to enable you to resume the offensive within a month, or even six weeks, is impossible. In addition to that arrived and now arriving from the Potomac (about 10,000 men, I suppose, and about 10,000 I hope you will have from Burnside very soon, and about 5000 from Hunter a little later), I do not see how I can send you another man within a month. Under these circumstances the defensive for the present must be your only care. Save the army—first, where you are, if you can; secondly, by removal, if you must. You, on the ground, must be the judge as to which you will attempt, and of the means for effecting it. I but give it as my opinion that with the aid of the gunboats and the reinforcements mentioned above, you can hold your present position—provided, and so long as, you can keep the James River open below you. If you are not tolerably confident you can keep the James River open, you had better remove as soon as possible. I do not remember that you have expressed any apprehension as to the danger of having your communication cut on the river below you, yet I do not suppose it can have escaped your attention.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

P. S. If at any time you feel able to take the offensive, you are not restrained from doing so. A. L.

July 4, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 4, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth, Mississippi:

You do not know how much you would oblige us if, without abandoning any of your positions or plans, you could promptly send

us even 10,000 infantry. Can you not? Some part of the Corinth army is certainly fighting McClellan in front of Richmond. Prisoners are in our hands from the late Corinth army.

A. LINCOLN.

July 4, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. A. DIX.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 4, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe:

Send forward the despatch to Colonel Hawkins and this also. Our order and General McClellan's to General Burnside being the same, of course we wish it executed as promptly as possible.

A. LINCOLN.

July 5, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, July 5, 1862. 9 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN:

A thousand thanks for the relief your two despatches of 12 and 1 P. M. yesterday gave me. Be assured the heroism and skill of yourself and officers and men is, and forever will be, appreciated.

If you can hold your present position, we shall hive the enemy yet.

A. LINCOLN.

July 6, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., July 6, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth, Mississippi.

My dear Sir: This introduces Governor William Sprague, of Rhode Island. He is now governor for the third time, and senator-elect of the United States.

I know the object of his visit to you. He has my cheerful consent to go, but not my direction. He wishes to get you and part of your force, one or both, to come here. You already know I should be exceedingly glad of this if, in your judgment, it could be without endangering positions and operations in the southwest; and I now repeat what I have more than once said by telegraph, "Do not come or send a man if, in your judgment, it will endanger any point you deem important to hold, or endangers or delays the Chattanooga expedition."

Still, please give my friend, Governor Sprague, a full and fair hearing. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 9, 1862.—MEMORANDUM OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS IN INTERVIEWS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MCCLELLAN AND OTHER OFFICERS DURING A VISIT TO THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC AT HARRISON'S LANDING, VIRGINIA.

MEMORANDUM FROM GENERAL MCCLELLAN'S HEADQUARTERS, July 9, 1862.

GENERAL MCCLELLAN, July 8, 1862.

What amount of force have you now?
About 80,000. Can't vary much; certainly 75,000.
What is likely to be your condition as to health in this camp?
Better than in any encampment since landing at Fort Monroe.
Where is the enemy now?
From four to five miles from us, on all the roads—I think nearly the whole army—both Hills, Longstreet, Jackson, Magruder, Huger.
If you desired, could you remove the army safely?
It would be a delicate and very difficult matter.
Cavalry about 5000.

GENERAL SUMNER, July 9, 1862.

What is the whole amount of your corps with you now?
About 16,000.
What is the aggregate of your killed, wounded, and missing, from the attack on the 26th ultimo till now?
1175.
In your present encampment what is the present and prospective condition as to health?
As good as any part of eastern Virginia.
Where and in what condition do you believe the enemy to be now?
I think they have retired from our front. Were much damaged, especially in their best troops, in the late action from the superiority of our arms.
If it were desired to get the army away, could it be safely effected?
I think we could, but I think we give up the cause if we do it.
Is the army secure in its present position?
Perfectly so, in my judgment.

GENERAL HEINTZELMAN, July 9, 1862.

What is the whole amount of your corps now with you?
15,000 for duty.
What is the aggregate of your killed, wounded, and missing, from the attack on the 26th ultimo till now?
Not large. 745.
In your present encampment what is the present and prospective condition as to health?
Excellent for health, and present health improving.
Where and in what condition do you believe the enemy to now be?
Don't think they are in force in our vicinity.
If it were desired to get the army away from here, could it be safely effected?
Perhaps we could; but think it would be ruinous to the country.
Is the army secure in its present position?
I think it is safe.

GENERAL KEYES, July 9, 1862.

What is the whole amount of your corps with you now?
About 12,500.
What is the aggregate of your killed, wounded, and missing, from the attack on the 26th till now?
Less than 500.
In your present encampment what is the present and prospective condition as to health?
A little improved, but think camp is getting worse.
Where, and in what condition, do you believe the enemy to now be?
Think he has withdrawn, and think preparing to go to Washington.
If it were desired to get the army away, could it be safely effected?
I think it could, if done quickly.
Is the army in its present position secure?
With help of gunboats can hold position.

GENERAL PORTER.

What is the amount of your corps now with you?
About 23,000. Fully 20,000 fit for duty.
What is the aggregate of your killed, wounded, and missing, from the attack on the 26th ultimo until now?
Over 5000.
In your present encampment what is the present and prospective condition as to health?
Very good.
Where and in what condition do you believe the enemy now to be?
Believe he is mainly near Richmond. He feels he dare not attack us here.
If it were desired to get the army away from here, could it be safely effected?
Impossible. Move the army and ruin the country.
Is the army secure in its present position?
Perfectly so. Not only, but we are ready to begin moving forward.

GENERAL FRANKLIN.

What is the whole amount of your corps now with you?
About 15,000.
What is the aggregate of your killed, wounded, and missing, from the attack on the 26th ultimo till now?
Don't think whole will exceed 3000 men.
In your present encampment what is the present and prospective condition as to health?
Not good.
Where and in what condition do you believe the enemy now to be?
I learn he has withdrawn from our front, and think that is probable.
If it were desired to get the army away from here, could it be safely effected?
I think we could, and think we better—think Rappahannock true line.
Is the army secure in its present position?
Unless we can be closer, it is.

General Sumner	1,175
General Heintzelman	745
General Keyes	500
Fitz-J. Porter	5,000
Franklin	3,000
	10,420

July 11, 1862.—ORDER MAKING HALLECK GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 11, 1862.

Ordered, That Major-General Henry W. Halleck be assigned to command the whole land forces of the United States, as general-in-chief, and that he repair to this capital so soon as he can with safety to the positions and operations within the department now under his charge.

A. LINCOLN.

July 11, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I recommend that the thanks of Congress be given to the following officers of the United States Navy:

Captain John L. Lardner, for meritorious conduct at the battle of Port Royal, and distinguished services on the coast of the United States against the enemy.

Captain Charles Henry Davis, for distinguished services in conflict with the enemy at Fort Pillow, at Memphis, and for successful operations at other points in the waters of the Mississippi River.

Commander John A. Dahlgren, for distinguished services in the line of his profession, improvements in ordnance, and zealous and efficient labors in the ordnance branch of the service.

Commander Stephen C. Rowan, for distinguished services in the waters of North Carolina, and particularly in the capture of Newbern, being in chief command of the naval forces.

Commander David D. Porter, for distinguished services in the conception and preparation of the means used for the capture of the forts below New Orleans, and for highly meritorious conduct in the management of the mortar flotilla during the bombardment of Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

Captain Silas H. Stringham, now on the retired list, for distinguished services in the capture of Forts Hatteras and Clark.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 11, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 11, 1862.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON.

My dear Sir: Yours of yesterday is received. Do you not, my good friend, perceive that what you ask is simply to put you in command in the West? I do not suppose you desire this. You only wish to control in your own localities; but this you must know may derange all other posts. Can you not, and will you not, have a full conference with General Halleck? Telegraph him, and meet him at such place as he and you can agree upon. I telegraph him to meet you and confer fully with you.

A. LINCOLN.

July 11, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 11, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth:

Governor Johnson, at Nashville, is in great trouble and anxiety about a raid into Kentucky. The governor is a true and a valuable man — indispensable to us in Tennessee. Will you please get in communication with him, and have a full conference with him before you leave for here? I have telegraphed him on the subject.

A. LINCOLN.

July 12, 1862.—APPEAL TO FAVOR COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION, READ BY THE PRESIDENT TO BORDER-STATE REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen: After the adjournment of Congress, now very near, I shall have no opportunity of seeing you for several months. Believing that you of the border States hold more power for good than any other equal number of members, I feel it a duty which I cannot justifiably waive to make this appeal to you. I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual-emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. But you cannot divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States. Beat them at elections, as you have overwhelmingly done, and, nothing daunted, they still claim you as their own. You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever. Most of you have treated me with kindness and consideration, and I trust you will not now think I improperly touch what is exclusively your own, when, for the sake of the whole country, I ask, Can you, for your States, do better than to take the course I urge? Discarding punctilio and maxims adapted to more manageable times, and looking only to the unprecedentedly stern facts of our case, can you do better in any possible event? You prefer that the constitutional relation of the States to the nation shall be practically restored without disturbance of the institution; and if this were done, my whole duty in this respect, under the Constitution and my oath of office, would be performed. But it is not done, and we are trying to accomplish it by war. The incidents of the war cannot be avoided. If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion — by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and

for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the war ere long render us pecuniarily unable to do it! How much better for you as seller, and the nation as buyer, to sell out and buy out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats? I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned — one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. General Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be free. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offense, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country, in this important point. Upon these considerations I have again begged your attention to the message of March last. Before leaving the capital, consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriots and statesmen, and as such I pray you consider this proposition, and at the least commend it to the consideration of your States and people. As you would perpetuate popular government for the best people in the world, I beseech you that you do in no wise omit this. Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring it speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world, its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever.

July 12, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: I transmit the report of the Secretary of State upon the subject of the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 9th ultimo, requesting information in regard to the relations between the United States and foreign powers.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1862.

July 13, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 13, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: I am told that over 160,000 men have gone into your army on the Peninsula. When I was with you the other day we made out 86,500 remaining, leaving 73,500 to be accounted for. I believe 23,500 will cover all the killed, wounded, and missing in all your battles and skirmishes, leaving 50,000 who have left otherwise. Not more than 5000 of these have died, leaving 45,000 of your army still alive and not with it. I believe half or two thirds of them are fit for duty to-day. Have you any more perfect knowledge of this than I have? If I am right, and you had these men with you, you could go into Richmond in the next three days. How can they be got to you, and how can they be prevented from getting away in such numbers for the future?

A. LINCOLN.

July 13, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 13, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth, Mississippi:

They are having a stampede in Kentucky. Please look to it.

A. LINCOLN.

July 13, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BOYLE.

WASHINGTON, July 13, 1862.

GENERAL J. T. BOYLE, Louisville, Kentucky:

Your several despatches received. You should call on General Halleck. Telegraph him at once. I have telegraphed him that you are in trouble.

A. LINCOLN.

July 13, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BOYLE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 13, 1862.

GENERAL J. T. BOYLE, Louisville, Kentucky:

We cannot venture to order troops from General Buell. We know not what condition he is in. He may be attacked himself. You must call on General Halleck, who commands, and whose business it is to understand and care for the whole field. If you cannot telegraph to him, send a messenger to him. A despatch has this moment come from Halleck at Tuscumbia, Alabama.

A. LINCOLN.

July 14, 1862.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Herewith is a draft of a bill to compensate any State which may abolish slavery within its limits, the passage of which, substantially as presented, I respectfully and earnestly recommend.

July 14, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that any State shall have lawfully abolished slavery within and throughout such State, either immediately or gradually, it shall be the duty of the President, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare and deliver to such State an amount of six per cent. interest-bearing bonds of the United States equal to the aggregate value, at —— dollars per head, of all the slaves within such State as reported by the census of the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty; the whole amount for any one State to be delivered at once if the abolishment be immediate, or in equal annual instalments if it be gradual, interest to begin running on each bond at the time of its delivery, and not before.

And be it further enacted, That if any State, having so received any such bonds, shall at any time afterward by law reintroduce or tolerate slavery within its limits, contrary to the act of abolishment upon which such bonds shall have been received, said bonds so received by said State shall at once be null and void, in whosesoever hands they may be, and such State shall refund to the United States all interest which may have been paid on such bonds.

July 14, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 14, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Corinth, Mississippi:

I am very anxious — almost impatient — to have you here. Have due regard to what you leave behind. When can you reach here?

A. LINCOLN.

July 14, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, July 14, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

General Burnside's force is at Newport News, ready to move, on short notice, one way or the other, when ordered.

A. LINCOLN.

July 14, 1862.—LETTER TO J. W. WHITE AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 14, 1862.

MESSRS. JAMES W. WHITE, ROBERT H. MCCURDY,
and F. S. WINSTON, Committee.

Gentlemen: Your letter conveying to me the invitation of several loyal and patriotic bodies in New York to attend a mass-meeting in that city on Tuesday, the 15th instant, is received. While it would be very agreeable to me to thus meet the friends of the country, I am sure I could add nothing to the purpose or the wisdom with which they will perform their duty; and the near adjournment of Congress makes it indispensable for me to remain here. Thanking you and those you represent for the invitation and the kind terms in which you have communicated it, I remain

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

July 14, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY:

Might not Mr. Bouligny be appointed surveyor of the port of New Orleans? If there be no objection, please send nomination.

A. LINCOLN.

July 14, 1862.

July 15, 1862.—LETTER TO SOLOMON FOOT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 15, 1862.

HON. SOLOMON FOOT,
President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

Sir: Please inform the Senate that I shall be obliged if they will postpone the adjournment at least one day beyond the time which I understand to be now fixed for it.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

July 15, 1862.—LETTER TO GALUSHA A. GROW.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 15, 1862.

HON. GALUSHA A. GROW,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sir: Please inform the House of Representatives that I shall be obliged if they will postpone the adjournment at least one day beyond the time which I understand to be now fixed for it.

Your obedient servant, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 17, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I have inadvertently omitted so long to inform you that, in March last, Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, of New York, gratuitously presented to the United States the ocean-steamer *Vanderbilt*, by many considered the finest steamer in the world. She has ever since been, and still is, doing valuable service to the government. For the patriotic act in making this magnificent and valuable present to the country, I recommend that some suitable acknowledgment be made.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 17, 1862.

July 17, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Considering the bill for "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," and the joint resolution explanatory of said act, as being substantially one, I have approved and signed both.

Before I was informed of the passage of the resolution, I had prepared the draft of a message stating objections to the bill becoming a law, a copy of which draft is herewith transmitted.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 17, 1862.

(*Copy.*)

Fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives: I herewith return to your honorable body, in which it originated, the bill for an act entitled "An act to suppress treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," together with my objections to its becoming a law.

There is much in the bill to which I perceive no objection. It is wholly prospective; and it touches neither person nor property of any loyal citizen, in which particulars it is just and proper.

The first and second sections provide for the conviction and punishment of persons who shall be guilty of treason, and persons who shall "incite, set on foot, assist, or engage in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof, or shall give aid and comfort thereto, or shall engage in or give aid and comfort to any such existing rebellion or insurrection." By fair construction, persons within these sections are not to be punished without regular trials in duly constituted courts under the forms and all the substantial provisions of law and of the Constitution applicable to their several cases. To this I perceive no objection, especially as such persons would be within the general pardoning power, and also the special provision for pardon and amnesty contained in this act.

It is also provided that the slaves of persons convicted under these

sections shall be free. I think there is an unfortunate form of expression, rather than a substantial objection, in this. It is startling to say that Congress can free a slave within a State, and yet if it were said the ownership of the slave had first been transferred to the nation, and that Congress had then liberated him, the difficulty would at once vanish. And this is the real case. The traitor against the General Government forfeits his slave at least as justly as he does any other property; and he forfeits both to the government against which he offends. The government, so far as there can be ownership, thus owns the forfeited slaves, and the question for Congress in regard to them is, "Shall they be made free or be sold to new masters?" I perceive no objection to Congress deciding in advance that they shall be free. To the high honor of Kentucky, as I am informed, she has been the owner of some slaves by escheat, and she sold none, but liberated all. I hope the same is true of some other States. Indeed, I do not believe it would be physically possible for the General Government to return persons so circumstanced to actual slavery. I believe there would be physical resistance to it which could neither be turned aside by argument nor driven away by force. In this view I have no objection to this feature of the bill. Another matter involved in these two sections and running through other parts of the act will be noticed hereafter.

I perceive no objection to the third and fourth sections.

So far as I wish to notice the fifth and sixth sections, they may be considered together. That the enforcement of these sections would do no injustice to the persons embraced within them is clear. That those who make a causeless war should be compelled to pay the cost of it is too obviously just to be called in question. To give governmental protection to the property of persons who have abandoned it, and gone on a crusade to overthrow that same government, is absurd, if considered in the mere light of justice. The severest justice may not always be the best policy. The principle of seizing and appropriating the property of the persons embraced within these sections is certainly not very objectionable; but a justly discriminating application of it would be very difficult, and to a great extent impossible. And would it not be wise to place a power of remission somewhere, so that these persons may know they have something to lose by persisting, and something to save by desisting? I am not sure whether such power of remission is or is not within section thirteen.

Without any special act of Congress, I think our military commanders, when, in military phrase, "they are within the enemy's country," should, in an orderly manner, seize and use whatever of real or personal property may be necessary or convenient for their commands; at the same time preserving in some way the evidence of what they do.

What I have said in regard to slaves while commenting on the first and second sections, is applicable to the ninth, with the difference that no provision is made in the whole act for determining whether a particular individual slave does or does not fall within the classes defined in that section. He is to be free upon certain condi-

tions; but whether those conditions do or do not pertain to him, no mode of ascertaining is provided. This could be easily supplied.

To the tenth section I make no objection. The oath therein required seems to be proper, and the remainder of the section is substantially identical with a law already existing.

The eleventh section simply assumes to confer discretionary powers upon the Executive. Without this law I have no hesitation to go as far in the direction indicated as I may at any time deem expedient. And I am ready to say now, I think it is proper for our military commanders to employ as laborers as many persons of African descent as can be used to advantage.

The twelfth and thirteenth sections are something better than unobjectionable; and the fourteenth is entirely proper if all other parts of the act shall stand.

That to which I chiefly object pervades most parts of the act, but more distinctly appears in the first, second, seventh, and eighth sections. It is the sum of those provisions which results in the divesting of title forever.

For the causes of treason and the ingredients of treason not amounting to the full crime, it declares forfeiture extending beyond the lives of the guilty parties; whereas the Constitution of the United States declares that "no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted." True, there seems to be no formal attainder in this case; still, I think the greater punishment cannot be constitutionally inflicted in a different form for the same offense.

With great respect I am constrained to say I think this feature of the act is unconstitutional. It would not be difficult to modify it.

I may remark that this provision of the Constitution, put in language borrowed from Great Britain, applies only in this country, as I understand, to real or landed estate.

Again, this act, by proceedings *in rem*, forfeits property for the ingredients of treason, without a conviction of the supposed criminal, or a personal hearing given him in any proceeding. That we may not touch property lying within our reach because we cannot give personal notice to an owner who is absent endeavoring to destroy the government is certainly not very satisfactory. Still, the owner may not be thus engaged; and I think a reasonable time should be provided for such parties to appear and have personal hearings. Similar provisions are not uncommon in connection with proceedings *in rem*.

For the reasons stated I return the bill to the House in which it originated.

July 18, 1862.—Letter to Secretary Chase.

Executive Mansion, Washington, July 18, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Mr. Senator Doolittle informs me that the Wisconsin delegation have unanimously recommended persons for assessors

and collectors throughout their State, and that the paper showing this is filed with you. If so, I am in favor of adopting their "slate" at once, and so disposing of one State.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 21, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., July 21, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

This is Monday. I hope to be able to tell you on Thursday what is to be done with Burnside.

A. LINCOLN.

July 22, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 22, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: I think it will be better to do nothing now which can be construed into a demand for troops in addition to the three hundred thousand for which we have recently called. We do not need more, nor, indeed, so many, if we could have the smaller number very soon. It is a very important consideration, too, that one recruited into an old regiment is nearly or quite equal in value to two in a new one. We can scarcely afford to forego any plan within our power which may facilitate the filling of the old regiments with recruits. If, on consideration, you are of opinion that this object can be advanced by causing the militia of the several States to be enrolled, and by drafts therefrom, you are at liberty to take the proper steps and do so, provided that any number of recruits so obtained from any State within the next three months shall, if practicable, be an abatement of the quota of volunteers from such State under the recent call. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 22, 1862.—ORDER AUTHORIZING EMPLOYMENT OF "CONTRABANDS."

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, July 22, 1862.

First. Ordered that military commanders within the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, in an orderly manner seize and use any property, real or personal, which may be necessary or convenient for their several commands, for supplies, or for other military purposes; and that while property may be destroyed for proper military objects, none shall be destroyed in wantonness or malice.

Second. That military and naval commanders shall employ as laborers, within and from said States, so many persons of African descent as can be advantageously used for military or naval purposes, giving them reasonable wages for their labor.

Third. That, as to both property and persons of African descent, accounts shall be kept sufficiently accurate and in detail to show quantities and amounts, and from whom both property and such persons shall have come, as a basis upon which compensation can be made in proper cases; and the several departments of this government shall attend to and perform their appropriate parts toward the execution of these orders.

By order of the President:

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

July 22, 1862.—EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION AS FIRST SUBMITTED TO THE CABINET.

In pursuance of the sixth section of the act of Congress entitled "An act to suppress insurrection and to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which act and the joint resolution explanatory thereof are herewith published, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim to and warn all persons within the contemplation of said sixth section to cease participating in, aiding, countenancing, or abetting the existing rebellion, or any rebellion, against the Government of the United States, and to return to their proper allegiance to the United States, on pain of the forfeitures and seizures as within and by said sixth section provided.

And I hereby make known that it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure for tendering pecuniary aid to the free choice or rejection of any and all States which may then be recognizing and practically sustaining the authority of the United States, and which may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, gradual abolishment of slavery within such State or States; that the object is to practically restore, thenceforward to be maintained, the constitutional relation between the General Government and each and all the States wherein that relation is now suspended or disturbed; and that for this object the war, as it has been, will be prosecuted. And as a fit and necessary military measure for effecting this object, I, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, do order and declare that on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or States wherein the constitutional authority of the United States shall not then be practically recognized, submitted to, and maintained, shall then, thenceforward, and forever be free.

July 24, 1862.—LETTER TO JAMES DIXON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 24, 1862.

HON. SENATOR DIXON.

My dear Sir: The bearer of this, Mr. Bronson Murray, now resident in the fourth district of Connecticut, wishes to be collector

for that district. He is my acquaintance and friend of some years' standing, whom I would like to oblige, but I should not like to appoint him against the wish of yourself and other Union friends there.

Please give the case such attention as you reasonably can, and write me. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 25, 1862.—PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

In pursuance of the sixth section of the act of Congress entitled "An act to suppress insurrection and to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which act, and the joint resolution explanatory thereof, are herewith published, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim to and warn all persons within the contemplation of said sixth section to cease participating in, aiding, countenancing, or abetting the existing rebellion, or any rebellion, against the Government of the United States, and to return to their proper allegiance to the United States, on pain of the forfeitures and seizures as within and by said sixth section provided.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fifth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

July 26, 1862.—LETTER TO REVERDY JOHNSON.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 26, 1862.

HON. REVERDY JOHNSON.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 16th, by the hand of Governor Shepley, is received. It seems the Union feeling in Louisiana is being crushed out by the course of General Phelps. Please pardon me for believing that is a false pretense. The people of Louisiana—all intelligent people everywhere—know full well that I never had a wish to touch the foundations of their society, or any right of theirs. With perfect knowledge of this they forced a necessity upon me to send armies among them, and it is their own fault, not mine, that they are annoyed by the presence of General Phelps. They

also know the remedy — know how to be cured of General Phelps. Remove the necessity of his presence. And might it not be well for them to consider whether they have not already had time enough to do this? If they can conceive of anything worse than General Phelps within my power, would they not better be looking out for it? They very well know the way to avert all this is simply to take their place in the Union upon the old terms. If they will not do this, should they not receive harder blows rather than lighter ones? You are ready to say I apply to friends what is due only to enemies. I distrust the wisdom if not the sincerity of friends who would hold my hands while my enemies stab me. This appeal of professed friends has paralyzed me more in this struggle than any other one thing. You remember telling me, the day after the Baltimore mob in April, 1861, that it would crush all Union feeling in Maryland for me to attempt bringing troops over Maryland soil to Washington. I brought the troops notwithstanding, and yet there was Union feeling enough left to elect a legislature the next autumn, which in turn elected a very excellent Union United States senator! I am a patient man — always willing to forgive on the Christian terms of repentance, and also to give ample time for repentance. Still, I must save this government, if possible. What I cannot do, of course I will not do; but it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 28, 1862.— LETTER TO CUTHBERT BULLITT.

(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 28, 1862.

CUTHBERT BULLITT, Esq., New Orleans, Louisiana.

Sir: The copy of a letter addressed to yourself by Mr. Thomas J. Durant has been shown to me. The writer appears to be an able, a dispassionate, and an entirely sincere man. The first part of the letter is devoted to an effort to show that the secession ordinance of Louisiana was adopted against the will of a majority of the people. This is probably true, and in that fact may be found some instruction. Why did they allow the ordinance to go into effect? Why did they not assert themselves? Why stand passive and allow themselves to be trodden down by a minority? Why did they not hold popular meetings and have a convention of their own to express and enforce the true sentiment of the State? If preorganization was against them then, why not do this now that the United States army is present to protect them? The paralysis — the dead palsy — of the government in this whole struggle is, that this class of men will do nothing for the government, nothing for themselves, except demanding that the government shall not strike its open enemies, lest they be struck by accident!

Mr. Durant complains that in various ways the relation of mas-

ter and slave is disturbed by the presence of our army, and he considers it particularly vexatious that this, in part, is done under cover of an act of Congress, while constitutional guaranties are suspended on the plea of military necessity. The truth is, that what is done and omitted about slaves is done and omitted on the same military necessity. It is a military necessity to have men and money; and we can get neither in sufficient numbers or amounts if we keep from or drive from our lines slaves coming to them. Mr. Durant cannot be ignorant of the pressure in this direction, nor of my efforts to hold it within bounds till he and such as he shall have time to help themselves.

I am not posted to speak understandingly on all the police regulations of which Mr. Durant complains. If experience shows any one of them to be wrong, let them be set right. I think I can perceive in the freedom of trade which Mr. Durant urges that he would relieve both friends and enemies from the pressure of the blockade. By this he would serve the enemy more effectively than the enemy is able to serve himself. I do not say or believe that to serve the enemy is the purpose of Mr. Durant, or that he is conscious of any purpose other than national and patriotic ones. Still, if there were a class of men who, having no choice of sides in the contest, were anxious only to have quiet and comfort for themselves while it rages, and to fall in with the victorious side at the end of it without loss to themselves, their advice as to the mode of conducting the contest would be precisely such as his is. He speaks of no duty — apparently thinks of none — resting upon Union men. He even thinks it injurious to the Union cause that they should be restrained in trade and passage without taking sides. They are to touch neither a sail nor a pump, but to be merely passengers — deadheads at that — to be carried snug and dry throughout the storm, and safely landed right side up. Nay, more: even a mutineer is to go untouched, lest these sacred passengers receive an accidental wound. Of course the rebellion will never be suppressed in Louisiana if the professed Union men there will neither help to do it nor permit the government to do it without their help. Now, I think the true remedy is very different from what is suggested by Mr. Durant. It does not lie in rounding the rough angles of the war, but in removing the necessity for the war. The people of Louisiana who wish protection to person and property have but to reach forth their hands and take it. Let them in good faith reinaugurate the national authority, and set up a State government conforming thereto under the Constitution. They know how to do it, and can have the protection of the army while doing it. The army will be withdrawn so soon as such State government can dispense with its presence; and the people of the State can then, upon the old constitutional terms, govern themselves to their own liking. This is very simple and easy.

If they will not do this—if they prefer to hazard all for the sake of destroying the government, it is for them to consider whether it is probable I will surrender the government to save them from losing all. If they decline what I suggest, you scarcely need to ask what I will do. What would you do in my position? Would

you drop the war where it is? Or would you prosecute it in future with elder-stalk squirts charged with rose-water? Would you deal lighter blows rather than heavier ones? Would you give up the contest, leaving any available means unapplied? I am in no boastful mood. I shall not do more than I can, and I shall do all I can, to save the government, which is my sworn duty as well as my personal inclination. I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 30, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 30, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: These gentlemen desire some order to facilitate recruiting in the city of New York. I think you may safely give them such as they desire, making it subject to the approval of the governor of the State. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 31, 1862.—LETTER TO AUGUST BELMONT.

July 31, 1862.

[AUGUST BELMONT, Esq.]

Dear Sir: You send to Mr. W—— an extract from a letter written at New Orleans the 9th instant, which is shown to me. You do not give the writer's name; but plainly he is a man of ability, and probably of some note. He says: "The time has arrived when Mr. Lincoln must take a decisive course. Trying to please everybody, he will satisfy nobody. A vacillating policy in matters of importance is the very worst. Now is the time, if ever, for honest men who love their country to rally to its support. Why will not the North say officially that it wishes for the restoration of the Union as it was?"

And so, it seems, this is the point on which the writer thinks I have no policy. Why will he not read and understand what I have said?

The substance of the very declaration he desires is in the inaugural, in each of the two regular messages to Congress, and in many, if not all, the minor documents issued by the Executive since the inauguration.

Broken eggs cannot be mended; but Louisiana has nothing to do now but to take her place in the Union as it was, barring the already broken eggs. The sooner she does so, the smaller will be the amount of that which will be past mending. This government cannot much longer play a game in which it stakes all, and its enemies stake nothing. Those understand that they cannot experiment for ten the government, and if they fail still cor hurt. If they

expect in any contingency to ever have the Union as it was, I join with the writer in saying, "Now is the time."

How much better it would have been for the writer to have gone at this, under the protection of the army at New Orleans, than to have sat down in a closet writing complaining letters northward!

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 31, 1862.—LETTER TO J. A. WRIGHT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 31, 1862.

HON. JOSEPH A. WRIGHT.

My dear Sir: Our mutual friends R. W. Thompson and John P. Usher assure me that they believe you, more certainly than any other man, can carry the Terre Haute district for the Union cause. Please try. The effort shall not go unappreciated so far as I am concerned. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 4, 1862.—LETTER TO COUNT GASPARIN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 4, 1862.

TO COUNT A. DE GASPARIN.

Dear Sir: Your very acceptable letter, dated Orbe, Canton de Vaud, Switzerland, 18th of July, 1862, is received. The moral effect was the worst of the affair before Richmond, and that has run its course downward. We are now at a stand, and shall soon be rising again, as we hope. I believe it is true that, in men and material, the enemy suffered more than we in that series of conflicts, while it is certain he is less able to bear it.

With us every soldier is a man of character, and must be treated with more consideration than is customary in Europe. Hence our great army, for slighter causes than could have prevailed there, has dwindled rapidly, bringing the necessity for a new call earlier than was anticipated. We shall easily obtain the new levy, however. Be not alarmed if you shall learn that we shall have resorted to a draft for part of this. It seems strange even to me, but it is true, that the government is now pressed to this course by a popular demand. Thousands who wish not to personally enter the service, are nevertheless anxious to pay and send substitutes, provided they can have assurance that unwilling persons, similarly situated, will be compelled to do likewise. Besides this, volunteers mostly choose to enter newly forming regiments, while drafted men can be sent to fill up the old ones, wherein man for man they are quite doubly as valuable.

You ask, "Why is it th[illegible] North with her great armies so often is found with inferio[illegible]rs face to face with the armies of the South?" Wh[illegible]e fact, a military man—which I am not—w[illegible]ion. The fact, I know, has

not been overlooked; and I suppose the cause of its continuance lies mainly in the other facts that the enemy holds the interior and we the exterior lines; and that we operate where the people convey information to the enemy, while he operates where they convey none to us.

I have received the volume and letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me, and for which please accept my sincere thanks. You are much admired in America for the ability of your writings, and much loved for your generosity to us and your devotion to liberal principles generally.

You are quite right as to the importance to us, for its bearing upon Europe, that we should achieve military successes, and the same is true for us at home as well as abroad. Yet it seems unreasonable that a series of successes, extending through half a year, and clearing more than 100,000 square miles of country, should help us so little, while a single half defeat should hurt us so much. But let us be patient.

I am very happy to know that my course has not conflicted with your judgment of propriety and policy. I can only say that I have acted upon my best convictions, without selfishness or malice, and that by the help of God I shall continue to do so.

Please be assured of my highest respect and esteem.

A. LINCOLN.

August 6, 1862.— ADDRESS AT A UNION MEETING IN WASHINGTON.

Fellow-citizens: I believe there is no precedent for my appearing before you on this occasion, but it is also true that there is no precedent for your being here yourselves; and I offer, in justification of myself and of you, that upon examination I have found nothing in the Constitution against it. I, however, have an impression that there are younger gentlemen who will entertain you better, and better address your understanding, than I will or could; and therefore I propose to detain you but a moment longer.

I am very little inclined on any occasion to say anything unless I hope to produce some good by it. The only thing I think of just now not likely to be better said by some one else, is a matter in which we have heard some other persons blamed for what I did myself. There has been a very wide-spread attempt to have a quarrel between General McClellan and the Secretary of War. Now, I occupy a position that enables me to observe that these two gentlemen are not nearly so deep in the quarrel as some pretending to be their friends. General McClellan's attitude is such that, in the very selfishness of his nature, he cannot but wish to be successful, and I hope he will; and the Secretary of War is in precisely the same situation. If the military commanders in the field cannot be successful, not only the Secretary of War, but myself,— for the time being the master of them both,— cannot but be failures. I know General McClellan wishes to be successful, and I know he does not wish it any more than the Secretary of War for him, and both

of them together no more than I wish it. Sometimes we have a dispute about how many men General McClellan has had, and those who would disparage him say that he has had a very large number, and those who would disparage the Secretary of War insist that General McClellan has had a very small number. The basis for this is, there is always a wide difference, and on this occasion perhaps a wider one than usual, between the grand total on McClellan's rolls and the men actually fit for duty; and those who would disparage him talk of the grand total on paper, and those who would disparage the Secretary of War talk of those at present fit for duty. General McClellan has sometimes asked for things that the Secretary of War did not give him. General McClellan is not to blame for asking for what he wanted and needed, and the Secretary of War is not to blame for not giving when he had none to give. And I say here, as far as I know, the Secretary of War has withheld no one thing at any time in my power to give him. I have no accusation against him. I believe he is a brave and able man, and I stand here, as justice requires me to do, to take upon myself what has been charged on the Secretary of War, as withholding from him.

I have talked longer than I expected to do, and now I avail myself of my privilege of saying no more.

August 7, 1862.—Letter to Secretary Chase.

Executive Mansion, August 7, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I have signed and herewith [return] the papers sent yesterday for Vermont, New Hampshire, and Michigan, except in the three cases of departure from the congressional recommendations, which, with the brief, I hold to examine a little.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

August 8, 1862.—Letter to Secretary Chase.

Executive Mansion, Washington, August 8, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Sir: I have signed the paper forming the districts for Rhode Island and Connecticut, and herewith return it. Also two of the commissions for Connecticut; the others are fiercely contested.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

August 9, 1862.—Letter to J. M. Clay.

Executive Mansion, Washington, August 9, 1862.

Mr. John M. Clay.

My dear Sir: The snuff-box you sent, with the accompanying note, was received yesterday. Thanks for this memento of your great

and patriotic father. Thanks also for the assurance that, in these days of dereliction, you remain true to his principles. In the concurrent sentiment of your venerable mother, so long the partner of his bosom and his honors, and lingering now where he was but for the call to rejoin him where he is, I recognize his voice, speaking, as it ever spoke, for the Union, the Constitution, and the freedom of mankind. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

August 11, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WASHINGTON, August 11, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE:

Has King's division, in part or in whole, joined Pope yet?

A. LINCOLN.

August 12, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 12, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, St. Louis, Missouri:

Would the completion of the railroad some distance farther in the direction of Springfield, Mo., be of any military advantage to you? Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

August 12, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 12, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: It seems that several young lieutenants, of whom Charles L. Noggle and George A. Rowley are two, have been cashiered by court martial for misconduct at the battle of June 27th. The records in the cases of the two named are now before me. I suppose that the law and the nature of the service required it; but these cases seem hard. I inclose the copy of an informal letter by the judge-advocate in regard to them generally. I shall be obliged if you and the regimental officers can, consistently with your sense of duty to the service, act upon the suggestions of the judge-advocate's letter. I am very unwilling for these young men to be ruined for so slight causes. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 12, 1862.—LETTER TO C. M. CLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 12, 1862.

HON. CASSIUS M. CLAY.

My dear Sir: I learn that you would not dislike returning to Russia as minister plenipotentiary. You were not recalled for any

fault of yours, but, as I understood, it was done at your own request. Of course there is no personal objection to your reappointment. Still, General Cameron cannot be recalled except at his request.

Some conversation passing between him and myself renders it due that he should not resign without free notice of my intention to appoint you. If he resign with such full knowledge and understanding, I shall be quite willing, and even gratified, to again send you to Russia. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

August 12, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 12, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR:

Mrs. Baird tells me that she is a widow; that her two sons and only support joined the army, where one of them still is; that her other son, Isaac P. Baird, is a private in the Seventy-second Pennsylvania Volunteers—Baxter's Fire Zouaves, Company K; that he is now under guard with his regiment on a charge of desertion; that he was under arrest for desertion, so that he could not take the benefit of returning under the proclamation on that subject. Please have it ascertained if this is correct, and if it is, let him be discharged from arrest and go to duty. I think, too, he should have his pay for duty actually performed. Loss of pay falls so hard upon poor families. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 14, 1862.—ADDRESS ON COLONIZATION TO A DEPUTATION OF COLORED MEN.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, August 14, 1862.

This afternoon the President of the United States gave an audience to a committee of colored men at the White House. They were introduced by Rev. J. Mitchell, Commissioner of Emigration. E. M. Thomas, the chairman, remarked that they were there by invitation to hear what the Executive had to say to them.

Having all been seated, the President, after a few preliminary observations, informed them that a sum of money had been appropriated by Congress, and placed at his disposition, for the purpose of aiding the colonization in some country of the people, or a portion of them, of African descent, thereby making it his duty, as it had for a long time been his inclination, to favor that cause. And why, he asked, should the people of your race be colonized, and where? Why should they leave this country? This is, perhaps, the first question for proper consideration. You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think. Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by liv-

ing among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated. You here are freemen, I suppose?

A voice: Yes, sir.

The President: Perhaps you have long been free, or all your lives. Your race is suffering, in my judgment, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. But even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race. You are cut off from many of the advantages which the other race enjoys. The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you. I do not propose to discuss this, but to present it as a fact with which we have to deal. I cannot alter it if I would. It is a fact about which we all think and feel alike, I and you. We look to our condition. Owing to the existence of the two races on this continent, I need not recount to you the effects upon white men, growing out of the institution of slavery.

I believe in its general evil effects on the white race. See our present condition—the country engaged in war—our white men cutting one another's throats—none knowing how far it will extend—and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence. It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated. I know that there are free men among you who, even if they could better their condition, are not as much inclined to go out of the country as those who, being slaves, could obtain their freedom on this condition. I suppose one of the principal difficulties in the way of colonization is that the free colored man cannot see that his comfort would be advanced by it. You may believe that you can live in Washington, or elsewhere in the United States, the remainder of your life as easily, perhaps more so, than you can in any foreign country; and hence you may come to the conclusion that you have nothing to do with the idea of going to a foreign country.

This is (I speak in no unkind sense) an extremely selfish view of the case. You ought to do something to help those who are not so fortunate as yourselves. There is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you free colored people to remain with us. Now, if you could give a start to the white people, you would open a wide door for many to be made free. If we deal with those who are not free at the beginning, and whose intellects are clouded by slavery, we have very poor material to start with. If intelligent colored men, such as are before me, would move in this matter, much might be accomplished. It is exceedingly important that we have men at the beginning capable of thinking as white men, and not those who have been systematically oppressed. There

is much to encourage you. For the sake of your race you should sacrifice something of your present comfort for the purpose of being as grand in that respect as the white people. It is a cheering thought throughout life, that something can be done to ameliorate the condition of those who have been subject to the hard usages of the world. It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the great God who made him. In the American Revolutionary war sacrifices were made by men engaged in it, but they were cheered by the future. General Washington himself endured greater physical hardships than if he had remained a British subject, yet he was a happy man because he was engaged in benefiting his race, in doing something for the children of his neighbors, having none of his own.

The colony of Liberia has been in existence a long time. In a certain sense it is a success. The old President of Liberia, Roberts, has just been with me—the first time I ever saw him. He says they have within the bounds of that colony between three and four hundred thousand people, or more than in some of our old States, such as Rhode Island or Delaware, or in some of our newer States, and less than in some of our larger ones. They are not all American colonists or their descendants. Something less than 12,000 have been sent thither from this country. Many of the original settlers have died; yet, like people elsewhere, their offspring outnumber those deceased. The question is, if the colored people are persuaded to go anywhere, why not there?

One reason for unwillingness to do so is that some of you would rather remain within reach of the country of your nativity. I do not know how much attachment you may have toward our race. It does not strike me that you have the greatest reason to love them. But still you are attached to them, at all events.

The place I am thinking about for a colony is in Central America. It is nearer to us than Liberia—not much more than one fourth as far as Liberia, and within seven days' run by steamers. Unlike Liberia, it is a great line of travel—it is a highway. The country is a very excellent one for any people, and with great natural resources and advantages, and especially because of the similarity of climate with your native soil, thus being suited to your physical condition. The particular place I have in view is to be a great highway from the Atlantic or Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and this particular place has all the advantages for a colony. On both sides there are harbors—among the finest in the world. Again, there is evidence of very rich coal-mines. A certain amount of coal is valuable in any country. Why I attach so much importance to coal is, it will afford an opportunity to the inhabitants for immediate employment till they get ready to settle permanently in their homes. If you take colonists where there is no good landing, there is a bad show; and so where there is nothing to cultivate and of which to make a farm. But if something is started so that you can get your daily bread as soon as you reach there, it is a great advantage. Coal land is the best thing I know of with which to commence an enterprise.

To return—you have been talked to upon this subject, and told that a speculation is intended by gentlemen who have an interest in the country, including the coal-mines. We have been mistaken all our lives if we do not know whites, as well as blacks, look to their self-interest. Unless among those deficient of intellect, everybody you trade with makes something. You meet with these things here and everywhere. If such persons have what will be an advantage to them, the question is, whether it cannot be made of advantage to you? You are intelligent, and know that success does not so much depend on external help as on self-reliance. Much, therefore, depends upon yourselves. As to the coal-mines, I think I see the means available for your self-reliance. I shall, if I get a sufficient number of you engaged, have provision made that you shall not be wronged. If you will engage in the enterprise, I will spend some of the money intrusted to me. I am not sure you will succeed. The government may lose the money; but we cannot succeed unless we try; and we think, with care, we can succeed. The political affairs in Central America are not in quite as satisfactory a condition as I wish. There are contending factions in that quarter; but, it is true, all the factions are agreed alike on the subject of colonization; and want it, and are more generous than we are here.

To your colored race they have no objection. I would endeavor to have you made the equals, and have the best assurance that you should be, the equals of the best.

The practical thing I want to ascertain is, whether I can get a number of able-bodied men, with their wives and children, who are willing to go when I present evidence of encouragement and protection. Could I get a hundred tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, and able to "cut their own fodder," so to speak? Can I have fifty? If I could find twenty-five able-bodied men, with a mixture of women and children,—good things in the family relation, I think,—I could make a successful commencement. I want you to let me know whether this can be done or not. This is the practical part of my wish to see you. These are subjects of very great importance—worthy of a month's study, instead of a speech delivered in an hour. I ask you, then, to consider seriously, not pertaining to yourselves merely, nor for your race and ours for the present time, but as one of the things, if successfully managed, for the good of mankind—not confined to the present generation, but as

> From age to age descends the lay
> To millions yet to be,
> Till far its echoes roll away
> Into eternity.

The above is merely given as the substance of the President's remarks.

The chairman of the delegation briefly replied that they would hold a consultation, and in a short time give an answer.

The President said: Take your full time—no hurry at all.

The delegation then withdrew.

August 14, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 14, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Sir: I have signed and herewith return the tax commissions for Connecticut, except two, in which I substituted Henry Hammond for Rufus S. Mather, and David F. Hollister for Frederick S. Wildman.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 14, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 14, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Sir: I have signed and herewith send the New Jersey tax commissions, so far as laid before me. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 16, 1862.—LETTER TO G. P. FISHER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 16, 1862.

HON. GEORGE P. FISHER.

My dear Sir: I was painfully surprised by your letter, handed me by the Postmaster-General, because the Secretary of War, who saw you after I did, had assured me that you and accompanying friends were fully satisfied with what he had undertaken to do. Since receiving your letter I have seen him again, and he again assures me that such was his understanding. I went over your eight points with him to see which he accepted, and which he rejected.

He rejects that about postponing drafting till the 15th of September.

He accepts that about the Third Delaware Regiment.

He accepts that about Colonel Grimshaw's regiment.

He accepts that about the battery of artillery, if it be the battery heretofore authorized.

He accepts that about the battalion of cavalry.

He accepts that about forces remaining in the State.

He rejects that about drafting being made under the marshal of the district. He thinks he could not be justified to thus snub the governor, who is apparently doing right; but he will at once check anything which may be apparently wrong.

He accepts that about appointing officers by the War Department, unless some serious and now unforeseen obstacle shall be presented.

I do hope you will be able to get along upon this. The secretary feels very sure that Judge Gilpin thinks you can. I mean this as a private letter, but I am quite willing for you to show it to Judge Gilpin.

I do hope you will not indulge a thought which will admit of your saying the administration turns you over to the fury of your enemies. You certainly know I wish you success as much as you can wish it yourself. Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

August 18, 1862.—NOTE OF INTRODUCTION.

The Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will please see Mr. Talcott, one of the best men there is, and, if any difference, one they would like better than they do me.

August 18, 1862. A. LINCOLN.

August 19, 1862.—MEMORANDUM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 19, 1862.

To-day Hon. Mr. Steele, of New York, comes and expresses great anxiety that William Martin may be appointed collector in the district including Ulster County. He says Mr. Martin is a Republican, but one to whom he (Mr. Steele) is under personal obligations. Mr. Steele fully explains about indictments.

August 22, 1862.—LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 22, 1862.

HON. HORACE GREELEY.

Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the New York "Tribune." If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race,

I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours, A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1862.—MEMORANDUM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 27, 1862.

To-day Hon. F. A. Conkling asks that Marshal B. Blake be collector in the Sixth District, instead of the Seventh as recommended. The Sixth is Mr. Conkling's, and Mr. Blake resides in the Sixth and not in the Seventh. On something I said to Mr. Conkling, he did not get up recommendation of Mr. Blake.

Says both are good men—Blake has never had anything. Orton has an office of $1200 in same district. Is for Blake. Says Orton could go to Seventh.

August 27, 1862.—LETTER TO W. TALCOTT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 27, 1862.

HON. WASHINGTON TALCOTT.

My dear Sir: I have determined to appoint you collector. I now have a very special request to make of you, which is, that you will make no war upon Mr. Washburne, who is also my friend, and of longer standing than yourself. I will even be obliged if you can do something for him if occasion presents.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR RAMSEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 27, 1862.

GOVERNOR RAMSEY, St. Paul, Minnesota:

Yours received. Attend to the Indians. If the draft cannot proceed, of course it will not proceed. Necessity knows no law. The government cannot extend the time.

A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, August 27, 1862. 4 P.M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, Alexandria, Virginia:

What news from the front?

A. LINCOLN.

August 29, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, August 29, 1862. 2.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

What news from direction of Manassas Junction? What generally?

A. LINCOLN.

August 29, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, August 29, 1862. 4.10 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Yours of to-day just received. I think your first alternative—to wit, "to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope"—is the right one, but I wish not to control. That I now leave to General Halleck, aided by your counsels.

A. LINCOLN.

August 31, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. T. BOYLE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 31, 1862.

GENERAL BOYLE, Louisville, Kentucky:

What force and what the numbers of it which General Nelson had in the engagement near Richmond yesterday?

A. LINCOLN.

September 3, 1862.—ORDER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 3, 1862.

Ordered, that the general-in-chief, Major-General Halleck, immediately commence, and proceed with all possible despatch, to organize an army, for active operations, from all the material within and coming within his control, independent of the forces he may deem necessary for the defense of Washington when such active army shall take the field.

By order of the President:

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

[*Indorsement.*]

Copy delivered to Major-General Halleck, September 3, 1862, at 10 P. M.

E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

September 4, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 4, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: There are special reasons, as I suppose, why James Bowen of New York should be appointed a brigadier-general. Please hear the particulars from Governor Seward.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 7, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. G. WRIGHT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 7, 1862.

GENERAL WRIGHT, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Do you know to any certainty where General Bragg is? May he not be in Virginia?

A. LINCOLN.

September 7, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. T. BOYLE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 7, 1862.

GENERAL BOYLE, Louisville, Kentucky:

Where is General Bragg? What do you know on the subject?

A. LINCOLN.

September 7, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. E. WOOL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 7, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL WOOL, Baltimore:

What about Harper's Ferry? Do you know anything about it? How certain is your information about Bragg being in the valley of the Shenandoah?

A. LINCOLN.

September 8, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 8, 1862. 5 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, Rockville, Maryland:

How does it look now?

A. LINCOLN.

September 8, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. C. BUELL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
September 8, 1862. 7.20 P. M.

GENERAL BUELL:

What degree of certainty have you that Bragg, with his command, is not now in the valley of the Shenandoah, Virginia?

A. LINCOLN.

September 9, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO T. WEBSTER.

WASHINGTON, September 9, 1862.

THOMAS WEBSTER, Philadelphia:

Your despatch received, and referred to General Halleck, who must control the questions presented. While I am not surprised at your anxiety, I do not think you are in any danger. If half our troops were in Philadelphia, the enemy could take it, because he would not

fear to leave the other half in his rear; but with the whole of them here, he dares not leave them in his rear.

A. LINCOLN.

September 10, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY,
September 10, 1862. 10.15 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, Rockville, Maryland:

How does it look now?

A. LINCOLN.

September 11, 1862.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 11, 1862.

HIS EXCELLENCY ANDREW G. CURTIN,
Governor of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Sir: The application made to me by your adjutant-general for authority to call out the militia of the State of Pennsylvania has received careful consideration. It is my anxious desire to afford, as far as possible, the means and power of the Federal Government to protect the State of Pennsylvania from invasion by the rebel forces; and since, in your judgment, the militia of the State are required, and have been called upon by you, to organize for home defense and protection, I sanction the call that you have made, and will receive them into the service and pay of the United States to the extent they can be armed, equipped, and usefully employed. The arms and equipments now belonging to the General Government will be needed for the troops called out for the national armies, so that arms can only be furnished for the quota of militia furnished by the draft of nine months' men, heretofore ordered. But as arms may be supplied by the militia under your call, these, with the 30,000 in your arsenal, will probably be sufficient for the purpose contemplated by your call. You will be authorized to provide such equipments as may be required, according to the regulations of the United States service, which, upon being turned over to the United States Quartermaster's Department, will be paid for at regulation prices, or the rates allowed by the department for such articles. Railroad transportation will also be paid for, as in other cases. Such general officers will be supplied as the exigencies of the service will permit. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

September 11, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, September 11, 1862. 12 M.

HON. ANDREW G. CURTIN:

Please tell me at once what is your latest news from or toward Hagerstown, or of the enemy's movements in any direction.

A. LINCOLN.

September 11, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON CITY,
September 11, 1862. 6 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

This is explanatory. If Porter, Heintzelman, and Sigel were sent you, it would sweep everything from the other side of the river, because the new troops have been distributed among them, as I understand. Porter reports himself 21,000 strong, which can only be by the addition of new troops. He is ordered to-night to join you as quickly as possible. I am for sending you all that can be spared, and I hope others can follow Porter very soon.

A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., September 12, 1862. 4 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, Clarksburg, Maryland:

How does it look now?

A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
September 12, 1862. 10.35 A. M.

HON. ANDREW G. CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

Your despatch asking for 80,000 disciplined troops to be sent to Pennsylvania is received. Please consider we have not to exceed 80,000 disciplined troops, properly so called, this side of the mountains; and most of them, with many of the new regiments, are now close in the rear of the enemy supposed to be invading Pennsylvania. Start half of them to Harrisburg, and the enemy will turn upon and beat the remaining half, and then reach Harrisburg before the part going there, and beat it too when it comes. The best possible security for Pennsylvania is putting the strongest force possible in rear of the enemy.

A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. G. WRIGHT.

UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH,
WASHINGTON, September 12, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL WRIGHT, Cincinnati, Ohio:

I am being appealed to from Louisville against your withdrawing troops from that place. While I cannot pretend to judge of the propriety of what you are doing, you would much oblige me by furnishing me a rational answer to make to the governor and others at Louisville.

A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. T. BOYLE.

WASHINGTON, September 12, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BOYLE, Louisville, Kentucky:

Your despatch of last evening received. Where is the enemy which you dread in Louisville? How near to you? What is General Gilbert's opinion? With all possible respect for you, I must think General Wright's military opinion is the better. He is as much responsible for Louisville as for Cincinnati. General Halleck telegraphed him on this very subject yesterday, and I telegraph him now; but for us here to control him there on the ground would be a babel of confusion which would be utterly ruinous. Where do you understand Buell to be, and what is he doing?

A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO A. HENRY.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
September 12, 1862.

HON. ALEXANDER HENRY, Philadelphia:

Yours of to-day received. General Halleck has made the best provision he can for generals in Pennsylvania. Please do not be offended when I assure you that in my confident belief Philadelphia is in no danger. Governor Curtin has just telegraphed me:

I have advices that Jackson is crossing the Potomac at Williamsport, and probably the whole rebel army will be drawn from Maryland.

At all events, Philadelphia is more than 150 miles from Hagerstown, and could not be reached by the rebel army in ten days, if no hindrance was interposed.

A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., September 12, 1862. 5.45 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Governor Curtin telegraphs me:

I have advices that Jackson is crossing the Potomac at Williamsport, and probably the whole rebel army will be drawn from Maryland.

Receiving nothing from Harper's Ferry or Martinsburg to-day, and positive information from Wheeling that the line is cut, corroborates the idea that the enemy is recrossing the Potomac. Please do not let him get off without being hurt.

A. LINCOLN.

September 13, 1862.— REPLY TO A COMMITTEE FROM THE RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF CHICAGO, ASKING THE PRESIDENT TO ISSUE A PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

The subject presented in the memorial is one upon which I have thought much for weeks past, and I may even say for months. I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and that by religious men who are equally certain that they represent the divine will. I am sure that either the one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps in some respects both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal his will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed he would reveal it directly to me; for, unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is, I will do it. These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible, and learn what appears to be wise and right.

The subject is difficult, and good men do not agree. For instance, the other day four gentlemen of standing and intelligence from New York called as a delegation on business connected with the war; but, before leaving, two of them earnestly beset me to proclaim general emancipation, upon which the other two at once attacked them. You know also that the last session of Congress had a decided majority of antislavery men, yet they could not unite on this policy. And the same is true of the religious people. Why, the rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and expecting God to favor their side; for one of our soldiers who had been taken prisoner told Senator Wilson a few days since that he met with nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers. But we will talk over the merits of the case.

What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? General Butler wrote me a few days since that he was issuing more rations to the slaves who have rushed to him than to all the white troops

under his command. They eat, and that is all; though it is true General Butler is feeding the whites also by the thousand, for it nearly amounts to a famine there. If, now, the pressure of the war should call off our forces from New Orleans to defend some other point, what is to prevent the masters from reducing the blacks to slavery again? For I am told that whenever the rebels take any black prisoners, free or slave, they immediately auction them off. They did so with those they took from a boat that was aground in the Tennessee River a few days ago. And then I am very ungenerously attacked for it! For instance, when, after the late battles at and near Bull Run, an expedition went out from Washington under a flag of truce to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and the rebels seized the blacks who went along to help, and sent them into slavery, Horace Greeley said in his paper that the government would probably do nothing about it. What could I do?

Now, then, tell me, if you please, what possible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation as you desire? Understand, I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy; nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South. I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion.

I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine qua non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act, but they would have been impotent without slavery as their instrument. I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant, further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. Still, some additional strength would be added in that way to the war, and then, unquestionably, it would weaken the rebels by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance; but I am not so sure we could do much with the blacks. If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops. I will mention another thing, though it meet only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union armies from the border slave States. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the rebels. I do not think they all would — not so many, indeed, as a year ago, or as six months ago — not so many to-day as yesterday. Every day increases their Union feeling. They are also getting their pride enlisted, and want to beat the rebels. Let me say one thing more: I think you should admit that we already have an important principle [illegible] the people, in the fact that constitutional gove[illegible] This is a fundamental idea going down about [illegible]

Do not misunderstand me because I have [illegible]

tions. They indicate the difficulties that have thus far prevented my action in some such way as you desire. I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement; and I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do. I trust that in the freedom with which I have canvassed your views I have not in any respect injured your feelings.

September 14, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. G. WRIGHT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 14, 1862.
GENERAL WRIGHT, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Thanks for your despatch. Can you not pursue the retreating enemy, and relieve Cumberland Gap?

A. LINCOLN.

September 15, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, September 15, 1862. 2.45 P. M.
MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your despatch of to-day received. God bless you, and all with you. Destroy the rebel army if possible.

A. LINCOLN.

September 15, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO J. K. DUBOIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 15, 1862. 3 P. M.
HON. J. K. DUBOIS, Springfield, Illinois:

I now consider it safe to say that General McClellan has gained a great victory over the great rebel army in Maryland, between Fredericktown and Hagerstown. He is now pursuing the flying foe.

A. LINCOLN.

September 16, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 16, 1862. Noon.
GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg:

What do you hear from General McClellan's army? We have nothing from him to-day.

A. LINCOLN.

September 16, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 16, 1862. 2.35 P. M.

[illegible]:

[illegible] you, despatch came from General McClellan, [illegible]s morning. Nothing of importance happened

with him yesterday. This morning he was up with the enemy at Sharpsburg, and was waiting for heavy fog to rise.

A. LINCOLN.

September 22, 1862.— PRELIMINARY EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled "An act to make an additional article of war," approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figure following:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall

be promulgated as an additional article of war, for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

ARTICLE —. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due; and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

SEC. 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them, and coming under the control of the Government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found *on* [or] being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

SEC. 10. And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offense against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretense whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight [L. S.] hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

September 24, 1862.—PROCLAMATION SUSPENDING THE WRIT OF *Habeas Corpus.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas it has become necessary to call into service not only volunteers, but also portions of the militia of the States by draft, in order to suppress the insurrection existing in the United States, and disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of law from hindering this measure, and from giving aid and comfort in various ways to the insurrection:

Now, therefore, be it ordered—

First. That during the existing insurrection, and as a necessary measure for suppressing the same, all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice affording aid and comfort to rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by courts martial or military commissions.

Second. That the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement, by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court martial or military commission.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight [L. S.] hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

September 24, 1862.—LETTER INTRODUCING EDWARD EVERETT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 24, 1862.

Whom it May Concern: Hon. Edward Everett goes to Europe shortly. His reputation and the present condition of our country are such that his visit there is sure to attract notice, and may be misconstrued. I therefore think fit to say that he bears no mission from this government; and yet no gentleman is better able to correct misunderstandings in the minds of foreigners in regard to American affairs.

While I commend him to the consideration of those whom he may meet, I am quite conscious that he could better introduce me than I him in Europe.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

September 24, 1862.—REPLY TO SERENADE.

I appear before you to do little more than acknowledge the courtesy you pay me, and to thank you for it. I have not been distinctly informed why it is that on this occasion you appear to do me this honor, though I suppose it is because of the proclamation. What I did, I did after a very full deliberation, and under a very heavy and solemn sense of responsibility. I can only trust in God I have made no mistake. I shall make no attempt on this occasion to sustain what I have done or said by any comment. It is now for the country and the world to pass judgment and, maybe, take action upon it.

I will say no more upon this subject. In my position I am environed with difficulties. Yet they are scarcely so great as the difficulties of those who upon the battle-field are endeavoring to purchase with their blood and their lives the future happiness and prosperity of this country. Let us never forget them. On the fourteenth and seventeenth days of this present month there have been battles bravely, skilfully, and successfully fought. We do not yet know the particulars. Let us be sure that, in giving praise to certain individuals, we do no injustice to others. I only ask you, at the conclusion of these few remarks, to give three hearty cheers for all good and brave officers and men who fought those successful battles.

September 25, 1862.—LETTER TO JOHN ROSS CONCERNING THE LOYALTY OF THE CHEROKEE NATION OF INDIANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 25, 1862.

JOHN ROSS, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

Sir: Your letter of the 16th instant was received two days ago. In the multitude of cares claiming my constant attention, I have been unable to examine and determine the exact treaty relations between the United States and the Cherokee Nation. Neither have I been able to investigate and determine the exact state of facts claimed by you as constituting a failure of treaty obligations on our part, and excusing the Cherokee Nation for making a treaty with a portion of the people of the United States in open rebellion against the government thereof.

This letter, therefore, must not be understood to decide anything upon these questions. I shall, however, cause a careful investigation of them to be made. Meanwhile the Cherokee people remaining practically loyal to the Federal Union will receive all the protection which can be given them consistently with the duty of the government to the whole country. I sincerely hope the Cherokee Nation may not again be overrun by the enemy, and I shall do all I consistently can to prevent it.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

September 26, 1862.—RECORD UPON WHICH MAJOR JOHN J. KEY WAS DISMISSED FROM THE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 26, 1862.

MAJOR JOHN J. KEY.

Sir: I am informed that in answer to the question, "Why was not the rebel army bagged immediately after the battle near Sharpsburg?" propounded to you by Major Levi C. Turner, judge-advocate, etc., you answered, "That is not the game. The object is that neither army shall get much advantage of the other, that both shall be kept in the field till they are exhausted, when we will make a compromise and save slavery." I shall be very happy if you will, within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this, prove to me by Major Turner that you did not, either literally or in substance, make the answer stated. Yours,

A. LINCOLN.

This is indorsed as follows:

Copy delivered to Major Key at 10.25 A. M., September 27, 1862.

JOHN HAY.

At about eleven o'clock A. M., September 27, 1862, Major Key and Major Turner appear before me. Major Turner says: "As I remember it, the conversation was: I asked the question why we did not bag them after the battle of Sharpsburg. Major Key's reply was, 'That was not the game; that we should tire the rebels out and ourselves. That that was the only way the Union could be preserved. We must come together fraternally, and slavery be saved.'" On cross-examination Major Turner says he has frequently heard Major Key converse in regard to the present troubles, and never heard him utter a sentiment unfavorable to the maintenance of the Union. He has never uttered anything which he (Major T.) would call disloyalty. The particular conversation detailed was a private one.

A. LINCOLN.

Indorsed on the above is:

In my view it is wholly inadmissible for any gentleman holding a military commission from the United States to utter such sentiments as Major Key is within proved to have done. Therefore let Major John J. Key be forthwith dismissed from the military service of the United States.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 24, 1862.

MAJOR JOHN J. KEY.

Dear Sir: A bundle of letters, including one from yourself, was [illegible] last week handed me by General Halleck, as I understood at [illegible] request.

I sincerely sympathize with you in the death of your brave and noble son.

In regard to my dismissal of yourself from the military service, it seems to me you misunderstand me. I did not charge, or intend to charge, you with disloyalty.

I had been brought to fear that there was a class of officers in the army, not very inconsiderable in numbers, who were playing a game to not beat the enemy when they could, on some peculiar notion as to the proper way of saving the Union; and when you were proved to me, in your own presence, to have avowed yourself in favor of that "game," and did not attempt to controvert the proof, I dismissed you as an example and a warning to that supposed class.

I bear you no ill will, and I regret that I could not have the example without wounding you personally. But can I now, in view of the public interest, restore you to the service, by which the army would understand that I indorse and approve that game myself? If there was any doubt of your having made the avowal, the case would be different. But when it was proved to me, in your presence, you did not deny or attempt to deny it, but confirmed it, in my mind, by attempting to sustain the position by argument.

I am really sorry for the pain the case gives you; but I do not see how, consistently with duty, I can change it. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

The within, as appears, was written some time ago. On full reconsideration, I cannot find sufficient ground to change the conclusion therein arrived at.

A. LINCOLN.

December 27, 1862.

September 28, 1862.— LETTER TO HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

(*Strictly private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 28, 1862.

HON. HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

My dear Sir: Your kind letter of the 25th is just received. It is known to some that while I hope something from the proclamation, my expectations are not as sanguine as are those of some friends. The time for its effect southward has not come; but northward the effect should be instantaneous.

It is six days old, and while commendation in newspapers and by distinguished individuals is all that a vain man could wish, the stocks have declined, and troops come forward more slowly than ever. This, looked soberly in the face, is not very satisfactory. We have fewer troops in the field at the end of the six days than we had at the beginning—the attrition among the old outnumbering the addition by the new. The North responds to the proclamation sufficiently in breath; but breath alone kills no rebels.

I wish I could write more cheerfully; nor do I thank you the less for the kindness of your letter. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

September [28 ?], 1862.—REPLY TO AN ADDRESS BY MRS. GURNEY.

I am glad of this interview, and glad to know that I have your sympathy and prayers. We are indeed going through a great trial —a fiery trial. In the very responsible position in which I happen to be placed, being a humble instrument in the hands of our Heavenly Father, as I am, and as we all are, to work out his great purposes, I have desired that all my works and acts may be according to his will, and that it might be so, I have sought his aid; but if, after endeavoring to do my best in the light which he affords me, I find my efforts fail, I must believe that for some purpose unknown to me, he wills it otherwise. If I had had my way, this war would never have been commenced. If I had been allowed my way, this war would have been ended before this; but we find it still continues, and we must believe that he permits it for some wise purpose of his own, mysterious and unknown to us; and though with our limited understandings we may not be able to comprehend it, yet we cannot but believe that he who made the world still governs it.

September 29, 1862.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR STANLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 29, 1862.

HON. EDWARD STANLEY.

My dear Sir: Your note, informing me that you will leave for North Carolina soon, is received. Your conduct as military governor of that State, as reported to me by General Burnside, and as I have heard it personally from yourself, has my entire approbation; and it is with great satisfaction that I learn you are now to return in the same capacity, with the approbation of the War Department.

I shall be much gratified if you can find it practicable to have congressional elections held in that State before January. It is my sincere wish that North Carolina may again govern herself conformably to the Constitution of the United States.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

September [30 ?], 1862.—MEDITATION ON THE DIVINE WILL.

The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect his purpose. I am almost ready to

say that this is probably true; that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By his mere great power on the minds of the now contestants, he could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And, having begun, he could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds.

October 6, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 6, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

I am instructed to telegraph you as follows: The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south. Your army must move now, while the roads are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington, and cover the latter by your operation, you can be reinforced with 30,000 men. If you move up the valley of the Shenandoah, not more than 12,000 or 15,000 can be sent to you. The President advises the interior line between Washington and the enemy, but does not order it. He is very desirous that your army move as soon as possible. You will immediately report what line you adopt, and when you intend to cross the river; also to what point the reinforcements are to be sent. It is necessary that the plan of your operations be positively determined on before orders are given for building bridges and repairing railroads. I am directed to add that the Secretary of War and the general-in-chief fully concur with the President in these instructions.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

October 8, 1862.—LETTER TO T. H. CLAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 8, 1862.

THOMAS H. CLAY, Cincinnati, Ohio:

You cannot have reflected seriously when you ask that I shall order General Morgan's command to Kentucky as a favor because they have marched from Cumberland Gap. The precedent established by it would evidently break up the whole army. Buell's old troops, now in pursuit of Bragg, have done more hard marching recently; and, in fact, if you include marching and fighting, there are scarcely any old troops east or west of the mountains that have not done as hard service. I sincerely wish war was an easier and pleasanter business than it is; but it does not admit of holidays. On Morgan's command, where it is now sent, as I understand, depends the question whether the enemy will get to the Ohio River in another place.

A. LINCOLN.

October 8, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 8, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT:

I congratulate you and all concerned in your recent battles and victories. How does it all sum up? I especially regret the death of General Hackleman, and am very anxious to know the condition of General Oglesby, who is an intimate personal friend.

A. LINCOLN.

October 10, 1862.— LETTER TO GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 10, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, St. Louis, Missouri:

I believe some Cherokee Indian regiments, with some white forces operating with them, now at or near Fort Scott, are within your department and under your command. John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokees, is now here an exile, and he wishes to know, and so do I, whether the force above mentioned could not occupy the Cherokee country consistently with the public service.

Please consider and answer. A. LINCOLN.

October 11, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. T. BOYLE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 11, 1862. 4 P. M.

GENERAL BOYLE, Louisville, Kentucky:

Please send any news you have from General Buell to-day.

A. LINCOLN.

October 12, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. T. BOYLE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 12, 1862. 4.10 P. M.

GENERAL BOYLE, Louisville, Kentucky:

We are very anxious to hear from General Buell's army. We have heard nothing since day before yesterday. Have you anything?

A. LINCOLN.

October 13, 1862.— LETTER TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., October 13, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My dear Sir: You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act

upon the claim? As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does now subsist his army at Winchester, at a distance nearly twice as great from railroad transportation as you would have to do without the railroad last named. He now wagons from Culpeper Court House, which is just about twice as far as you would have to do from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not more than half as well provided with wagons as you are. I certainly should be pleased for you to have the advantage of the railroad from Harper's Ferry to Winchester, but it wastes all the remainder of autumn to give it to you, and in fact ignores the question of time, which cannot and must not be ignored. Again, one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is to "operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible without exposing your own." You seem to act as if this applies against you, but cannot apply in your favor. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? You dread his going into Pennsylvania; but if he does so in full force, he gives up his communications to you absolutely, and you have nothing to do but to follow and ruin him. If he does so with less than full force, fall upon and beat what is left behind all the easier. Exclusive of the water-line, you are now nearer Richmond than the enemy is by the route that you can and he must take. Why can you not reach there before him, unless you admit that he is more than your equal on a march? His route is the arc of a circle, while yours is the chord. The roads are as good on yours as on his. You know I desired, but did not order, you to cross the Potomac below, instead of above, the Shenandoah and Blue Ridge. My idea was that this would at once menace the enemy's communications, which I would seize if he would permit.

If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications and move toward Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say "try"; if we never try, we shall never succeed. If he makes a stand at Winchester, moving neither north nor south, I would fight him there, on the idea that if we cannot beat him when he bears the wastage of coming to us, we never can when we bear the wastage of going to him. This proposition is a simple truth, and is too important to be lost sight of for a moment. In coming to us he tenders us an advantage which we should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away. If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can, he again being within the intrenchments of Richmond.

Recurring to the idea of going to Richmond on the inside track, the facility of supplying from the side away from the enemy is remarkable, as it were, by the different spokes of a wheel extending from the hub toward the rim, and this whether you move directly

by the chord or on the inside arc, hugging the Blue Ridge more closely. The chord-line, as you see, carries you by Aldie, Hay Market, and Fredericksburg; and you see how turnpikes, railroads, and finally the Potomac, by Aquia Creek, meet you at all points from Washington; the same, only the lines lengthened a little, if you press closer to the Blue Ridge part of the way.

The gaps through the Blue Ridge I understand to be about the following distances from Harper's Ferry, to wit: Vestal's, 5 miles; Gregory's, 13; Snicker's, 18; Ashby's, 28; Manassas, 38; Chester, 45; and Thornton's, 53. I should think it preferable to take the route nearest the enemy, disabling him to make an important move without your knowledge, and compelling him to keep his forces together for dread of you. The gaps would enable you to attack if you should wish. For a great part of the way you would be practically between the enemy and both Washington and Richmond, enabling us to spare you the greatest number of troops from here. When at length running for Richmond ahead of him enables him to move this way, if he does so, turn and attack him in rear. But I think he should be engaged long before such point is reached. It is all easy if our troops march as well as the enemy, and it is unmanly to say they cannot do it. This letter is in no sense an order.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

October 14, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 14, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, GOVERNOR SHEPLEY, AND ALL HAVING MILITARY AND NAVAL AUTHORITY UNDER THE UNITED STATES WITHIN THE STATE OF LOUISIANA:

The bearer of this, Hon. John E. Bouligny, a citizen of Louisiana, goes to that State seeking to have such of the people thereof as desire to avoid the unsatisfactory prospect before them, and to have peace again upon the old terms under the Constitution of the United States, manifest such desire by elections of members to the Congress of the United States particularly, and perhaps a legislature, State officers, and United States senators friendly to their object. I shall be glad for you, and each of you, to aid him and all others acting for this object as much as possible. In all available ways give the people a chance to express their wishes at these elections. Follow forms of law as far as convenient, but at all events get the expression of the largest number of the people possible. All see how such action will connect with and affect the proclamation of September 22. Of course the men elected should be gentlemen of character, willing to swear support to the Constitution, as of old, and known to be above reasonable suspicion of duplicity. Yours very respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

Similar letter to General Grant, Governor Johnson, and others in Tennessee, dated October 21, 1862. And to Steele, Phelps, and others in Arkansas, November 18, 1862.

October 18, 1862.—LETTER TO THE SURGEON-GENERAL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 18, 1862.

SURGEON-GENERAL.

Sir: A Baltimore committee called on me this morning saying that city is full of straggling soldiers, half sick, half well, who profess to have been turned from the hospitals with no definite directions where to go. Is this true? Are men turned from the hospitals without knowing where to go? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

October 19, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO GENERAL D. C. BUELL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, October 19, 1862. 1.33 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUELL, Mount Vernon, Kentucky:

Your telegram of the 17th was received this morning, and has been laid before the President, who concurs in the views expressed in my telegram to you yesterday. The capture of East Tennessee should be the main object of your campaign. You say it is the heart of the enemy's resources; make it the heart of yours. Your army can live there if the enemy's can. You must in a great measure live upon the country, paying for your supplies where proper, and levying contributions where necessary. I am directed by the President to say to you that your army must enter East Tennessee this fall, and that it ought to move there while the roads are passable. Once between the enemy and Nashville, there will be no serious difficulty in reopening your communications with that place. He does not understand why we cannot march as the enemy marches, live as he lives, and fight as he fights, unless we admit the inferiority of our troops and of our generals. Once hold the valley of the upper Tennessee, and the operations of guerrillas in that State and Kentucky will soon cease.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

October 20, 1862.—EXECUTIVE ORDER ESTABLISHING A PROVISIONAL COURT IN LOUISIANA.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 20, 1862.

The insurrection which has for some time prevailed in several of the States of this Union, including Louisiana, having temporarily subverted and swept away the civil institutions of that State, including the judiciary and the judicial authorities of the Union, so

that it has become necessary to hold the State in military occupation, and it being indispensably necessary that there shall be some judicial tribunal existing there capable of administering justice, I have therefore thought it proper to appoint, and I do hereby constitute, a provisional court, which shall be a court of record for the State of Louisiana; and I do hereby appoint Charles A. Peabody, of New York, to be a provisional judge to hold said court, with authority to hear, try, and determine all causes, civil and criminal, including causes in law, equity, revenue, and admiralty, and particularly all such powers and jurisdiction as belong to the district and circuit courts of the United States, conforming his proceedings so far as possible to the course of proceedings and practice which has been customary in the courts of the United States and Louisiana, his judgment to be final and conclusive. And I do hereby authorize and empower the said judge to make and establish such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the exercise of his jurisdiction, and empower the said judge to appoint a prosecuting attorney, marshal, and clerk of the said court, who shall perform the functions of attorney, marshal, and clerk according to such proceedings and practice as before-mentioned, and such rules and regulations as may be made and established by said judge. These appointments are to continue during the pleasure of the President, not extending beyond the military occupation of the city of New Orleans or the restoration of the civil authority in that city and in the State of Louisiana. These officers shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the War Department compensation as follows: The judge at the rate of $3500 per annum; the prosecuting attorney, including the fees, at the rate of $3000 per annum; the marshal, including the fees, at the rate of $3000 per annum; and the clerk, including the fees, at the rate of $2500 per annum; such compensations to be certified by the Secretary of War. A copy of this order, certified by the Secretary of War, and delivered to such judge, shall be deemed and held to be a sufficient commission.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States.

October 21, 1862.—TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

WASHINGTON, October 21, 1862. 3 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN:

Your telegram of 12 M. has been submitted to the President. He directs me to say that he has no change to make in his order of the 6th instant. If you have not been and are not now in condition to obey it, you will be able to show such want of ability. The President does not expect impossibilities, but he is very anxious that all this good weather should not be wasted in inactivity. Telegraph when you will move, and on what lines you propose to march.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

October 24 [25?], 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY,
October 24 [25?], 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

I have just read your despatch about sore-tongued and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?

A. LINCOLN.

October 25, 1862.—MEMORANDUM.

Write Canisius that in view of our own aspirants we cannot find a place for a military officer of high rank from abroad.

Better send the account of the explosive material to Captain Dahlgren.

A. L.

October 25, 1862.

October 26, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
October 26, 1862. 11.30 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Yours, in reply to mine about horses, received. Of course you know the facts better than I; still, two considerations remain. Stuart's cavalry outmarched ours, having certainly done more marked service on the Peninsula and everywhere since. Secondly, will not a movement of our army be a relief to the cavalry, compelling the enemy to concentrate instead of foraging in squads everywhere? But I am so rejoiced to learn from your despatch to General Halleck that you begin crossing the river this morning.

A. LINCOLN.

October 27, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
October 27, 1862. 12.10 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Yours of yesterday received. Most certainly I intend no injustice to any, and if I have done any I deeply regret it. To be told, after more than five weeks' total inaction of the army, and during which period we have sent to the army every fresh horse we possibly could, amounting in the whole to 7918, that the cavalry horses were too much fatigued to move, presents a very cheerless, almost hopeless, prospect for the future, and it may have forced something of

impatience in my despatch. If not recruited and rested then, when could they ever be? I suppose the river is rising, and I am glad to believe you are crossing.

A. LINCOLN.

October 27, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
October 27, 1862. 3.25 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your despatch of 3 P. M. to-day, in regard to filling up old regiments with drafted men, is received, and the request therein shall be complied with as far as practicable.

And now I ask a distinct answer to the question, Is it your purpose not to go into action again until the men now being drafted in the States are incorporated into the old regiments?

A. LINCOLN.

October 31, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 31, 1862.

GOV. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn., via Louisville, Ky.:

Yours of the 29th received. I shall take it to General Halleck, but I already know it will be very inconvenient to take General Morgan's command from where it now is. I am glad to hear you speak hopefully for Tennessee. I sincerely hope Rosecrans may find it possible to do something for her. David Nelson, son of the M. C. of your State, regrets his father's final defection, and asks me for a situation. Do you know him? Could he be of service to you or to Tennessee in any capacity in which I could send him?

A. LINCOLN.

November 1, 1862.—MEMORANDUM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 1, 1862.

To Whom it May Concern: Captain Derrickson, with his company, has been for some time keeping guard at my residence, now at the Soldiers' Retreat. He and his company are very agreeable to me, and while it is deemed proper for any guard to remain, none would be more satisfactory than Captain Derrickson and his company.

A. LINCOLN.

November 5, 1862.—LETTER TO COLONEL W. R. MORRISON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 5, 1862.

COLONEL WILLIAM R. MORRISON, Waterloo, Illinois:

Your letter of September 23 is this moment received. While your words of kindness are very grateful, your suspicions that I intend

you injustice are very painful to me. I assure you such suspicions are groundless. I cannot even conjecture what juniors of yours you suppose I contemplate promoting over you. True, seniority has not been my rule in this connection; but in considering military merit, the world has abundant evidence that I disregard politics.

A. LINCOLN.

November 5, 1862.—ORDER RELIEVING GENERAL G. B. MCCLELLAN AND MAKING OTHER CHANGES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 5, 1862.

By direction of the President, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take the command of that army. Also that Major-General Hunter take command of the corps in said army which is now commanded by General Burnside. That Major-General Fitz-John Porter be relieved from command of the corps he now commands in said army, and that Major-General Hooker take command of said corps.

The general-in-chief is authorized, in [his] discretion, to issue an order substantially as the above, forthwith, or so soon as he may deem proper.

A. LINCOLN.

November 7, 1862.—MILITARY ORDER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 7, 1862.

Ordered, That Brigadier-General Ellet report to Rear-Admiral Porter for instructions, and act under his direction until otherwise ordered by the War Department.

A. LINCOLN.

November 7, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 7, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Dear Sir: Please send me the latest "Picayune" and "True Delta" you can lay your hands upon. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 10, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 10, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE, St. Paul, Minnesota:

Your despatch giving the names of 300 Indians condemned to death is received. Please forward as soon as possible the full and complete record of their convictions; and if the record does not fully indicate the more guilty and influential of the culprits, please have a careful statement made on these points and forwarded to me. Send all by mail.

A. LINCOLN.

November 12, 1862.—ORDER CONCERNING BLOCKADE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 12, 1862.

Ordered, First: that clearances issued by the Treasury Department for vessels or merchandise bound for the port of Norfolk, for the military necessities of the department, certified by the military commandant at Fort Monroe, shall be allowed to enter said port. Second: that vessels and domestic produce from Norfolk, permitted by the military commandant at Fort Monroe for the military purposes of his command, shall on his permit be allowed to pass from said port to their destination in any port not blockaded by the United States.

A. LINCOLN.

November 13, 1862.—ORDER CONCERNING THE CONFISCATION ACT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 13, 1862.

Ordered, by the President of the United States, that the Attorney-General be charged with the superintendence and direction of all proceedings to be had under the act of Congress of the 17th of July, 1862, entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, punish treason and rebellion, seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," in so far as may concern the seizure, prosecution, and condemnation of the estate, property, and effects of rebels and traitors as mentioned and provided for in the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections of the said act of Congress. And the Attorney-General is authorized and required to give to the attorneys and marshals of the United States such instructions and directions as he may find needful and consistent touching all such seizures, prosecution, and condemnation; and, moreover, to authorize all such attorneys and marshals, wherever there may be reasonable ground to fear any forcible resistance to the act in the discharge of their respective duties in this behalf, to call upon any military officer in command of the forces of the United States to give to them such aid, protection, and support as may be necessary to enable them safely and efficiently to discharge their respective duties; and all such commanding officers are required promptly to obey such call and to render the necessary service as far as may be in their power consistently with their other duties.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: EDWARD BATES, Attorney-General.

November 14, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, November 14, 1862.

GOV. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Your despatch of the 4th, about returning troops from western Virginia to Tennessee, is just received, and I have been to General Halleck with it. He says an order has already been made by which those troops have already moved, or soon will move, to Tennessee.

A. LINCOLN.

November 15, 1862.—ORDER FOR SABBATH OBSERVANCE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 15, 1862.

The President, commander-in-chief of the army and navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity. The discipline and character of the national forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperiled, by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High. "At this time of public distress"—adopting the words of Washington in 1776—"men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality." The first general order issued by the Father of his Country after the Declaration of Independence indicates the spirit in which our institutions were founded and should ever be defended. "The general hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Official: E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

November 17, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BLAIR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 17, 1862.

HON. F. P. BLAIR:

Your brother says you are solicitous to be ordered to join General McClernand. I suppose you are ordered to Helena; this means that you are to form part of McClernand's expedition as it moves down the river; and General McClernand is so informed. I will see General Halleck as to whether the additional force you mention can go with you.

A. LINCOLN.

November 18, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. A. DIX.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 18, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe:

Please give me your best opinion as to the number of the enemy now at Richmond and also at Petersburg.

A. LINCOLN.

November 20, 1862.—DRAFT OF LETTER TO G. ROBERTSON—NOT SENT.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 20, 1862.

HON. GEORGE ROBERTSON.

My dear Sir: Your despatch of yesterday is just received. I believe you are acquainted with the American classics (if there be such), and probably remember a speech of Patrick Henry in which he represented a certain character in the Revolutionary times as totally disregarding all questions of country, and "hoarsely bawling, 'Beef! beef!! beef!!!'"

Do you not know that I may as well surrender the contest directly as to make any order the obvious purpose of which would be to return fugitive slaves? Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 21, 1862.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR SHEPLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1862.

HON. G. F. SHEPLEY.

Dear Sir: Dr. Kennedy, bearer of this, has some apprehension that Federal officers not citizens of Louisiana may be set up as candidates for Congress in that State. In my view there could be no possible object in such an election. We do not particularly need members of Congress from there to enable us to get along with legislation here. What we do want is the conclusive evidence that respectable citizens of Louisiana are willing to be members of Congress and to swear support to the Constitution, and that other respectable citizens there are willing to vote for them and send them. To send a parcel of Northern men here as representatives, elected, as would be understood (and perhaps really so), at the point of the bayonet, would be disgusting and outrageous; and were I a member of Congress here, I would vote against admitting any such man to a seat. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 21, 1862.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR SHEPLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1862.

HON. G. F. SHEPLEY.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 6th instant to the Secretary of War has been placed in my hands; and I am annoyed to learn from it that at its date nothing had been done about congressional elections. On the 14th of October I addressed a letter to General Butler, yourself, and others, upon this very subject, sending it by Hon. Mr. Bouligny. I now regret the necessity of inferring

that you had not seen this letter up to the 6th instant. I inclose you a copy of it, and also a copy of another addressed to yourself this morning upon the same general subject, and placed in the hands of Dr. Kennedy. I ask attention to both.

I wish elections for congressmen to take place in Louisiana; but I wish it to be a movement of the people of the districts, and not a movement of our military and quasi-military authorities there. I merely wish our authorities to give the people a chance — to protect them against secession interference. Of course the election cannot be according to strict law. By State law there is, I suppose, no election day before January; and the regular election officers will not act in many cases, if in any. These knots must be cut, the main object being to get an expression of the people. If they would fix a day and a way for themselves, all the better; but if they stand idle, not seeming to know what to do, do you fix these things for them by proclamation. And do not waste a day about it, but fix the election day early enough, that we can hear the result here by the first of January. Fix a day for an election in all the districts, and have it held in as many places as you can.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

November 22, 1862.— LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 22, 1862.

My dear General Banks: Early last week you left me in high hope with your assurance that you would be off with your expedition at the end of that week, or early in this. It is now the end of this, and I have just been overwhelmed and confounded with the sight of a requisition made by you which, I am assured, cannot be filled and got off within an hour short of two months. I inclose you a copy of the requisition, in some hope that it is not genuine — that you have never seen it. My dear general, this expanding and piling up of *impedimenta* has been, so far, almost our ruin, and will be our final ruin if it is not abandoned. If you had the articles of this requisition upon the wharf, with the necessary animals to make them of any use, and forage for the animals, you could not get vessels together in two weeks to carry the whole, to say nothing of your twenty thousand men; and, having the vessels, you could not put the cargoes aboard in two weeks more. And, after all, where you are going you have no use for them. When you parted with me you had no such ideas in your mind. I know you had not, or you could not have expected to be off so soon as you said. You must get back to something like the plan you had then, or your expedition is a failure before you start. You must be off before Congress meets. You would be better off anywhere, and especially where you are going, for not having a thousand wagons doing nothing but hauling forage to feed the animals that draw them, and taking at least two thousand men to care for the wagons and animals, who otherwise might be two thousand good soldiers. Now, dear general,

do not think this is an ill-natured letter; it is the very reverse. The simple publication of this requisition would ruin you.

Very truly your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

November 22, 1862.—DRAFT OF LETTER TO W. L. VANCE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 22, 1862.

MR. W. L. VANCE.

Sir: You tell me you have in your hands some two hundred and seventy thousand dollars of "Confederate scrip," which was forced upon Union men of Kentucky, in exchange for supplies, by the rebels during their late raid into that State; and you wish government authority for you to take this scrip into the cotton States, exchange it for cotton if found practicable, and to bring the cotton out.

While I have felt great anxiety to oblige you and your friends in this matter, I feel constrained to decline it. It would come to something, or it would come to nothing—that is, you would get cotton for the scrip, or you would not. If you should get none, the effort would have been a useless failure. If you should get any, to precisely that extent this government would have aided in giving currency to this scrip—that is, men, seeing that the scrip would bring cotton, would gladly give produce for the scrip; and hence a scramble for it, as for gold, would ensue.

If your two hundred and seventy thousand dollars was to be the sole instance, I would gladly risk it. But it would not be the beginning, or, at most, only the beginning.

Having begun, I could not stop. What I had done for some, I must do for others. All that sort of scrip now in Kentucky, and much not yet in Kentucky, would find its way into Union hands, and be presented under the rule. We all know how easily oaths are furnished when required in transactions of this sort; and the thing would become even broader yet.

Men who have been robbed outright by the rebels, without even receiving scrip, would appeal (and with quite as equitable a case) to be permitted a means of indemnity, by leave to go in and bring out cotton.

This would run till at length I should have to abandon all restraint, or put a stop to what it is now much easier to not begin.

November 24, 1862.—LETTER TO CARL SCHURZ.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 24, 1862.

GENERAL CARL SCHURZ.

My dear Sir: I have just received and read your letter of the 20th. The purport of it is that we lost the late elections and the Administration is failing because the war is unsuccessful, and that I must not flatter myself that I am not justly to blame for it. I certainly

know that if the war fails, the Administration fails, and that I will be blamed for it, whether I deserve it or not. And I ought to be blamed if I could do better. You think I could do better; therefore you blame me already. I think I could not do better; therefore I blame you for blaming me. I understand you now to be willing to accept the help of men who are not Republicans, provided they have "heart in it." Agreed. I want no others. But who is to be the judge of hearts, or of "heart in it"? If I must discard my own judgment and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject, I should have none left, Republicans or others—not even yourself. For be assured, my dear sir, there are men who have "heart in it" that think you are performing your part as poorly as you think I am performing mine. I certainly have been dissatisfied with the slowness of Buell and McClellan; but before I relieved them I had great fears I should not find successors to them who would do better; and I am sorry to add that I have seen little since to relieve those fears.

I do not clearly see the prospect of any more rapid movements. I fear we shall at last find out that the difficulty is in our case rather than in particular generals. I wish to disparage no one—certainly not those who sympathize with me; but I must say I need success more than I need sympathy, and that I have not seen the so much greater evidence of getting success from my sympathizers than from those who are denounced as the contrary. It does seem to me that in the field the two classes have been very much alike in what they have done and what they have failed to do. In sealing their faith with their blood, Baker and Lyon and Bohlen and Richardson, Republicans, did all that men could do; but did they any more than Kearny and Stevens and Reno and Mansfield, none of whom were Republicans, and some at least of whom have been bitterly and repeatedly denounced to me as secession sympathizers? I will not perform the ungrateful task of comparing cases of failure.

In answer to your question, "Has it not been publicly stated in the newspapers, and apparently proved as a fact, that from the commencement of the war the enemy was continually supplied with information by some of the confidential subordinates of as important an officer as Adjutant-General Thomas?" I must say "No," as far as my knowledge extends. And I add that if you can give any tangible evidence upon the subject, I will thank you to come to this city and do so. Very truly your friend, A. LINCOLN.

November 25, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
November 25, 1862. 11.30 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth, Virginia:

If I should be in boat off Aquia Creek at dark to-morrow (Wednesday) evening, could you, without inconvenience, meet me and pass an hour or two with me? A. LINCOLN.

November 25, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 25, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Dear Sir: Please remember to confer with the Secretary of the Interior, so as to clear the discrepancy as to amounts derived from sale of public lands. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 26, 1862.—LETTER TO G. ROBERTSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 26, 1862.

HON. GEORGE ROBERTSON.

My dear Sir: A few days since I had a despatch from you which I did not answer. If I were to be wounded personally, I think I would not shun it. But it is the life of the nation. I now understand the trouble is with Colonel Utley: that he has five slaves in his camp, four of whom belong to rebels, and one belonging to you. If this be true, convey yours to Colonel Utley, so that he can make him free, and I will pay you any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

November 27, 1862.—DRAFT OF LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

STEAMER "BALTIMORE," OFF AQUIA CREEK, VIRGINIA, November 27, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

Sir: I have just had a long conference with General Burnside. He believes that General Lee's whole army, or nearly the whole of it, is in front of him, at and near Fredericksburg. General Burnside says he could take into battle now any day about 110,000 men; that his army is in good spirit, good condition, good morale, and that in all respects he is satisfied with officers and men; that he does not want more men with him, because he could not handle them to advantage; that he thinks he can cross the river in face of the enemy and drive him away; but that, to use his own expression, it is somewhat risky. I wish the case to stand more favorably than this in two respects: First, I wish his crossing of the river to be nearly free from risk; and, secondly, I wish the enemy to be prevented from falling back, accumulating strength as he goes, into his intrenchments at Richmond. I therefore propose that General Burnside shall not move immediately; that we accumulate a force on the south bank of the Rappahannock—at, say, Port Royal—under protection of one or two gunboats, as nearly up to 25,000 strong as we can; at the same time another force of about the same strength

as high up the Pamunkey as can be protected by gunboats. These being ready, let all three forces move simultaneously: General Burnside's force in its attempt to cross the river, the Rappahannock force moving directly up the south side of the river to his assistance, and ready, if found admissible, to deflect off to the turnpike bridge over the Mattapony in the direction of Richmond; the Pamunkey force to move as rapidly as possible up the north side of the Pamunkey, holding all the bridges, and especially the turnpike bridge immediately north of Hanover Court House; hurry north and seize and hold the Mattapony bridge before mentioned, and also, if possible, press higher up the streams and destroy the railroad bridges. Then if General Burnside succeeds in driving the enemy from Fredericksburg, he (the enemy) no longer has the road to Richmond, but we have it, and can march into the city. Or, possibly, having forced the enemy from his line, we could move upon and destroy his army. General Burnside's main army would have the same line of supply and retreat as he has now provided. The Rappahannock force would have that river for supply, and gunboats to fall back upon; and the Pamunkey force would have that river for supply, and a line between the two rivers — Pamunkey and Mattapony — along which to fall back upon its gunboats. I think the plan promises the best results, with the least hazard, of any now conceivable.

NOTE.— The above plan proposed by me was rejected by General Halleck and General Burnside on the ground that we could not raise and put in position the Pamunkey force without too much waste of time.

A. L.

November 29, 1862.— LETTER TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL BATES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 29, 1862.

HON. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

My dear Sir: Few things perplex me more than this question between Governor Gamble and the War Department, as to whether the peculiar force organized by the former in Missouri are State troops or United States troops. Now, this is either an immaterial or a mischievous question. First, if no more is desired than to have it settled what name the force is to be called by, it is immaterial. Secondly, if it is desired for more than the fixing a name, it can only be to get a position from which to draw practical inferences; then it is mischievous. Instead of settling one dispute by deciding the question, I should merely furnish a nestful of eggs for hatching new disputes. I believe the force is not strictly either "State troops" or "United States troops." It is of mixed character. I therefore think it is safer, when a practical question arises, to decide that question directly, and not indirectly by deciding a general abstraction supposed to include it, and also including a great deal more. Without dispute Governor Gamble appoints the officers of this force, and fills vacancies when they occur. The question now practically in dispute is: Can Governor Gamble make a vacancy by

removing an officer or accepting a resignation? Now, while it is proper that this question shall be settled, I do not perceive why either Governor Gamble or the government here should care which way it is settled. I am perplexed with it only because there seems to be pertinacity about it. It seems to me that it might be either way without injury to the service; or that the offer of the Secretary of War to let Governor Gamble make vacancies, and he (the Secretary) to ratify the making of them, ought to be satisfactory. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

December 1, 1862.—ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Since your last annual assembling another year of health and bountiful harvests has passed; and while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with a return of peace, we can but press on, guided by the best light he gives us, trusting that in his own good time and wise way all will yet be well.

The correspondence touching foreign affairs which has taken place during the last year is herewith submitted, in virtual compliance with a request to that effect, made by the House of Representatives near the close of the last session of Congress.

If the condition of our relations with other nations is less gratifying than it has usually been at former periods, it is certainly more satisfactory than a nation so unhappily distracted as we are might reasonably have apprehended. In the month of June last there were some grounds to expect that the maritime powers which, at the beginning of our domestic difficulties, so unwisely and unnecessarily, as we think, recognized the insurgents as a belligerent, would soon recede from that position, which has proved only less injurious to themselves than to our own country. But the temporary reverses which afterward befell the national arms, and which were exaggerated by our own disloyal citizens abroad, have hitherto delayed that act of simple justice.

The civil war, which has so radically changed, for the moment, the occupations and habits of the American people, has necessarily disturbed the social condition, and affected very deeply the prosperity of the nations with which we have carried on a commerce that has been steadily increasing throughout a period of half a century. It has, at the same time, excited political ambitions and apprehensions which have produced a profound agitation throughout the civilized world. In this unusual agitation we have forborne from taking part in any controversy between foreign states, and between parties or factions in such states. We have attempted no propagandism, and acknowledged no revolution. But we have left to every nation the exclusive conduct and management of its own affairs. Our struggle has been, of course, contemplated by foreign nations with reference less to its own merits than to its supposed and often exaggerated effects and consequences resulting

to those nations themselves. Nevertheless, complaint on the part of this government, even if it were just, would certainly be unwise.

The treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade has been put into operation with a good prospect of complete success. It is an occasion of special pleasure to acknowledge that the execution of it on the part of her Majesty's government has been marked with a jealous respect for the authority of the United States, and the rights of their moral and loyal citizens.

The convention with Hanover for the abolition of the stade dues has been carried into full effect under the act of Congress for that purpose.

A blockade of three thousand miles of sea-coast could not be established and vigorously enforced, in a season of great commercial activity like the present, without committing occasional mistakes, and inflicting unintentional injuries upon foreign nations and their subjects.

A civil war occurring in a country where foreigners reside and carry on trade under treaty stipulations, is necessarily fruitful of complaints of the violation of neutral rights. All such collisions tend to excite misapprehensions, and possibly to produce mutual reclamations between nations which have a common interest in preserving peace and friendship. In clear cases of these kinds I have, so far as possible, heard and redressed complaints which have been presented by friendly powers. There is still, however, a large and an augmenting number of doubtful cases upon which the government is unable to agree with the governments whose protection is demanded by the claimants. There are, moreover, many cases in which the United States or their citizens suffer wrongs from the naval or military authorities of foreign nations, which the governments of those states are not at once prepared to redress. I have proposed to some of the foreign states thus interested mutual conventions to examine and adjust such complaints. This proposition has been made especially to Great Britain, to France, to Spain, and to Prussia. In each case it has been kindly received, but has not yet been formally adopted.

I deem it my duty to recommend an appropriation in behalf of the owners of the Norwegian bark *Admiral P. Tordenskiold*, which vessel was, in May, 1861, prevented by the commander of the blockading force off Charleston from leaving that port with cargo, notwithstanding a similar privilege had, shortly before, been granted to an English vessel. I have directed the Secretary of State to cause the papers in the case to be communicated to the proper committees.

Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress. Other parties at home and abroad—some from interested motives, others upon patriotic considerations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments—have suggested similar measures; while, on the other hand, several of the Spanish-American republics have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective territories.

Under these circumstances, I have declined to move any such colony to any state without first obtaining the consent of its government, with an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all the rights of freemen; and I have at the same time offered to the several states situated within the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favor the voluntary emigration of persons of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions which shall be equal, just, and humane. Liberia and Hayti are as yet the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens; and I regret to say such persons contemplating colonization do not seem so willing to migrate to those countries as to some others, nor so willing as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, opinion among them in this respect is improving; and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable migration to both these countries from the United States.

The new commercial treaty between the United States and the Sultan of Turkey has been carried into execution.

A commercial and consular treaty has been negotiated, subject to the Senate's consent, with Liberia; and a similar negotiation is now pending with the republic of Hayti. A considerable improvement of the national commerce is expected to result from these measures.

Our relations with Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands, Italy, Rome, and the other European states, remain undisturbed. Very favorable relations also continue to be maintained with Turkey, Morocco, China, and Japan.

During the last year there has not only been no change of our previous relations with the independent states of our own continent, but more friendly sentiments than have heretofore existed are believed to be entertained by these neighbors, whose safety and progress are so intimately connected with our own. This statement especially applies to Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Peru, and Chile.

The commission under the convention with the republic of New Granada closed its session without having audited and passed upon all the claims which were submitted to it. A proposition is pending to revive the convention, that it may be able to do more complete justice. The joint commission between the United States and the republic of Costa Rica has completed its labors and submitted its report.

I have favored the project for connecting the United States with Europe by an Atlantic telegraph, and a similar project to extend the telegraph from San Francisco, to connect by a Pacific telegraph with the line which is being extended across the Russian empire.

The Territories of the United States, with unimportant exceptions, have remained undisturbed by the civil war, and they are exhibiting such evidence of prosperity as justifies an expectation that some of them will soon be in a condition to be organized as States and be constitutionally admitted into the Federal Union.

The immense mineral resources of some of those Territories ought to be developed as rapidly as possible. Every step in that direction would have a tendency to improve the revenues of the government, and diminish the burdens of the people. It is worthy of your serious consideration whether some extraordinary measures to promote that end cannot be adopted. The means which suggests itself as most likely to be effective is a scientific exploration of the mineral regions in those Territories, with a view to the publication of its results at home and in foreign countries—results which cannot fail to be auspicious.

The condition of the finances will claim your most diligent consideration. The vast expenditures incident to the military and naval operations required for the suppression of the rebellion have hitherto been met with a promptitude and certainty unusual in similar circumstances, and the public credit has been fully maintained. The continuance of the war, however, and the increased disbursements made necessary by the augmented forces now in the field, demand your best reflections as to the best modes of providing the necessary revenue without injury to business and with the least possible burdens upon labor.

The suspension of specie payments by the banks, soon after the commencement of your last session, made large issues of United States notes unavoidable. In no other way could the payment of the troops, and the satisfaction of other just demands, be so economically or so well provided for. The judicious legislation of Congress, securing the receivability of these notes for loans and internal duties, and making them a legal tender for other debts, has made them a universal currency, and has satisfied, partially at least, and for the time, the long-felt want of a uniform circulating medium, saving thereby to the people immense sums in discounts and exchanges.

A return to specie payments, however, at the earliest period compatible with due regard to all interests concerned, should ever be kept in view. Fluctuations in the value of currency are always injurious, and to reduce these fluctuations to the lowest possible point will always be a leading purpose in wise legislation. Convertibility—prompt and certain convertibility—into coin is generally acknowledged to be the best and surest safeguard against them; and it is extremely doubtful whether a circulation of United States notes, payable in coin, and sufficiently large for the wants of the people, can be permanently, usefully, and safely maintained.

Is there, then, any other mode in which the necessary provision for the public wants can be made, and the great advantages of a safe and uniform currency secured?

I know of none which promises so certain results, and is at the same time so unobjectionable, as the organization of banking associations under a general act of Congress well guarded in its provisions. To such associations the government might furnish circulating notes, on the security of United States bonds deposited in the treasury. These notes, prepared under the supervision of proper officers, being uniform in appearance and security, and convertible always

into coin, would at once protect labor against the evils of a vicious currency, and facilitate commerce by cheap and safe exchanges.

A moderate reservation from the interest on the bonds would compensate the United States for the preparation and distribution of the notes and a general supervision of the system, and would lighten the burden of that part of the public debt employed as securities. The public credit, moreover, would be greatly improved and the negotiation of new loans greatly facilitated by the steady market demand for government bonds which the adoption of the proposed system would create.

It is an additional recommendation of the measure, of considerable weight in my judgment, that it would reconcile, as far as possible, all existing interests, by the opportunity offered to existing institutions to reorganize under the act, substituting only the secured uniform national circulation for the local and various circulation, secured and unsecured, now issued by them.

The receipts into the treasury from all sources, including loans and balance from the preceding year, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th June, 1862, were $583,885,247.06; of which sum $49,056,397.62 were derived from customs; $1,795,331.73 from the direct tax; from public lands, $152,203.77; from miscellaneous sources, $931,787.64; from loans in all forms, $529,692,460.50. The remainder, $2,257,065.80, was the balance from last year.

The disbursements during the same period were: for congressional, executive, and judicial purposes, $5,939,009.29; for foreign intercourse, $1,339,710.35; for miscellaneous expenses, including the mints, loans, post-office deficiencies, collection of revenue, and other like charges, $14,129,771.50; for expenses under the Interior Department, $3,102,985.52; under the War Department, $394,368,407.36; under the Navy Department, $42,674,569.69; for interest on public debt, $13,190,324.45; and for payment of public debt, including reimbursement of temporary loan, and redemptions, $96,096,922.09—making an aggregate of $570,841,700.25, and leaving a balance in the treasury on the first day of July, 1862, of $13,043,546.81.

It should be observed that the sum of $96,096,922.09, expended for reimbursements and redemption of public debt, being included also in the loans made, may be properly deducted both from receipts and expenditures, leaving the actual receipts for the year, $487,788,324.97; and the expenditures, $474,744,778.16.

Other information on the subject of the finances will be found in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, to whose statements and views I invite your most candid and considerate attention.

The reports of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy are herewith transmitted. These reports, though lengthy, are scarcely more than brief abstracts of the very numerous and extensive transactions and operations conducted through those departments. Nor could I give a summary of them here, upon any principle, which would admit of its being much shorter than the reports themselves. I therefore content myself with laying the reports before you, and asking your attention to them.

It gives me pleasure to report a decided improvement in the finan-

cial condition of the Post Office Department, as compared with several preceding years. The receipts for the fiscal year 1861 amounted to $8,349,296.40, which embraced the revenue from all the States of the Union for three quarters of that year. Notwithstanding the cessation of revenue from the so-called seceded States during the last fiscal year, the increase of the correspondence of the loyal States has been sufficient to produce a revenue during the same year of $8,299,820.90, being only $50,000 less than was derived from all the States of the Union during the previous year. The expenditures show a still more favorable result. The amount expended in 1861 was $13,606,759.11. For the last year the amount has been reduced to $11,125,364.13, showing a decrease of about $2,481,000 in the expenditures as compared with the preceding year, and about $3,750,000 as compared with the fiscal year 1860. The deficiency in the department for the previous year was $4,551,966.98. For the last fiscal year it was reduced to $2,112,814.57. These favorable results are in part owing to the cessation of mail service in the insurrectionary States, and in part to a careful review of all expenditures in that department in the interest of economy. The efficiency of the postal service, it is believed, has also been much improved. The Postmaster-General has also opened a correspondence, through the Department of State, with foreign governments, proposing a convention of postal representatives for the purpose of simplifying the rates of foreign postage, and to expedite the foreign mails. This proposition, equally important to our adopted citizens and to the commercial interests of this country, has been favorably entertained, and agreed to, by all the governments from whom replies have been received.

I ask the attention of Congress to the suggestions of the Postmaster-General in his report respecting the further legislation required, in his opinion, for the benefit of the postal service.

The Secretary of the Interior reports as follows in regard to the public lands:

> The public lands have ceased to be a source of revenue. From the 1st July, 1861, to the 30th September, 1862, the entire cash receipts from the sale of lands were $137,476.26—a sum much less than the expenses of our land system during the same period. The homestead law, which will take effect on the 1st of January next, offers such inducements to settlers that sales for cash cannot be expected to an extent sufficient to meet the expenses of the General Land Office, and the cost of surveying and bringing the land into market.

The discrepancy between the sum here stated as arising from the sales of the public lands, and the sum derived from the same source as reported from the Treasury Department, arises, as I understand, from the fact that the periods of time, though apparently, were not really coincident at the beginning point—the Treasury report including a considerable sum now, which had previously been reported from the Interior—sufficiently large to greatly overreach the sum derived from the three months now reported upon by the Interior, and not by the Treasury.

The Indian tribes upon our frontiers have, during the past year, manifested a spirit of insubordination, and at several points have engaged in open hostilities against the white settlements in their vicinity. The tribes occupying the Indian country south of Kansas renounced their allegiance to the United States, and entered into treaties with the insurgents. Those who remained loyal to the United States were driven from the country. The chief of the Cherokees has visited this city for the purpose of restoring the former relations of the tribe with the United States. He alleges that they were constrained by superior force to enter into treaties with the insurgents, and that the United States neglected to furnish the protection which their treaty stipulations required.

In the month of August last the Sioux Indians in Minnesota attacked the settlements in their vicinity with extreme ferocity, killing indiscriminately men, women, and children. This attack was wholly unexpected, and therefore no means of defense had been provided. It is estimated that not less than eight hundred persons were killed by the Indians, and a large amount of property was destroyed. How this outbreak was induced is not definitely known, and suspicions, which may be unjust, need not to be stated. Information was received by the Indian bureau, from different sources, about the time hostilities were commenced, that a simultaneous attack was to be made upon the white settlements by all the tribes between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. The State of Minnesota has suffered great injury from this Indian war. A large portion of her territory has been depopulated, and a severe loss has been sustained by the destruction of property. The people of that State manifest much anxiety for the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of the State as a guarantee against future hostilities. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs will furnish full details. I submit for your especial consideration whether our Indian system shall not be remodeled. Many wise and good men have impressed me with the belief that this can be profitably done.

I submit a statement of the proceedings of commissioners, which shows the progress that has been made in the enterprise of constructing the Pacific Railroad. And this suggests the earliest completion of this road, and also the favorable action of Congress upon the projects now pending before them for enlarging the capacities of the great canals in New York and Illinois, as being of vital and rapidly increasing importance to the whole nation, and especially to the vast interior region hereinafter to be noticed at some greater length. I purpose having prepared and laid before you at an early day some interesting and valuable statistical information upon this subject. The military and commercial importance of enlarging the Illinois and Michigan canal and improving the Illinois River is presented in the report of Colonel Webster to the Secretary of War, and now transmitted to Congress. I respectfully ask attention to it.

To carry out the provisions of the act of Congress of the 15th of May last, I have caused the Department of Agriculture of the United States to be organized. The commissioner informs me that within the period of a few months this department has estab-

lished an extensive system of correspondence and exchanges, both at home and abroad, which promises to effect highly beneficial results in the development of a correct knowledge of recent improvements in agriculture, in the introduction of new products, and in the collection of the agricultural statistics of the different States. Also that it will soon be prepared to distribute largely seeds, cereals, plants, and cuttings, and has already published and liberally diffused much valuable information in anticipation of a more elaborate report which will in due time be furnished, embracing some valuable tests in chemical science now in progress in the laboratory. The creation of this department was for the more immediate benefit of a large class of our most valuable citizens; and I trust that the liberal basis upon which it has been organized will not only meet your approbation, but that it will realize, at no distant day, all the fondest anticipations of its most sanguine friends, and become the fruitful source of advantage to all our people.

On the 22d day of September last a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted. In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully recall your attention to what may be called "compensated emancipation."

A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever." It is of the first importance to duly consider and estimate this ever-enduring part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States is well adapted to be the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vast extent and its variety of climate and productions are of advantage in this age for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam, telegraphs, and intelligence have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people.

In the inaugural address I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of disunion as a remedy for the differences between the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I cannot improve and which, therefore, I beg to repeat:

> One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.
>
> Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them.

A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide. Trace through, from east to west, upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one third of its length are rivers, easy to be crossed, and populated, or soon to be populated, thickly upon both sides; while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyors' lines, over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment as a national boundary. The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up on the part of the seceding section the fugitive-slave clause along with all other constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from, while I should expect no treaty stipulation would be ever made to take its place.

But there is another difficulty. The great interior region, bounded east by the Alleghanies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dakota, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, already has above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years if not prevented by any political folly or mistake. It contains more than one third of the country owned by the United States — certainly more than one million of square miles. Once half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more than seventy-five millions of people. A glance at the map shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it, the magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific being the deepest and also the richest in undeveloped resources. In the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has, as yet, been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented; and yet this region has no sea-coast, touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common

country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is thereby cut off from some one or more of these outlets — not, perhaps, by a physical barrier, but by embarrassing and onerous trade regulations.

And this is true wherever a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the now free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains that none south of it can trade to any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south of it, except upon terms dictated by a government foreign to them. These outlets, east, west, and south, are indispensable to the well-being of the people inhabiting, and to inhabit, this vast interior region. Which of the three may be the best, is no proper question. All are better than either; and all of right belong to that people and to their successors forever. True to themselves, they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will vow rather that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications to and through them to the great outside world. They, too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary.

Our national strife springs not from our permanent part, not from the land we inhabit, not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this but would multiply, and not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes it demands union and abhors separation. In fact, it would ere long force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost.

Our strife pertains to ourselves — to the passing generations of men; and it can without convulsion be hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

In this view I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both houses concurring), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures (or conventions) of the several States as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles when ratified by three fourths of the said legislatures (or conventions) to be valid as part or parts of the said Constitution, viz.:

"ARTICLE —.

"Every State wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand and nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit:

"The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of per cent. per annum, to an amount equal to the aggregate sum of , for each slave shown to have been therein

by the eighth census of the United States, said bonds to be delivered to such State by instalments, or in one parcel at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual or at one time within such State; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid. Any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterward re-introducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

"ARTICLE —.

"All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such who shall not have been disloyal shall be compensated for them at the same rates as are provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

"ARTICLE —.

"Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States."

I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed; without slavery it could not continue.

Among the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to slavery and the African race amongst us. Some would perpetuate slavery; some would abolish it suddenly, and without compensation; some would abolish it gradually, and with compensation; some would remove the freed people from us, and some would retain them with us; and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities we waste much strength in struggles among ourselves. By mutual concession we should harmonize and act together. This would be compromise; but it would be compromise among the friends, and not with the enemies, of the Union. These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow at least in several of the States.

As to the first article, the main points are: first, the emancipation; secondly, the length of time for consummating it—thirty-seven years; and, thirdly, the compensation.

The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery; but the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement — in fact, from the necessity of any derangement; while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really

gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where their numbers are very great; and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free forever. The plan leaves to each State choosing to act under it to abolish slavery now, or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or by degrees extending over the whole or any part of the period; and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive the compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay, and not to receive, will object. Yet the measure is both just and economical. In a certain sense the liberation of slaves is the destruction of property — property acquired by descent or by purchase, the same as any other property. It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for a common object this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge?

And if, with less money, or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means than we can by the war alone, is it not also economical to do it? Let us consider it, then. Let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether, if that measure had been promptly accepted by even some of the slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise done. If so, the measure would save money, and in that view would be a prudent and economical measure. Certainly it is not so easy to pay something as it is to pay nothing; but it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one. And it is easier to pay any sum when we are able, than it is to pay it before we are able. The war requires large sums, and requires them at once. The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation of course would be large. But it would require no ready cash, nor the bonds even, any faster than the emancipation progresses. This might not, and probably would not, close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have 100,000,000 of people to share the burden, instead of 31,000,000 as now. And not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after that period, as rapidly as before, because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same ratio of increase which we have maintained, on an average, from our first national census in 1790 until that of 1860, we should in 1900 have a population of 103,208,415. And why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room — our broad national homestead — is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as are the British Isles,

very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign-born as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native-born away. But such is not our condition. We have 2,963,000 square miles. Europe has 3,800,000, with a population averaging 73⅛ persons to the square mile. Why may not our country, at the same time, average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface, by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts, or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If, then, we are at some time to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this may be, we can judge by the past and the present; as to when it will be, if ever, depends much on whether we maintain the Union. Several of our States are already above the average of Europe — 73⅛ to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157; Rhode Island, 133; Connecticut, 99; New York and New Jersey, each 80. Also two other great States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having 63 and the latter 59. The States already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid a ratio since passing that point as ever before, while no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country in natural capacity for sustaining a dense population.

Taking the nation in the aggregate, we find its population and ratio of increase for the several decennial periods to be as follows:

1790	3,929,827	
1800	5,305,937	35.02 per cent. ratio of increase.
1810	7,239,814	36.45 " " "
1820	9,638,131	33.13 " " "
1830	12,866,020	33.49 " " "
1840	17,069,453	32.67 " " "
1850	23,191,876	35.87 " " "
1860	31,443,790	35.58 " " "

This shows an average decennial increase of 34.60 per cent. in population through the seventy years from our first to our last census yet taken. It is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of these seven periods is either two per cent. below or two per cent. above the average, thus showing how inflexible, and consequently how reliable, the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, gives the following results:

1870	42,323,341
1880	56,967,216
1890	76,677,872
1900	103,208,415
1910	138,918,526
1920	186,984,335
1930	251,680,914

These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe now is at some point between 1920 and 1930—say about 1925—our territory, at 73⅛ persons to the square mile, being of capacity to contain 217,186,000.

And we will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chance by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting war springing from the only great element of national discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge example of secession, breeding lesser ones indefinitely, would retard population, civilization, and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious.

The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With these, we should pay all the emancipation would cost, together with our other debt, easier than we should pay our other debt without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at six per cent. per annum, simple interest, from the end of our Revolutionary struggle until to-day, without paying anything on either principal or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that debt now than each man owed upon it then; and this because our increase of men, through the whole period, has been greater than six per cent.—has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus, time alone relieves a debtor nation, so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt.

This fact would be no excuse for delaying payment of what is justly due; but it shows the great importance of time in this connection—the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay, until we number a hundred millions, what by a different policy we would have to pay now, when we number but thirty-one millions. In a word, it shows that a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war than will be a dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan. And then the latter will cost no blood, no precious life. It will be a saving of both.

As to the second article, I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage the class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them doubtless, in the property sense, belong to loyal owners; and hence provision is made in this article for compensating such.

The third article relates to the future of the freed people. It does not oblige, but merely authorizes, Congress to aid in colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable, on the one hand or on the other, insomuch as it comes to nothing unless by the mutual consent of the people to be deported, and the American voters through their representatives in Congress.

I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization. And yet I wish to say there is an objection urged against free colored persons remaining in the country which is largely imaginary, if not sometimes malicious.

It is insisted that their presence would injure and displace white labor and white laborers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere catch arguments, that time surely is not now. In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity. Is it true, then, that colored people can displace any more white labor by being free than by remaining slaves? If they stay in their old places, they

jostle no white laborers; if they leave their old places, they leave them open to white laborers. Logically, there is neither more nor less of it. Emancipation, even without deportation, would probably enhance the wages of white labor, and very surely would not reduce them. Thus, the customary amount of labor would still have to be performed; the freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably for a time would do less, leaving an increased part to white laborers, bringing their labor into greater demand, and consequently enhancing the wages of it. With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhanced wages to white labor is mathematically certain. Labor is like any other commodity in the market—increase the demand for it, and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labor.

But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land? Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored to seven whites. Could the one in any way greatly disturb the seven? There are many communities now having more than one free colored person to seven whites, and this without any apparent consciousness of evil from it. The District of Columbia, and the States of Maryland and Delaware, are all in this condition. The District has more than one free colored to six whites; and yet in its frequent petitions to Congress I believe it has never presented the presence of free colored persons as one of its grievances. But why should emancipation south send the free people north? People of any color seldom run unless there be something to run from. Heretofore colored people, to some extent, have fled north from bondage; and now, perhaps, from both bondage and destitution. But if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they will have neither to flee from. Their old masters will give them wages at least until new laborers can be procured; and the freedmen, in turn, will gladly give their labor for the wages till new homes can be found for them in congenial climes and with people of their own blood and race. This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interests involved. And, in any event, cannot the North decide for itself whether to receive them?

Again, as practice proves more than theory, in any case, has there been any irruption of colored people northward because of the abolishment of slavery in this District last spring?

What I have said of the proportion of free colored persons to the whites in the District is from the census of 1860, having no reference to persons called contrabands, nor to those made free by the act of Congress abolishing slavery here.

The plan consisting of these articles is recommended, not but that a restoration of the national authority would be accepted without its adoption.

Nor will the war, nor proceedings under the proclamation of September 22, 1862, be stayed because of the recommendation of this

plan. Its timely adoption, I doubt not, would bring restoration, and thereby stay both.

And, notwithstanding this plan, the recommendation that Congress provide by law for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would be only an advance part of the plan, and the same arguments apply to both.

This plan is recommended as a means, not in exclusion of, but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan would, I am confident, secure peace more speedily, and maintain it more permanently, than can be done by force alone; while all it would cost, considering amounts, and manner of payment, and times of payment, would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war if we rely solely upon force. It is much — very much — that it would cost no blood at all.

The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of, first, two thirds of Congress and, afterward, three fourths of the States. The requisite three fourths of the States will necessarily include seven of the slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation at no very distant day upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union forever.

I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. Nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors, nor that many of you have more experience than I in the conduct of public affairs. Yet I trust that in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves in any undue earnestness I may seem to display.

Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national prosperity, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we here — Congress and Executive — can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means so certainly or so speedily assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not "Can any of us imagine better?" but, "Can we all do better?" Object whatsoever is possible, still the question occurs, "Can we do better?" The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down,

in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 1, 1862.

December 3, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: On the 3d of November, 1861, a collision took place off the coast of Cuba between the United States war steamer *San Jacinto* and the French brig *Jules et Marie*, resulting in serious damage to the latter. The obligation of this government to make amends therefore could not be questioned if the injury resulted from any fault on the part of the *San Jacinto*. With a view to ascertain this, the subject was referred to a commission of the United States and French naval officers at New York, with a naval officer of Italy as an arbiter. The conclusion arrived at was that the collision was occasioned by the failure of the *San Jacinto* seasonably to reverse her engine. It then became necessary to ascertain the amount of indemnification due to the injured party. The United States consul-general at Havana was consequently instructed to confer with the consul of France on this point, and they have determined that the sum of nine thousand five hundred dollars is an equitable allowance under the circumstances.

I recommend an appropriation of this sum for the benefit of the owners of the *Jules et Marie*.

A copy of the letter of Mr. Shufeldt, the consul-general of the United States at Havana, to the Secretary of State on the subject, is herewith transmitted.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 3, 1862.

December 5, 1862.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 5, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: With my understanding of the present condition of Missouri, and especially that part of it north of the Missouri River, I think the attached resolutions are reasonable. Have you anything to do with it, or does it belong exclusively to the Secretary of War? Please answer me, returning this note, and resolutions to me.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

December 7, 1862.—LETTER TO C. P. KIRKLAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 7, 1862.

CHARLES P. KIRKLAND, Esq., New York:

I have just received and hastily read your published letter to the Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis. Under the circumstances I may not be the most competent judge, but it appears to me to be a paper of great ability, and for the country's sake, more than my own, I thank you for it. Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 8, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Commander John L. Worden, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for the eminent skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the late remarkable battle between the United States iron-clad steamer *Monitor*, under his command, and the rebel iron-clad steamer *Merrimac*, in March last.

The thanks of Congress for his services on the occasion referred to were tendered by a resolution approved July 11, 1862, but the recommendation is now specially made in order to comply with the requirements of the ninth section of the act of July 16, 1862, which is in the following words:

That any line officer of the navy or marine corps may be advanced one grade if, upon recommendation of the President by name, he receive the thanks of Congress for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy, or for extraordinary heroism in the line of his profession.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 8, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 9, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the United States of the 13th of March last, requesting a copy of the correspondence relative to the attempted seizure of Mr. Fauchet by the commander of the *Africa* within the waters of the United States, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 9, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 10, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 10, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please suspend, until further order, all proceedings on the order made by General Schofield, on the twenty-eighth day of August last,

for assessing and collecting from secessionists and Southern sympathizers the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, etc., and in the mean time make out and send me a statement of facts pertinent to the question, together with your opinion upon it.

A. LINCOLN.

December 10, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Lieutenant-Commander George U. Morris, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for the determined valor and heroism displayed in his defense of the United States ship of war *Cumberland*, temporarily under his command, in the naval engagement at Hampton Roads on the 8th of March, 1862, with the rebel iron-clad steam-frigate *Merrimac*.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 10, 1862.

December 11, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with your resolution of December 5, 1862, requesting the President "to furnish the Senate with all information in his possession touching the late Indian barbarities in the State of Minnesota, and also the evidence in his possession upon which some of the principal actors and head men were tried and condemned to death," I have the honor to state that, on receipt of said resolution, I transmitted the same to the Secretary of the Interior, accompanied by a note, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, marked A, and in response to which I received, through that department, a letter of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, marked B.

I further state that on the eighth day of November last I received a long telegraphic despatch from Major-General Pope, at St. Paul, Minnesota, simply announcing the names of the persons sentenced to be hanged. I immediately telegraphed to have transcripts of the records in all the cases forwarded to me, which transcripts, however, did not reach me until two or three days before the present meeting of Congress. Meantime I received, through telegraphic despatches and otherwise, appeals in behalf of the condemned—appeals for their execution—and expressions of opinion as to the proper policy in regard to them and to the Indians generally in that vicinity, none of which, as I understand, falls within the scope of your inquiry. After the arrival of the transcripts of records, but before I had sufficient opportunity to examine them, I received a joint letter from one of the senators and two of the representatives from Minnesota, which contains some statements of fact not found in the records of the trials, and for which reason I herewith transmit a copy, marked C. I also, for the same reason, inclose a printed memo-

rial of the citizens of St. Paul, addressed to me, and forwarded with the letter aforesaid.

Anxious to not act with so much clemency as to encourage another outbreak on the one hand, nor with so much severity as to be real cruelty on the other, I caused a careful examination of the records of trials to be made, in view of first ordering the execution of such as had been proved guilty of violating females. Contrary to my expectation, only two of this class were found. I then directed a further examination and a classification of all who were proven to have participated in massacres, as distinguished from participation in battles. This class numbered forty, and included the two convicted of female violation. One of the number is strongly recommended, by the commission which tried them, for commutation to ten years' imprisonment. I have ordered the other thirty-nine to be executed on Friday, the 19th instant. The order was despatched from here on Monday, the 8th instant, by a messenger to General Sibley, and a copy of which order is herewith transmitted, marked D.

An abstract of the evidence as to the forty is herewith inclosed, marked E.

To avoid the immense amount of copying, I lay before the Senate the original transcripts of the records of trials, as received by me.

This is as full and complete a response to the resolution as it is in my power to make.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 12, 1862.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I have in my possession three valuable swords, formerly the property of General David E. Twiggs, which I now place at the disposal of Congress. They are forwarded to me from New Orleans by Major-General Benjamin F. Butler. If they, or any of them, shall be by Congress disposed of in reward or compliment of military service, I think General Butler is entitled to the first consideration. A copy of the general's letter to me, accompanying the swords, is herewith transmitted.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 12, 1862.

December 12, 1862.— LETTER TO FERNANDO WOOD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 12, 1862.

HON. FERNANDO WOOD.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 8th, with the accompanying note of same date, was received yesterday. The most important paragraph in the letter, as I consider, is in these words: "On the 25th of November last I was advised by an authority which I deemed likely to be well informed as well as reliable and truthful, that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress, provided

that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so. No guaranties or terms were asked for other than the amnesty referred to."

I strongly suspect your information will prove to be groundless; nevertheless, I thank you for communicating it to me. Understanding the phrase in the paragraph above quoted — "the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress" — to be substantially the same as that "the people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of such States under the Constitution of the United States," I say that in such case the war would cease on the part of the United States; and that if within a reasonable time "a full and general amnesty" were necessary to such end, it would not be withheld.

I do not think it would be proper now for me to communicate this formally or informally to the people of the Southern States. My belief is that they already know it; and when they choose, if ever, they can communicate with me unequivocally. Nor do I think it proper now to suspend military operations to try any experiment of negotiation.

I should nevertheless receive with great pleasure the exact information you now have, and also such other as you may in any way obtain. Such information might be more valuable before the 1st of January than afterward.

While there is nothing in this letter which I shall dread to see in history, it is, perhaps, better for the present that its existence should not become public. I therefore have to request that you will regard it as confidential. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

December 18, 1862.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit a copy of a despatch to the Secretary of State from Mr. Adams, United States minister at London, and of the correspondence to which it refers, between that gentleman and Mr. Panizzi, the principal librarian of the British Museum, relative to certain valuable publications presented to the Library of Congress.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 18, 1862.

December 19, 1862.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WASHINGTON, December 19, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE:

Come, of course, if in your own judgment it is safe to do so.

A. LINCOLN.

December 20, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY:

Please do not go out of town.

A. LINCOLN.

December 20, 1862.

December 20, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARIES SEWARD AND CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 20, 1862.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD AND HON. SALMON P. CHASE.

Gentlemen: You have respectively tendered me your resignations as Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. I am apprised of the circumstances which may render this course personally desirable to each of you; but after most anxious consideration my deliberate judgment is that the public interest does not admit of it. I therefore have to request that you will resume the duties of your departments respectively.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

December 22, 1862.—NOTE TO GENERAL J. A. DIX.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 22, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX:

Owing to extreme pressure of business, I have neglected for a week to write this note. General Busteed is with you. I bespeak for him your kindest consideration. His case is peculiar. Without much military experience, he has entered the service from purely patriotic motives. Please assign him the position best adapted to his case which may be within your power.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 22, 1862.—CONGRATULATIONS TO THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 22, 1862.

To the Army of the Potomac: I have just read your commanding general's report of the battle of Fredericksburg. Although you were not successful, the attempt was not an error, nor the failure other than accident. The courage with which you, in an open field, maintained the contest against an intrenched foe, and the consummate skill and success with which you crossed and recrossed the river in the face of the enemy, show that you possess all the qualities of a great army, which will yet give victory to the cause of the country and of popular government.

Condoling with the mourners for the dead, and sympathizing

with the severely wounded, I congratulate you that the number of both is comparatively so small.

I tender to you, officers and soldiers, the thanks of the nation.

A. LINCOLN.

December 22, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERALS W. B. FRANKLIN AND W. F. SMITH.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 22, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRANKLIN AND MAJOR-GENERAL SMITH:

Yours of the 20th, suggesting a plan of operations for the Army of the Potomac, is received. I have hastily read the plan, and shall yet try to give it more deliberate consideration, with the aid of military men. Meanwhile let me say it seems to me to present the old questions of preference between the line of the Peninsula and the line you are now upon. The difficulties you point out as pertaining to the Fredericksburg line are obvious and palpable. But now, as heretofore, if you go to James River, a large part of the army must remain on or near the Fredericksburg line, to protect Washington. It is the old difficulty.

When I saw General Franklin at Harrison's Landing on James River last July, I cannot be mistaken in saying that he distinctly advised the bringing of the army away from there.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 22, 1862.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 15th instant, requesting a copy of the report of the Hon. Reverdy Johnson, I transmit a communication from the Secretary of State and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1862.

December 23, 1862.—NOTE TO THE CABINET.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 23, 1862.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CABINET:

A bill for an act entitled "An Act for the admission of the State of West Virginia into the Union and for other purposes," has passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, and has been duly presented to me for my action.

I respectfully ask of each of you an opinion in writing on the following questions, to wit:

1st. Is the said act constitutional?

2d. Is the said act expedient?

Your obedient servant, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 23, 1862.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 23, 1862.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Dear Sir: Unless you know some strong objection, please send me a nomination for Cuthbert Bullitt as collector of the customs at New Orleans. I wish to do this at once.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 24, 1862.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit for the consideration of Congress a report from the Secretary of State on the subject of consular pupils.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 24, 1862.

December 29, 1862.—LETTER TO GENERAL BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 29, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

My dear Sir: I believe you have a family, and I dislike to deprive you of an early visit to them; but I really wish to see you at the earliest moment. I am contemplating a peculiar and important service for you, which I think, and I hope you will think, is as honorable as it is important. I wish to confer with you upon it. Please come immediately upon your arrival at New York.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 30, 1862.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,
December 30, 1862. 3.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE:

I have good reason for saying you must not make a general movement of the army without letting me know.

A. LINCOLN.

December 30, 1862.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR GAMBLE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 30, 1862.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR GAMBLE.

My dear Sir: Inclosed is an order substantially, and I believe exactly, such as I directed to be made nearly a month ago. After a good deal of reflection, I concluded that it was better to make a rule for the practical matter in hand (the removal of officers and accept-

ance of resignations) than to decide a general question—to wit: whether the forces are State troops—which, while it might embrace the practical question mentioned, might also be the nest in which forty other troublesome questions would be hatched. I would rather meet them as they come than before they come, trusting that some of them may not come at all. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

December 30, 1862.—DRAFT OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION OF JANUARY 1, 1863, AS SUBMITTED TO THE CABINET FOR FINAL REVISION.

Now therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a proper and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my intention so to do, publicly proclaimed for one hundred days as aforesaid, order and designate as the States and parts of States in which the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of).

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward forever shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons, and will do no act or acts to repress said persons, or any of them, in any suitable efforts they may make for their actual freedom; and I hereby appeal to the people so declared to be free to abstain from all disorder, tumult, and violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and in all cases, when allowed, to labor faithfully for wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison and defend forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

December 31, 1862.—PRESIDENT'S OPINION ON THE ADMISSION OF WEST VIRGINIA INTO THE UNION.

The consent of the legislature of Virginia is constitutionally necessary to the bill for the admission of West Virginia becoming a

law. A body claiming to be such legislature has given its consent. We cannot well deny that it is such, unless we do so upon the outside knowledge that the body was chosen at elections in which a majority of the qualified voters of Virginia did not participate. But it is a universal practice in the popular elections in all these States to give no legal consideration whatever to those who do not choose to vote, as against the effect of the votes of those who do choose to vote. Hence it is not the qualified voters, but the qualified voters who choose to vote, that constitute the political power of the State. Much less than to non-voters should any consideration be given to those who did not vote in this case, because it is also matter of outside knowledge that they were not merely neglectful of their rights under and duty to this government, but were also engaged in open rebellion against it. Doubtless among these non-voters were some Union men whose voices were smothered by the more numerous secessionists; but we know too little of their number to assign them any appreciable value. Can this government stand, if it indulges constitutional constructions by which men in open rebellion against it are to be accounted, man for man, the equals of those who maintain their loyalty to it? Are they to be accounted even better citizens, and more worthy of consideration, than those who merely neglect to vote? If so, their treason against the Constitution enhances their constitutional value. Without braving these absurd conclusions, we cannot deny that the body which consents to the admission of West Virginia is the legislature of Virginia. I do not think the plural form of the words "legislatures" and "States" in the phrase of the Constitution "without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned," etc., has any reference to the new State concerned. That plural form sprang from the contemplation of two or more old States contributing to form a new one. The idea that the new State was in danger of being admitted without its own consent was not provided against, because it was not thought of, as I conceive. It is said, the devil takes care of his own. Much more should a good spirit — the spirit of the Constitution and the Union — take care of its own. I think it cannot do less and live.

But is the admission into the Union of West Virginia expedient? This, in my general view, is more a question for Congress than for the Executive. Still I do not evade it. More than on anything else, it depends on whether the admission or rejection of the new State would, under all the circumstances, tend the more strongly to the restoration of the national authority throughout the Union. That which helps most in this direction is the most expedient at this time. Doubtless those in remaining Virginia would return to the Union, so to speak, less reluctantly without the division of the old State than with it; but I think we could not save as much in this quarter by rejecting the new State, as we should lose by it in West Virginia. We can scarcely dispense with the aid of West Virginia in this struggle; much less can we afford to have her against us, in Congress and in the field. Her brave and good men regard her admission into the Union as a matter of life and death. They have been true to the Union under very severe trials. We have so acted as to

justify their hopes, and we cannot fully retain their confidence and coöperation if we seem to break faith with them. In fact, they could not do so much for us, if they would. Again, the admission of the new State turns that much slave soil to free, and thus is a certain and irrevocable encroachment upon the cause of the rebellion. The division of a State is dreaded as a precedent. But a measure made expedient by a war is no precedent for times of peace. It is said that the admission of West Virginia is secession, and tolerated only because it is our secession. Well, if we call it by that name, there is still difference enough between secession against the Constitution and secession in favor of the Constitution. I believe the admission of West Virginia into the Union is expedient.

January 1, 1863.—FINAL EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall in the absence of strong countervailing testimony be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of 100 days

from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

January 1, 1863.— LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 1, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

My dear Sir: General Burnside wishes to cross the Rappahannock with his army, but his grand division commanders all oppose the movement. If in such a difficulty as this you do not help, you fail me precisely in the point for which I sought your assistance. You know what General Burnside's plan is, and it is my wish that you go with him to the ground, examine it as far as practicable,

confer with the officers, getting their judgment and ascertaining their temper—in a word, gather all the elements for forming a judgment of your own, and then tell General Burnside that you do approve or that you do not approve his plan. Your military skill is useless to me if you will not do this.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 1, 1863.

Withdrawn, because considered harsh by General Halleck.

A. LINCOLN.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON, January 1, 1863.

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Sir: From my recent interview with the President and yourself, and from the President's letter of this morning, which you delivered to me at your reception, I am led to believe that there is a very important difference of opinion in regard to my relations toward generals commanding armies in the field, and that I cannot perform the duties of my present office satisfactorily at the same time to the President and to myself. I therefore respectfully request that I may be relieved from further duties as general-in-chief.[1] Very respectfully your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK.

January 1, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 1, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Dear Sir: Yesterday a piteous appeal was made to me by an old lady of genteel appearance, saying she had, with what she thought sufficient assurance that she would not be disturbed by the government, fitted up the two south divisions of the old "Duff Green" building in order to take boarders, and has boarders already in it, and others, including members of Congress, engaged; and that now she is ordered to be out of it by Saturday, the 3d instant; and that independently of the ruin it brings on her by her lost outlay, she neither has nor can find another shelter for her own head. I know nothing about it myself, but promised to bring it to your notice. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 2, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I submit to Congress the expediency of extending to other departments of the government the authority conferred on the President by the eighth section of the act of the 8th of May, 1792, to appoint a person to temporarily

[1] As duplicates are found among General Halleck's papers, and no copy is found in the War Department files, it is presumed that the application was withdrawn upon withdrawal of the President's letter.

discharge the duties of Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary of War, in case of the death, absence from the seat of government, or sickness of either of those officers.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 2, 1863.

January 2, 1863.— LETTER TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 2, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER:

The Secretary of War and myself have concluded to discharge, of the prisoners at Point Lookout, the following classes:

First. Those who will take the oath prescribed in the proclamation of December 8, and by the consent of General Marston will enlist in our service.

Second. Those who will take the oath and be discharged, and whose homes lie safely within our military lines.

I send by Mr. Hay this letter, and a blank-book and some other blanks, the way of using which I propose for him to explain verbally better than I can in writing. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 2, 1863.— LETTER TO GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 2, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS.

My dear Sir: Yours of December 29 by the hand of Mr. Strong is just received. The day I telegraphed you suspending the order in relation to Dr. McPheeters, he, with Mr. Bates, the Attorney-General, appeared before me and left with me a copy of the order mentioned. The doctor also showed me the copy of an oath which he said he had taken, which is, indeed, very strong and specific. He also verbally assured me that he had constantly prayed in church for the President and government, as he had always done before the present war. In looking over the recitals in your order, I do not see that this matter of the prayer, as he states it, is negatived, nor that any violation of his oath is charged, nor, in fact, that anything specific is alleged against him. The charges are all general: that he has a rebel wife and rebel relations, that he sympathizes with rebels, and that he exercises rebel influence. Now, after talking with him, I tell you frankly I believe he does sympathize with the rebels, but the question remains whether such a man, of unquestioned good moral character, who has taken such an oath as he has, and cannot even be charged with violating it, and who can be charged with no other specific act or omission, can, with safety to the government, be exiled upon the suspicion of his secret sympathies. But I agree that this must be left to you, who are on the spot; and if, after all, you think the public good requires his removal, my suspension of the order is withdrawn, only with this qualification, that the time during the sus-

pension is not to be counted against him. I have promised him this. But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but let the churches, as such, take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

P. S. The committee composed of Messrs. Yeatman and Filley (Mr. Broadhead not attending) has presented your letter and the memorial of sundry citizens. On the whole subject embraced exercise your best judgment, with a sole view to the public interest, and I will not interfere without hearing you.

A. LINCOLN.

January 3, 1863.

January 4, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY WELLES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 4, 1863.

HON. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.

Dear Sir: As many persons who come well recommended for loyalty and service to the Union cause, and who are refugees from rebel oppression in the State of Virginia, make application to me for authority and permission to remove their families and property to protection within the Union lines, by means of our armed gunboats on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay, you are hereby requested to hear and consider all such applications, and to grant such assistance to this class of persons as in your judgment their merits may render proper, and as may in each case be consistent with the perfect and complete efficiency of the naval service and with military exped ency.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 5, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 5, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS.

My dear Sir: I am having a good deal of trouble with Missouri matters, and I now sit down to write you particularly about it. One class of friends believe in greater severity and another in greater leniency in regard to arrests, banishments, and assessments. As usual in such cases, each questions the other's motives. On the one hand, it is insisted that Governor Gamble's unionism, at most, is not better than a secondary spring of action; that hunkerism and a wish for political influence stand before unionism with him. On the other hand, it is urged that arrests, banishments, and assessments are made more for private malice, revenge, and pecuniary interest than

for the public good. This morning I was told by a gentleman who I have no doubt believes what he says, that in one case of assessments for $10,000, the different persons who paid compared receipts, and found they had paid $30,000. If this be true, the inference is that the collecting agents pocketed the odd $20,000. And true or not in the instance, nothing but the sternest necessity can justify the making and maintaining of a system so liable to such abuses. Doubtless the necessity for the making of the system in Missouri did exist, and whether it continues for the maintenance of it is now a practical and very important question. Some days ago Governor Gamble telegraphed me, asking that the assessments outside of St. Louis County might be suspended, as they already have been within it, and this morning all the members of Congress here from Missouri but one laid a paper before me asking the same thing. Now, my belief is that Governor Gamble is an honest and true man, not less so than yourself; that you and he could confer together on this and other Missouri questions with great advantage to the public; that each knows something which the other does not; and that acting together you could about double your stock of pertinent information. May I not hope that you and he will attempt this? I could at once safely do (or you could safely do without me) whatever you and he agree upon. There is absolutely no reason why you should not agree. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. I forgot to say that Hon. James S. Rollins, member of Congress from one of the Missouri districts, wishes that, upon his personal responsibility, Rev. John M. Robinson, of Columbia, Missouri; James L. Matthews, of Boone County, Missouri; and James L. Stephens, also of Boone County, Missouri, may be allowed to return to their respective homes. Major Rollins leaves with me very strong papers from the neighbors of these men, whom he says he knows to be true men. He also says he has many constituents who he thinks are rightly exiled, but that he thinks these three should be allowed to return. Please look into the case, and oblige Major Rollins if you consistently can. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[Copy sent to Governor Gamble.]

January 5, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 22d ultimo, in relation to the alleged interference of our minister to Mexico in favor of the French, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the papers with which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 5, 1863.

January 5, 1863.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 5, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS, Murfreesborough, Tennessee:

Your despatch announcing retreat of enemy has just reached here. God bless you and all with you! Please tender to all, and accept for yourself, the nation's gratitude for your and their skill, endurance, and dauntless courage.

A. LINCOLN.

January 6, 1863.— MEMORANDUM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 6, 1863.

Colonel Ullman calls with Captain Alban B. Botsford, now of the Seventy-eighth New York Infantry, both at National Hotel. Has property in Mississippi and is well acquainted in Louisiana. When time comes would like to aid in organizing blacks there.

January 7, 1863.— LETTER TO G. ADAMS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 7, 1863.

HON. GREEN ADAMS.

My dear Sir: In answer to your inquiries of this morning, I have to say I am very anxious to have the special force in Kentucky raised and armed. But the changed conduct toward me of some of her members of Congress, and the ominous outgivings as to what the governor and legislature of Kentucky intend doing, admonish me to consider whether any additional arms I may send there are not to be turned against the government. I hope this may clear up on the right side. So far as I can see, Kentucky's sons in the field are acting loyally and bravely. God bless them! I cannot help thinking the mass of her people feel the same way.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 7, 1863.— NOTE TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 7, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

My dear Sir: What think you of forming a reserve cavalry corps of, say, 6000 for the Army of the Potomac? Might not such a corps be constituted from the cavalry of Sigel's and Slocum's corps, with scraps we could pick up here and there?

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 7, 1863.— TELEGRAM TO B. G. BROWN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 7, 1863. 5.30 P. M.

HON. B. GRATZ BROWN, Jefferson City, Missouri:

Yours of to-day just received. The administration takes no part between its friends in Missouri, of whom I, at least, consider you one; and I have never before had an intimation that appointees there were interfering, or were inclined to interfere.

A. LINCOLN.

January 8, 1863.— CORRESPONDENCE WITH GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, January 5, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

Since my return to the army I have become more than ever convinced that the general officers of this command are almost unanimously opposed to another crossing of the river; but I am still of the opinion that the crossing should be attempted, and I have accordingly issued orders to the engineers and artillery to prepare for it. There is much hazard in it, as there always is in the majority of military movements, and I cannot begin the movement without giving you notice of it, particularly as I know so little of the effect that it may have upon other movements of distant armies.

The influence of your telegram the other day is still upon me, and has impressed me with the idea that there are many parts of the problem which influence you that are not known to me.

In order to relieve you from all embarrassment in my case, I inclose with this my resignation of my commission as major-general of volunteers, which you can have accepted if my movement is not in accordance with the views of yourself and your military advisers.

I have taken the liberty to write to you personally upon this subject, because it was necessary, as I learn from General Halleck, for you to approve of my general plan, written at Warrenton, before I could commence the movement; and I think it quite as necessary that you should know of the important movement I am about to make, particularly as it will have to be made in opposition to the views of nearly all my general officers, and after the receipt of a despatch from you informing me of the opinion of some of them who had visited you.

In conversation with you on New Year's morning, I was led to express some opinions which I afterward felt it my duty to place on paper, and to express them verbally to the gentlemen of whom we were speaking, which I did in your presence after handing you the letter. You were not disposed then, as I saw, to retain the letter, and I took it back, but I now return it to you for record, if you wish it.

I beg leave to say that my resignation is not sent in in any spirit of insubordination, but, as I before said, simply to relieve you from any embarrassment in changing commanders where lack of confidence may have rendered it necessary.

The bearer of this will bring me any answer, or I should be glad to hear from you by telegraph in cipher.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General, Commanding Army of the Potomac.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON, January 7, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Commanding, etc., Falmouth.

General: Your communication of the 5th was delivered to me by your aide-de-camp at 12 M. to-day.

In all my communications and interviews with you since you took command of the Army of the Potomac, I have advised a forward movement across the Rappahannock. At our interview at Warrenton I urged that you should cross by the fords above Fredericksburg, rather than to fall down to that place; and when I left you at Warrenton it was understood that at least a considerable part of your army would cross by the fords, and I so represented to the President. It was this modification of the plan proposed by you that I telegraphed you had received his approval. When the attempt at Fredericksburg was abandoned, I advised you to renew the attempt at some other point, either in whole or in part to turn the enemy's works, or to threaten their wings or communications; in other words, to keep the enemy occupied till a favorable opportunity offered to strike a decisive blow. I particularly advised you to use your cavalry and light artillery upon his communications, and attempt to cut off his supplies and engage him at an advantage.

In all our interviews I have urged that our first object was, not Richmond, but the defeat or scattering of Lee's army, which threatened Washington and the line of the upper Potomac. I now recur to these things simply to remind you of the general views which I have expressed, and which I still hold.

The circumstances of the case, however, have somewhat changed since the early part of November. The chances of an extended line of operations are now, on account of the advanced season, much less than then. But the chances are still in our favor to meet and defeat the enemy on the Rappahannock, if we can effect a crossing in a position where we can meet the enemy on favorable or even equal terms. I therefore still advise a movement against him. The character of that movement, however, must depend upon circumstances which may change any day and almost any hour. If the enemy should concentrate his forces at the place you have selected for a crossing, make it a feint and try another place. Again, the circumstances at the time may be such as to render an attempt to cross the entire army not advisable. In that case theory suggests that, while the enemy concentrates at that point, advantages can be gained by crossing smaller forces at other points to cut off his lines, destroy his communication, and capture his rear-guards, outposts, etc. The great object is to occupy the enemy, to prevent his making large detachments or distant raids, and to injure him all you can with the least injury to yourself. If this can be best accomplished by feints of a general crossing and detached real crossings, take that course; if by an actual general crossing, with feints on other points, adopt that course. There seem to me to be many reasons why a crossing at some point should be attempted. It will not do to keep your large army inactive. As you yourself admit, it devolves on you to decide upon the time, place, and character of the crossing which you may attempt. I can only advise that an attempt be made, and as early as possible. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 8, 1863.

GENERAL BURNSIDE:

I understand General Halleck has sent you a letter of which this is a copy. I approve this letter. I deplore the want of concurrence

with you in opinion by your general officers, but I do not see the remedy. Be cautious, and do not understand that the government or country is driving you. I do not yet see how I could profit by changing the command of the Army of the Potomac; and if I did, I should not wish to do it by accepting the resignation of your commission.

A. LINCOLN.

January 8, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. A. MCCLERNAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLERNAND.

My dear Sir: Your interesting communication by the hand of Major Scates is received. I never did ask more, nor ever was willing to accept less, than for all the States, and the people thereof, to take and hold their places and their rights in the Union, under the Constitution of the United States. For this alone have I felt authorized to struggle, and I seek neither more nor less now. Still, to use a coarse but an expressive figure, "broken eggs cannot be mended." I have issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and I cannot retract it. After the commencement of hostilities, I struggled nearly a year and a half to get along without touching the "institution"; and when finally I conditionally determined to touch it, I gave a hundred days' fair notice of my purpose to all the States and people, within which time they could have turned it wholly aside by simply again becoming good citizens of the United States.

They chose to disregard it, and I made the peremptory proclamation on what appeared to me to be a military necessity. And being made, it must stand. As to the States not included in it, of course they can have their rights in the Union as of old. Even the people of the States included, if they choose, need not to be hurt by it. Let them adopt systems of apprenticeship for the colored people, conforming substantially to the most approved plans of gradual emancipation; and with the aid they can have from the General Government they may be nearly as well off, in this respect, as if the present trouble had not occurred, and much better off than they can possibly be if the contest continues persistently.

As to any dread of my having a "purpose to enslave or exterminate the whites of the South," I can scarcely believe that such dread exists. It is too absurd. I believe you can be my personal witness that no man is less to be dreaded for undue severity in any case.

If the friends you mention really wish to have peace upon the old terms, they should act at once. Every day makes the case more difficult.

They can so act with entire safety, so far as I am concerned.

I think you had better not make this letter public; but you may rely confidently on my standing by whatever I have said in it. Please write me if anything more comes to light.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 8, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 8, 1863.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

A despatch of yesterday from Nashville says the body of Captain Todd, of the Sixth Kentucky, was brought in to-day.

Please tell me what was his Christian name, and whether he was in our service or that of the enemy. I shall also be glad to have your impression as to the effect the late operations about Murfreesborough will have on the prospects of Tennessee. A. LINCOLN.

January 9, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit for the consideration of Congress, and with a view to the adoption of such measures in relation to the subject of it as may be deemed expedient, a copy of a note of the 8th instant, addressed to the Secretary of State by the minister resident of the Hanseatic republics accredited to this government, concerning an international agricultural exhibition to be held next summer in the city of Hamburg. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 9, 1863.

January 10, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 10, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, St. Louis, Missouri:

I understand there is considerable trouble with the slaves in Missouri. Please do your best to keep peace on the question for two or three weeks, by which time we hope to do something here toward settling the question in Missouri. A. LINCOLN.

January 10, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 10, 1863.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Yours received. I presume the remains of Captain Todd are in the hands of his family and friends, and I wish to give no order on the subject; but I do wish your opinion of the effects of the late battles about Murfreesborough upon the prospects of Tennessee.

A. LINCOLN.

January 12, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR BUCKINGHAM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 12, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT:

It is with feelings of sincere pleasure and gratitude that I acknowledge the receipt of your kind favor of the 2d of January,

conveying the resolutions of the legislature of Connecticut, approved December 24, 1862.

Be assured, my dear sir, that I am deeply gratified by this new proof of the loyal and patriotic devotion of the people of your State, and that I most gratefully appreciate their expressions toward myself, which are at once so generous and so kind.

I have the honor to be, very truly, your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

January 12, 1863.—INSTRUCTION TO THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE-GENERAL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, January 12, 1863.

The Judge-Advocate-General is instructed to revise the proceedings of the court-martial in the case of Major-General Fitz-John Porter, and to report fully upon any legal questions that may have arisen in them, and upon the bearing of the testimony in reference to the charges and specifications exhibited against the accused, and upon which he was tried.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 14, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. A. DIX.

(*Private and Confidential.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX.

My dear Sir: The proclamation has been issued. We were not succeeding—at best were progressing too slowly—without it. Now that we have it, and bear all the disadvantages of it (as we do bear some in certain quarters), we must also take some benefit from it, if practicable. I therefore will thank you for your well-considered opinion whether Fortress Monroe and Yorktown, one or both, could not, in whole or in part, be garrisoned by colored troops, leaving the white forces now necessary at those places to be employed elsewhere. Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 14, 1863.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, January 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, St. Louis, Missouri:

The President's attention having been called to the recent order of your provost-marshal in St. Louis, published in the newspapers, it is disapproved by him, and he directs:

1st. That the order be suspended.

2d. That all orders of provost-marshals in the State of Missouri respecting trade, commerce, or anything but the discipline and gov-

ernment of the troops in the United States service, be also suspended, and the provost-marshals be relieved from service in such capacity, excepting at St. Louis.

Further instructions on this subject will be transmitted by mail.

You will please acknowledge the receipt of this telegram.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

January 14, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: The Secretary of State has submitted to me a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 5th instant, which has been delivered to him, and which is in the following words:

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be requested to communicate to this House, if not, in his judgment, incompatible with the public interest, why our minister in New Granada has not presented his credentials to the actual government of that country; also the reasons for which Señor Murillo is not recognized by the United States as the diplomatic representative of the Mosquera government of that country; also, what negotiations have been had, if any, with General Herran as the representative of Ospina's government in New Granada since it went into existence.

On the twelfth day of December, 1846, a treaty of amity, peace, and concord was concluded between the United States of America and the republic of New Granada, which is still in force. On the seventh day of December, 1847, General Pedro Alcantára Herran, who had been duly accredited, was received here as the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of that republic. On the thirtieth day of August, 1849, Señor Don Rafael Rivas was received by this government as *chargé d'affaires* of the same republic. On the fifth day of December, 1851, a consular convention was concluded between that republic and the United States, which treaty was signed on behalf of the republic of Granada by the same Señor Rivas. This treaty is still in force. On the 27th of April, 1852, Señor Don Victoriano de Diego Paredes was received as *chargé d'affaires* of the republic of New Granada. On the 20th of June, 1855, General Pedro Alcantára Herran was again received as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary duly accredited by the republic of New Granada, and he has ever since remained under the same credentials as the representative of that republic near the government of the United States. On the 10th of September, 1857, a claims convention was concluded between the United States and the republic of Granada. This convention is still in force, and has in part been executed. In May, 1858, the constitution of the republic was remodeled, and the nation assumed the political title of the "Granadian Confederacy." This fact was formally announced to this government, but without any change in their representative here. Previous to the 4th of March, 1861, a revolutionary war against the republic of New Granada, which had thus been recognized and treated with by the United States, broke out

in New Granada, assuming to set up a new government under the name of the "United States of Colombia." This war has had various vicissitudes, sometimes favorable, sometimes adverse, to the revolutionary movements. The revolutionary organization has hitherto been simply a military provisionary power, and no definitive constitution of government has yet been established in New Granada in place of that organized by the constitution of 1858. The minister of the United States to the Granadian Confederacy who was appointed on the twenty-ninth day of May, 1861, was directed, in view of the occupation of the capital by the revolutionary party and of the uncertainty of the civil war, not to present his credentials to either the government of the Granadian Confederacy or to the provisional military government, but to conduct his affairs informally, as is customary in such cases, and to report the progress of events and await the instructions of this government. The advices which have been received from him have not hitherto been sufficiently conclusive to determine me to recognize the revolutionary government. General Herran being here, with full authority from the government of New Granada, which had been so long recognized by the United States, I have not received any representative from the revolutionary government, which has not yet been recognized, because such a proceeding would in itself be an act of recognition.

Official communications have been had on various incidental and occasional questions with General Herran as the minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary of the Granadian Confederacy, but in no other character. No definitive measure or proceeding has resulted from these communications, and a communication of them at present would not, in my judgment, be compatible with the public interest.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1863.

January 17, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I have signed the joint resolution to provide for the immediate payment of the army and navy of the United States, passed by the House of Representatives on the 14th, and by the Senate on the 15th instant. The joint resolution is a simple authority, amounting, however, under existing circumstances to a direction, to the Secretary of the Treasury to make an additional issue of one hundred millions of dollars in United States notes, if so much money is needed, for the payment of the army and navy. My approval is given in order that every possible facility may be afforded for the prompt discharge of all arrears of pay due to our soldiers and our sailors.

While giving this approval, however, I think it my duty to express my sincere regret that it has been found necessary to authorize so large an additional issue of United States notes, when this circulation and that of the suspended banks together have become already so redundant as to increase prices beyond real values,

thereby augmenting the cost of living, to the injury of labor, and the cost of supplies, to the injury of the whole country. It seems very plain that continued issues of United States notes, without any check to the issues of suspended banks, and without adequate provision for the raising of money by loans, and for funding the issues, so as to keep them within due limits, must soon produce disastrous consequences; and this matter appears to me so important that I feel bound to avail myself of this occasion to ask the special attention of Congress to it.

That Congress has power to regulate the currency of the country can hardly admit of a doubt, and that a judicious measure to prevent the deterioration of this currency by a reasonable taxation of bank circulation or otherwise is needed, seems equally clear. Independently of this general consideration, it would be unjust to the people at large to exempt banks enjoying the special privilege of circulation from their just proportion of the public burdens.

In order to raise money by way of loans most easily and cheaply, it is clearly necessary to give every possible support to the public credit. To that end, a uniform currency in which taxes, subscriptions to loans, and all other ordinary public dues as well as all private dues may be paid, is almost if not quite indispensable. Such a currency can be furnished by banking associations organized under a general act of Congress, as suggested in my message at the beginning of the present session. The securing of this circulation by the pledge of United States bonds, as therein suggested, would still further facilitate loans, by increasing the present and causing a future demand for such bonds.

In view of the actual financial embarrassments of the government, and of the greater embarrassment sure to come if the necessary means of relief be not afforded, I feel that I should not perform my duty by a simple announcement of my approval of the joint resolution, which proposes relief only by increasing circulation, without expressing my earnest desire that measures such in substance as those I have just referred to, may receive the early sanction of Congress. By such measures, in my opinion, will payment be most certainly secured, not only to the army and navy, but to all honest creditors of the government, and satisfactory provision made for future demands on the treasury.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 17, 1863.

January 19, 1863.—LETTER TO THE WORKING-MEN OF MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 19, 1863.

To the Working-men of Manchester: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent me on the eve of the new year. When I came, on the 4th of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election to preside in the Government of the United States, the country was found at the

verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause, or whosesoever the fault, one duty, paramount to all others, was before me, namely, to maintain and preserve at once the Constitution and the integrity of the Federal Republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is the key to all the measures of administration which have been and to all which will hereafter be pursued. Under our frame of government and my official oath, I could not depart from this purpose if I would. It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public safety from time to time to adopt.

I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people; but I have at the same time been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging or prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has served to authorize a belief that the past actions and influences of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficial toward mankind. I have, therefore, reckoned upon the forbearance of nations. Circumstances — to some of which you kindly allude — induce me especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practised by the United States, they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of amity and peace toward this country may prevail in the councils of your Queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic.

I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working-men at Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens, the working-men of Europe have been subjected to severe trials, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity, and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 20, 1863.—LETTER TO S. T. GLOVER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., January 20, 1863.

HON. S. T. GLOVER.

My dear Sir: Yours of January 12, stating the distressed condition of the people in southwest Missouri, and urging the completion of the railroad to Springfield, is just received. Of course I deplore the distress of the people in that section and elsewhere. Nor is the thought of extending the railroad new to me. But the military necessity for it is not so patent but that Congress would try to restrain me in some way, were I to attempt it. I am very glad to believe that the late military operations in Missouri and Arkansas are at least promising of repose to southwest Missouri.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 20, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, in answer to the resolution of the Senate relative to the correspondence between this government and the Mexican minister in relation to the exportation of articles contraband of war for the use of the French army in Mexico.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1863.

January 21, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: I submit herewith for your consideration the joint resolutions of the corporate authorities of the city of Washington, adopted September 27, 1862, and a memorial of the same under date of October 28, 1862, both relating to and urging the construction of certain railroads concentrating upon the city of Washington.

In presenting this memorial and the joint resolutions to you, I am not prepared to say more than that the subject is one of great practical importance, and that I hope it will receive the attention of Congress.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 21, 1863.

January 21, 1863.—INDORSEMENT ON THE PROCEEDINGS AND SENTENCE OF THE FITZ-JOHN PORTER COURT-MARTIAL.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON, January 13, 1863.

In compliance with the Sixty-fifth Article of War, these whole proceedings are transmitted to the Secretary of War, to be laid before the President of the United States.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

January 21, 1863.

The foregoing proceedings, findings, and sentence in the foregoing case of Major-General Fitz-John Porter are approved and confirmed, and it is ordered that the said Fitz-John Porter be, and he hereby is, cashiered and dismissed from the service of the United States as a major-general of volunteers, and as colonel and brevet brigadier-general in the regular service of the United States, and forever disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the Government of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 21, 1863.—LETTER FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON, January 21, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT, Memphis.

General: The President has directed that so much of Arkansas as you may desire to control be temporarily attached to your department. This will give you control of both banks of the river.

In your operations down the Mississippi you must not rely too confidently upon any direct coöperation of General Banks and the lower flotilla, as it is possible that they may not be able to pass or reduce Port Hudson. They, however, will do everything in their power to form a junction with you at Vicksburg. If they should not be able to effect this, they will at least occupy a portion of the enemy's forces, and prevent them from reinforcing Vicksburg. I hope, however, that they will do still better and be able to join you.

It may be proper to give you some explanation of the revocation of your order expelling all Jews from your department. The President has no objection to your expelling traitors and Jew peddlers, which, I suppose, was the object of your order; but as it in terms proscribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deemed it necessary to revoke it.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

January 22, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. A. MCCLERNAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 22, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLERNAND.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 7th was received yesterday. I need not recite because you remember the contents. The charges in their nature are such that I must know as much about the facts involved as you can. I have too many family controversies, so to speak, already on my hands to voluntarily, or so long as I can avoid it, take up another. You are now doing well—well for the country, and well for yourself—much better than you could possibly be if engaged in open war with General Halleck. Allow me to beg that,

for your sake, for my sake, and for the country's sake, you give your whole attention to the better work.

Your success upon the Arkansas was both brilliant and valuable, and is fully appreciated by the country and government.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 22, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL STEELE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 22, 1863.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL FREDERICK STEELE.

Sir: So far as respects your military record and reputation, it seems highly fit and proper that you should be promoted to a major-generalship; and I should nominate you for it at once were it not for a document presented to me, of which the inclosed is a copy. With a satisfactory explanation, I will gladly make the nomination, and in such way that the time from now till then shall not be lost to you. Without such explanation I could scarcely bring myself to make the nomination; and I think it is certain the Senate would not confirm it if made. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

January 22, 1863.—MEMORANDUM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 22, 1863.

To-day Mr. Prentiss calls as attorney of Herman Koppel, saying the latter is a loyal citizen; that he resided at Charleston, S. C., at the beginning of the rebellion; that he converted what he had into a few bales of cotton and other articles apparently to break the blockade as a mode of getting out, but really intending to surrender to the blockade, which he did of purpose and with no effort to avoid it; that his property has been condemned by a prize court, and he appeals to me to remit to him the proceeds of the property, or at least the government's moiety of it.

Admitting this all to be true, is it both lawful and proper for me to do this?

January 23, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit for the consideration of Congress a report from the Secretary of State, transmitting the regulations, decrees, and orders for the government of the United States consular courts in Turkey.

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1863. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 23, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 23, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: I think General Butler should go to New Orleans again. He is unwilling to go unless he is restored to the command of the

department. He should start by the 1st of February, and should take some force with him. The whole must be so managed as to not wrong or wound the feelings of General Banks. His original wish was to go to Texas; and it must be arranged for him to do this now with a substantial force; and yet he must not go to the endangering the opening of the Mississippi. I hope this may be done by the time General Butler shall arrive there; but whether or not, I think we cannot longer dispense with General Butler's services. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 25, 1863.— ORDER RELIEVING GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE AND MAKING OTHER CHANGES.

(General Orders No. 20.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 25, 1863.

I. The President of the United States has directed:

1st. That Major-General A. E. Burnside, at his own request, be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

2d. That Major-General E. V. Sumner, at his own request, be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

3d. That Major-General W. B. Franklin be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

4th. That Major-General J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

II. The officers relieved as above will report in person to the adjutant-general of the army.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

January 26, 1863.— MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 13th instant, requesting a copy of certain correspondence respecting the capture of British vessels sailing from one British port to another, having on board contraband of war intended for the use of the insurgents, I have the honor to transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 26, 1863.

January 26, 1863.— LETTER TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., January 26, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER.

General: I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me to

be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticizing their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it; and now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 28, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Commander David D. Porter, United States Navy, acting rear-admiral commanding the Mississippi squadron, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for the bravery and skill displayed in the attack on the post of Arkansas, which surrendered to the combined military and naval forces on the 10th instant.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 28, 1863.

January 29, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 29, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Dear Sir: Mr. Speed tells me you wish to appoint him to some agency about the Goose Creek Salt-works, and he wishes to decline it, and that William P. Thomasson may be appointed. I personally know Mr. Thomasson to be an honest and very competent man, and fully in sympathy with the administration. I think he should be appointed. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 29, 1863.—NOTE TO THURLOW WEED.

WASHINGTON, January 29, 1863.

HON. THURLOW WEED.

Dear Sir: Your valedictory to the patrons of the Albany "Evening Journal" brings me a good deal of uneasiness. What does it mean? Truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

February 1, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL BOYLE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 1, 1863.

GENERAL J. T. BOYLE.

Dear Sir: Yesterday Senator Powell left a paper with me, with a request which I indorsed upon it at the time, and the contents of which paper and request appear by the inclosed copies. You perceive at once what the object is. This course of procedure, though just and politic in some cases, is so liable to gross abuse as to do great injustice in some others, and give the government immense trouble. I will thank you, therefore, if you will, without unreasonable delay, ascertain the facts of these cases and report them to me, together with such other information as may best enable me to understand the whole case. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement on paper left by Powell.*]

Senator Powell calls and leaves this paper and asks that an order be made on the persons stated to have made the collections to refund the money to the persons respectively from whom collected, and all moneys collected in like manner in the counties of Henderson, Union, Hopkins, and Webster.

January 31, 1863.

February 2, 1863.—LETTER TO THE WORKING-MEN OF LONDON, ENGLAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 2, 1863.

To the Working-men of London: I have received the New Year's address which you have sent me, with a sincere appreciation of the exalted and humane sentiments by which it was inspired.

As these sentiments are manifestly the enduring support of the free institutions of England, so I am sure also that they constitute the only reliable basis for free institutions throughout the world.

The resources, advantages, and powers of the American people are very great, and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them to test whether a government established on the principles of human fre

dom can be maintained against an effort to build one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage. They will rejoice with me in the new evidences which your proceedings furnish that the magnanimity they are exhibiting is justly estimated by the true friends of freedom and humanity in foreign countries.

Accept my best wishes for your individual welfare, and for the welfare and happiness of the whole British people.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 4, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 5th December last, requesting information upon the present condition of Mexico, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the papers by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1863.

February 6, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, with accompanying documents, in answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 30th ultimo.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1863.

February 6, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the United States of yesterday, requesting information in regard to the death of General Ward, a citizen of the United States in the military service of the Chinese government, I transmit a copy of a despatch of the 27th of October last, and of its accompaniment, from the minister of the United States in China.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1863.

February 10, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of yesterday, requesting information touching the visit of M. Mercier to Richmond in April last, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1863.

February 12, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 10th instant, requesting information on the subject of mediation, arbitration, or other measures looking to the termination of the existing civil war, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1863.

February 12, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Murfreesborough, Tennessee:

Your despatch about "river patrolling" received. I have called the Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of War, and General-in-Chief together, and submitted it to them, who promise to do their very best in the case. I cannot take it into my own hands without producing inextricable confusion.

A. LINCOLN.

February 13, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: I transmit to the Senate, in answer to their resolution of the 12th instant, the accompanying report from the Secretary of State.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 13, 1863.

February 13, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WASHINGTON, February 13, 1863.

HON. GALUSHA A. GROW,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sir: I herewith communicate to the House of Representatives, in answer to their resolution of the 18th of December last, a report from the Secretary of the Interior containing all the information in the possession of the department respecting the causes of the recent outbreaks of the Indian tribes in the Northwest which has not heretofore been transmitted to Congress.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 17, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS.

My dear Sir: In no other way does the enemy give us so much trouble at so little expense to himself as by the raids of rapidly mov-

ing small bodies of troops, largely if not wholly mounted, harassing and discouraging loyal residents, supplying themselves with provisions, clothing, horses, and the like, surprising and capturing small detachments of our forces, and breaking our communications. And this will increase just in proportion as his larger armies shall weaken and wane. Nor can these raids be successfully met by even larger forces of our own of the same kind acting merely on the defensive. I think we should organize proper forces and make counter raids. We should not capture so much of supplies from them as they have done from us, but it would trouble them more to repair railroads and bridges than it does us. What think you of trying to get up such a corps in your army? Could you do it without any or many additional troops (which we have not to give you), provided we furnish horses, suitable arms, and other appointments? Please consider this not as an order, but as a suggestion.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

While I wish the required arms to be furnished to General Rosecrans, I have made no promise on the subject except what you can find in the within copy of letter.

A. LINCOLN.

March 27, 1863.

February 22, 1863.—LETTER TO A. REED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 22, 1863.

REV. ALEXANDER REED.

My dear Sir: Your note, by which you, as general superintendent of the United States Christian Commission, invite me to preside at a meeting to be held this day at the hall of the House of Representatives in this city, is received.

While, for reasons which I deem sufficient, I must decline to preside, I cannot withhold my approval of the meeting and its worthy objects. Whatever shall be sincerely, and in God's name, devised for the good of the soldier and seaman in their hard spheres of duty, can scarcely fail to be blest. And whatever shall tend to turn our thoughts from the unreasoning and uncharitable passions, prejudices, and jealousies incident to a great national trouble such as ours, and to fix them upon the vast and long-enduring consequences, for weal or for woe, which are to result from the struggle, and especially to strengthen our reliance on the Supreme Being for the final triumph of the right, cannot but be well for us all.

The birthday of Washington and the Christian Sabbath coinciding this year, and suggesting together the highest interests of this life and of that to come, is most propitious for the meeting proposed.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

February 28, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 26th instant, requesting a copy of any correspondence which may have taken place between me and working-men in England, I transmit the papers mentioned in the subjoined list.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1863.

February 28, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 28, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: Mr. Eastman says you said he would have to come to me about the guns, or something to that effect. Do you know any law giving me control of the case? If so, please say so in writing.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 28, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit, for the consideration of Congress, a despatch to the Secretary of State from the United States consul at Liverpool, and the address to which it refers, of the distressed operatives of Blackburn, in England, to the New York relief committee, and to the inhabitants of the United States generally.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1863.

February 28, 1863.—PROCLAMATION CONVENING THE SENATE.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, objects of interest to the United States require that the Senate should be convened at twelve o'clock on the 4th of March next, to receive and act upon such communications as may be made to it on the part of the Executive:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, have considered it to be my duty to issue this my proclamation declaring that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene for the transaction of business at the Capitol in the city of Washington, on the fourth day of March next, at twelve o'clock at noon on that day, of which all who shall at that

time be entitled to act as members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, at Washington, the twenty-eighth day of February, in the [L. S.] year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

March 2, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 2, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: After much reflection, and with a good deal of pain that it is adverse to your wish, I have concluded that it is not best to renominate Mr. Howard for collector of internal revenue at Hartford, Connecticut. Senator Dixon, residing at Hartford, and Mr. Loomis, representative of the district, join in recommending Edward Goodman for the place, and, so far, no one has presented a different man. I will thank you, therefore, to send me a nomination at once for Mr. Goodman. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 2, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 2, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I see an act under which an assistant collector of the port of New York is to be appointed. Nobody has applied to me for it. Have you any applications or any particular wishes upon the subject? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 2, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a preamble and joint resolution of the legislative assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, accepting the benefits of the act of Congress approved the 2d of July last, entitled "An act donating public lands to the several States and Territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1863.

March 2, 1863.— LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 2, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Your note in relation to the collectorship at Hartford is just received. It is a little difficult for me to read; but, as I make it out, the matter is now temporarily suspended by agreement of yourself and Senator Dixon; and with which, of course, I am satisfied. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 9, 1863.— MEMORANDUM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 9, 1863.

To-day General William F. Smith calls and asks that his nomination heretofore as a major-general, and his acceptance of it by being assigned to and taking command as a major-general, may be taken and held to be a vacation of his office as a brigadier-general of volunteers, so that he can again take his place in the regular army.

He would also like to have a leave of absence of as long as the service will admit.

March 10, 1863.— PROCLAMATION GRANTING AMNESTY TO SOLDIERS ABSENT WITHOUT LEAVE.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

In pursuance of the twenty-sixth section of the act of Congress entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," approved on the third day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, I, Abraham Lincoln, President, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, do hereby order and command that all soldiers enlisted or drafted in the service of the United States now absent from their regiments without leave, shall forthwith return to their respective regiments.

And I do hereby declare and proclaim that all soldiers now absent from their respective regiments without leave who shall on or before the first day of April, 1863, report themselves at any rendezvous designated by the general orders of the War Department, No. 58, hereunto annexed, may be restored to their respective regiments without punishment, except the forfeiture of pay and allowances during their absence; and all who do not return within the time above specified shall be arrested as deserters and punished as the law provides.

And whereas, evil-disposed and disloyal persons at sundry places

have enticed and procured soldiers to desert and absent themselves from their regiments, thereby weakening the strength of the armies and prolonging the war, giving aid and comfort to the enemy, and cruelly exposing the gallant and faithful soldiers remaining in the ranks to increased hardships and danger: I do therefore call upon all patriotic and faithful citizens to oppose and resist the aforementioned dangerous and treasonable crimes, and to aid in restoring to their regiments all soldiers absent without leave, and to assist in the execution of the act of Congress "for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," and to support the proper authorities in the prosecution and punishment of offenders against said act, and in suppressing the insurrection and rebellion.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand.

Done at the city of Washington, this tenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

March 17, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS.

My dear Sir: I have just received your telegram saying that the "Secretary of War telegraphed after the battle of Stone River: 'Anything you and your command want you can have,'" and then specifying several things you have requested and have not received.

The promise of the Secretary, as you state it, is certainly pretty broad; nevertheless it accords with the feeling of the whole government here toward you. I know not a single enemy of yours here. Still the promise must have a reasonable construction. We know you will not purposely make an unreasonable request, nor persist in one after it shall appear to be such. Now, as to the matter of a paymaster, you desired one to be permanently attached to your army, and, as I understand, desired that Major Larned should be the man. This was denied you; and you seem to think it was denied partly to disoblige you and partly to disoblige Major Larned—the latter, as you suspect, at the instance of Paymaster-General Andrews. On the contrary, the Secretary of War assures me the request was refused on no personal ground whatever, but because to grant it would derange, and substantially break up, the whole pay-system as now organized, and so organized on very full consideration and sound reason, as believed. There is powerful temptation in money; and it was and is believed that nothing can prevent the paymasters speculating upon the soldiers but a system by which each is to pay certain regiments so soon after he has notice that he is to pay those particular regiments that he has no time or opportunity to lay plans for speculating upon them. This precaution is all

lost if paymasters respectively are to serve permanently with the same regiments, and pay them over and over during the war. No special application of this has been intended to be made to Major Larned or to your army. And as to General Andrews, I have in another connection felt a little aggrieved at what seemed to me his implicit following the advice and suggestions of Major Larned — so ready are we all to cry out and ascribe motives when our own toes are pinched.

Now as to your request that your commission should date from December, 1861. Of course you expected to gain something by this; but you should remember that precisely so much as you should gain by it others would lose by it. If the thing you sought had been exclusively ours, we would have given it cheerfully; but, being the right of other men, we having a merely arbitrary power over it, the taking it from them and giving it to you became a more delicate matter and more deserving of consideration. Truth to speak, I do not appreciate this matter of rank on paper as you officers do. The world will not forget that you fought the battle of Stone River, and it will never care a fig whether you rank General Grant on paper, or he so ranks you.

As to the appointment of an aide contrary to your wishes, I knew nothing of it until I received your despatch; and the Secretary of War tells me he has known nothing of it, but will trace it out. The examination of course will extend to the case of R. S. Thomas, whom you say you wish appointed.

And now be assured you wrong both yourself and us when you even suspect there is not the best disposition on the part of us all here to oblige you. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 18, 1863.—LETTER TO H. W. DAVIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 18, 1863.

HON. HENRY WINTER DAVIS.

My dear Sir: There will be in the new House of Representatives, as there were in the old, some members openly opposing the war, some supporting it unconditionally, and some supporting it with "buts," and "ifs," and "ands." They will divide on the organization of the House — on the election of a Speaker. As you ask my opinion, I give it, that the supporters of the war should send no man to Congress who will not pledge himself to go into caucus with the unconditional supporters of the war, and to abide the action of such caucus and vote for the person therein nominated for Speaker. Let the friends of the government first save the government, and then administer it to their own liking. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. This is not for publication, but to prevent misunderstanding of what I verbally said to you yesterday.

A. L.

March 20, 1863.— REVOCATION OF SENTENCE OF T. W. KNOX.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 20, 1863.

Whom it May Concern: Whereas, it appears to my satisfaction that Thomas W. Knox, a correspondent of the New York "Herald," has been by the sentence of a court-martial excluded from the military department under command of Major-General Grant, and also that General Thayer, president of the court-martial which rendered the sentence, and Major-General McClernand, in command of a corps of that department, and many other respectable persons, are of opinion that Mr. Knox's offense was technical rather than wilfully wrong, and that the sentence should be revoked: now, therefore, said sentence is hereby so far revoked as to allow Mr. Knox to return to General Grant's headquarters, and to remain if General Grant shall give his express assent, and to again leave the department if General Grant shall refuse such assent.

A. LINCOLN.

March 23, 1863.— LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

(*Private and Confidential.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 23, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

Dear Sir: You and I are substantially strangers, and I write this chiefly that we may become better acquainted. I, for the time being, am at the head of a nation which is in great peril, and you are at the head of the greatest State of that nation. As to maintaining the nation's life and integrity, I assume and believe there cannot be a difference of purpose between you and me. If we should differ as to the means, it is important that such difference should be as small as possible; that it should not be enhanced by unjust suspicions on one side or the other. In the performance of my duty the coöperation of your State, as that of others, is needed— in fact, is indispensable. This alone is a sufficient reason why I should wish to be at a good understanding with you. Please write me at least as long a letter as this, of course saying in it just what you think fit.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 24, 1863.— MEMORANDUM.

I think this man, Charles Wiegand, called on me once or oftener, but I really know nothing as to his capacity or merit. If a brigade was promised him by the War Department, I know nothing of it; and not knowing whether he is fit for any place, I could not with propriety recommend him for any.

A. LINCOLN.

March 24, 1863.

March 25, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT.

WASHINGTON, March 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBUT, Memphis:

What news have you? What from Vicksburg? What from Yazoo Pass? What from Lake Providence? What generally?

A. LINCOLN.

March 26, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 26, 1863.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON.

My dear Sir: I am told you have at least thought of raising a negro military force. In my opinion the country now needs no specific thing so much as some man of your ability and position to go to this work. When I speak of your position, I mean that of an eminent citizen of a slave State and himself a slaveholder. The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed of force for restoring the Union. The bare sight of fifty thousand armed and drilled black soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once; and who doubts that we can present that sight if we but take hold in earnest? If you have been thinking of it, please do not dismiss the thought. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 27, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 27, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Dear Sir: Governor Dickinson's business was rather with you than with me. His friend with him, Edward J. Westcott, has been trading at Newbern, and is hindered from renewing his business there. Please oblige the governor and Mr. Westcott so far as you consistently can. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 29, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS.

My dear Sir: Hon. Daniel Ullman, with a commission of a brigadier-general and two or three hundred other gentlemen as officers, goes to your department and reports to you, for the purpose of

raising a colored brigade. To now avail ourselves of this element of force is very important, if not indispensable. I therefore will thank you to help General Ullman forward with his undertaking as much and as rapidly as you can; and also to carry the general object beyond his particular organization if you find it practicable. The necessity of this is palpable if, as I understand, you are now unable to effect anything with your present force; and which force is soon to be greatly diminished by the expiration of terms of service, as well as by ordinary causes. I shall be very glad if you will take hold of the matter in earnest. You will receive from the [War] Department a regular order upon this subject.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 30, 1863.—PROCLAMATION APPOINTING A NATIONAL FAST-DAY.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, the Senate of the United States, devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and of nations, has by a resolution requested the President to designate and set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation:

And whereas, it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God; to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon; and to recognize the sublime truth, announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord:

And insomuch as we know that by his divine law nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishments and chastisements in this world, may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war which now desolates the land may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins, to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people? We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved, these many years, in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth, and power as no other nation has ever grown; but we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us; and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us:

It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness:

Now, therefore, in compliance with the request, and fully concurring in the views, of the Senate, I do by this my proclamation designate and set apart Thursday, the 30th day of April, 1863, as a day of national humiliation, fasting, and prayer. And I do hereby request all the people to abstain on that day from their ordinary secular pursuits, and to unite at their several places of public worship and their respective homes in keeping the day holy to the Lord, and devoted to the humble discharge of the religious duties proper to that solemn occasion. All this being done in sincerity and truth, let us then rest humbly in the hope authorized by the divine teachings, that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high, and answered with blessings no less than the pardon of our national sins, and the restoration of our now divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this thirtieth day of
[L. S.] March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

March 31, 1863.—LICENSE OF COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE.

WASHINGTON, EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 31, 1863.

Whereas, by the act of Congress approved July 13, 1861, entitled "An act to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," all commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of such States as should by proclamation be declared in insurrection against the United States and the citizens of the rest of the United States, was prohibited so long as such conditions of hostility should continue, except as the same shall be licensed and permitted by the President to be conducted and carried on only in pursuance of rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and whereas it appears that a partial restoration of such intercourse between the inhabitants of sundry places and sections heretofore declared in insurrection in pursuance of said act, and the citizens of the rest of the United States, will favorably affect the public interests:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, exercising the authority and discretion confided to me by the said act of Congress, do hereby license and permit such commercial intercourse between the citizens of loyal States and the inhabitants of such insurrectionary States in the cases and under the restrictions described and expressed in the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, bearing even date with these presents, or in such other regulations as he may hereafter, with my approval, prescribe.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 1, 1863.—Letter to General D. Hunter.

(*Private.*)

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., April 1, 1863.

Major-General Hunter.

My dear Sir: I am glad to see the accounts of your colored force at Jacksonville, Florida. I see the enemy are driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected. It is important to the enemy that such a force shall not take shape and grow and thrive in the South, and in precisely the same proportion it is important to us that it shall. Hence the utmost caution and vigilance is necessary on our part. The enemy will make extra efforts to destroy them, and we should do the same to preserve and increase them.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

April 2, 1863.—Proclamation about Commercial Intercourse.

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, in pursuance of the act of Congress approved July 13, 1861, I did, by proclamation dated August 16, 1861, declare that the inhabitants of the States of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida (except the inhabitants of that part of Virginia lying west of the Alleghany Mountains, and of such other parts of that State and the other States hereinbefore named as might maintain a legal adhesion to the Union and the Constitution, or might be from time to time occupied and controlled by forces of the United States engaged in the dispersion of said insurgents) were in a state of insurrection against the United States, and that all commercial intercourse between the same, and the inhabitants thereof, with the exceptions aforesaid, and the citizens of other States and other parts of the United States, was unlawful, and would remain unlawful until such insurrection should cease or be suppressed; and that all goods and chattels, wares and merchandise, coming from any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, into other parts of the United States, without the license and permission of the President through the Secretary of the Treasury, or proceeding to any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, by land or water, together with the vessel or vehicle conveying the same to or from said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, would be forfeited to the United States:

And whereas, experience has shown that the exceptions made in and by said proclamation embarrass the due enforcement of said act of July 13, 1861, and the proper regulation of the commercial intercourse authorized by said act with the loyal citizens of said States:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby revoke the said exceptions, and declare that the

inhabitants of the States of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties of Virginia designated as West Virginia, and except also the ports of New Orleans, Key West, Port Royal, and Beaufort in North Carolina) are in a state of insurrection against the United States, and that all commercial intercourse not licensed and conducted as provided in said act between the said States and the inhabitants thereof, with the exceptions aforesaid, and the citizens of other States and other parts of the United States, is unlawful, and will remain unlawful until such insurrection shall cease or has been suppressed, and notice thereof has been duly given by proclamation; and all cotton, tobacco, and other products, and all other goods and chattels, wares and merchandise, coming from any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, into other parts of the United States, or proceeding to any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, without the license and permission of the President through the Secretary of the Treasury, will, together with the vessel or vehicle conveying the same, be forfeited to the United States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this second day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-three, [L. S.] and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

April 11, 1863.—INDORSEMENT ON GENERAL J. HOOKER'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST RICHMOND.

My opinion is that just now, with the enemy directly ahead of us, there is no eligible route for us into Richmond; and consequently a question of preference between the Rappahannock route and the James River route is a contest about nothing. Hence our prime object is the enemy's army in front of us, and is not with or about Richmond at all, unless it be incidental to the main object.

What then? The two armies are face to face, with a narrow river between them. Our communications are shorter and safer than are those of the enemy. For this reason we can, with equal powers, fret him more than he can us. I do not think that by raids toward Washington he can derange the Army of the Potomac at all. He has no distant operations which can call any of the Army of the Potomac away; we have such operations which may call him away, at least in part. While he remains intact I do not think we should take the disadvantage of attacking him in his intrenchments; but we should continually harass and menace him, so that he shall have no leisure nor safety in sending away detachments. If he weakens himself, then pitch into him.

April 11, 1863.—TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO GENERAL J. POPE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 11, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE, Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

The President directs that under no circumstances will our troops cross the boundary line into British territory without his authority.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

April 11, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL C. SCHURZ.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 11, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHURZ.

My dear Sir: I cannot comply with your request to take your division away from the Army of the Potomac. General Hooker does not wish it done. I do not myself see a good reason why it should be done. The division will do itself and its officers more honor and the country more service where it is. Besides these general reasons, as I understand, the Army of the Potomac will move before these proposed changes could be conveniently made. I always wish to oblige you, but I cannot in this case. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 12, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Your letter by the hand of General Butterfield is received, and will be conformed to. The thing you dispense with would have been ready by midday to-morrow.

A. LINCOLN.

April 13, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 13, 1863.

HON. ANDREW G. CURTIN.

My dear Sir: If, after the expiration of your present term as governor of Pennsylvania, I shall continue in office here, and you shall desire to go abroad, you can do so with one of the first-class missions. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 13, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO ADMIRAL S. F. DU PONT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 13, 1863.

ADMIRAL DU PONT:

Hold your position inside the bar near Charleston; or, if you shall have left it, return to it, and hold it till further orders. Do not al-

low the enemy to erect new batteries or defenses on Morris Island. If he has begun it, drive him out. I do not herein order you to renew the general attack. That is to depend on your own discretion or a further order.

A. LINCOLN.

April 14, 1863.—LETTER TO J. E. BOULIGNY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 14, 1863.

HON. J. E. BOULIGNY.

My dear Sir: I did not certainly know the object of your call yesterday, but I had a strong impression in regard to it. When our national troubles began, you and I were not personally acquainted, but all I heard of you placed you in my estimation foremost among Louisianians as a friend of the Union. I intended to find you a position, and I did not conceal my inclination to do so. When, last autumn, you bore a letter from me to some parties at New Orleans, you seemed to expect, and consequently I did expect, you would return here as a member of one or the other branch of Congress. But you were not so returned, and this negative evidence, with other of like character, brings me to think that the Union people there for some reason prefer others for the places there. Add to this that the head of the department here in which finding a place for you was contemplated, is not satisfied for the appointment to be made, and it presents, as you see, an embarrassing case for me. My personal feelings for Mr. Bouligny are not less kind than heretofore.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

April 14, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 14, 1863. 5.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Would like to have a letter from you as soon as convenient.

A. LINCOLN.

April 14, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL D. HUNTER AND ADMIRAL S. F. DU PONT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 14, 1863.

GENERAL HUNTER AND ADMIRAL DU PONT:

This is intended to clear up an apparent inconsistency between the recent order to continue operations before Charleston and the former one to remove to another point in a certain contingency. No censure upon you, or either of you, is intended. We still hope that by cordial and judicious coöperation you can take the batteries on Morris Island and Sullivan's Island and Fort Sumter. But whether you can or not, we wish the demonstration kept up for a time, for

a collateral and very important object. We wish the attempt to be a real one, though not a desperate one, if it affords any considerable chance of success. But if prosecuted as a demonstration only, this must not become public, or the whole effect will be lost. Once again before Charleston, do not leave till further orders from here. Of course this is not intended to force you to leave unduly exposed Hilton Head or other near points in your charge.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

P. S. Whoever receives this first, please send a copy to the other immediately.

A. L.

April 15, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 15, 1863. 10.15 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

It is now 10.15 P. M. An hour ago I received your letter of this morning, and a few moments later your despatch of this evening. The latter gives me considerable uneasiness. The rain and mud of course were to be calculated upon. General S. is not moving rapidly enough to make the expedition come to anything. He has now been out three days, two of which were unusually fair weather, and all three without hindrance from the enemy, and yet he is not twenty-five miles from where he started. To reach his point he still has sixty to go, another river (the Rapidan) to cross, and will be hindered by the enemy. By arithmetic, how many days will it take him to do it? I do not know that any better can be done, but I greatly fear it is another failure already. Write me often. I am very anxious.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

April 16, 1863.—INDORSEMENT ON LETTER OF T. WOODRUFF.

In answer to the within question, "Shall we be sustained by you?" I have to answer that at the beginning of the administration I appointed one whom I understood to be an editor of the "Democrat" to be postmaster at St. Louis—the best office in my gift within Missouri. Soon after this our friends at St. Louis must needs break into factions, the "Democrat" being in my opinion justly chargeable with a full share of the blame for it. I have stoutly tried to keep out of the quarrel, and so mean to do.

As to contracts and jobs, I understand that by the law they are awarded to the best bidders; and if the government agents at St. Louis do differently, it would be good ground to prosecute them upon. A. LINCOLN.

April 16, 1863.

April 20, 1863.—PROCLAMATION ADMITTING WEST VIRGINIA INTO THE UNION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by the act of Congress approved the thirty-first day of December last, the State of West Virginia was declared to be one of the United States of America, and was admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, upon the condition that certain changes should be duly made in the proposed constitution for that State:

And whereas, proof of a compliance with that condition, as required by the second section of the act aforesaid, has been submitted to me:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby, in pursuance of the act of Congress aforesaid, declare and proclaim that the said act shall take effect and be in force from and after sixty days from the date hereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twentieth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

[L. S.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

April 20, 1863.—LETTER TO C. TRUESDALE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 20, 1863.

CALVIN TRUESDALE, Esq., Postmaster, Rock Island, Illinois:

Thomas J. Pickett, late agent of the quartermaster's department for the island of Rock Island, has been removed or suspended from that position on a charge of having sold timber and stones from the island for his private benefit. Mr. Pickett is an old acquaintance and friend of mine; and I will thank you if you will set a day or days and place on and at which to take testimony on the point. Notify Mr. Pickett and one J. B. Danforth, Jr. (who as I understand makes the charges), to be present with their witnesses, take the testimony in writing offered by both parties, and report it in full to me.

Please do this for me. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 21, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARIES SEWARD AND WELLES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 21, 1863.

HON. SECRETARIES OF STATE AND OF THE NAVY.

Gentlemen: It is now a practical question for this government whether a government mail of a neutral power, found on board a

vessel captured by a belligerent power, on charge of breach of blockade, shall be forwarded to its designated destination without opening, or shall be placed in custody of the prize court, to be, in the discretion of the court, opened and searched for evidence to be used on the trial of the prize cases.

I will thank each of you to furnish me:

First. A list of all cases wherein such question has been passed upon either by a diplomatic or a judicial decision.

Secondly. All cases wherein mails under such circumstances have been without special decision either forwarded unopened, or detained and opened in search of evidence.

I wish these lists to embrace as well the reported cases in the books generally, as the cases pertaining to the present war in the United States.

Thirdly. A statement and brief argument of what would be the dangers and evils of forwarding such mails unopened.

Fourthly. A statement and brief argument of what would be the dangers and evils of detaining and opening such mails, and using the contents, if pertinent, as evidence.

And, lastly, any general remarks that may occur to you or either of you. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

April 23, 1863.—LETTER TO J. SEGAR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 23, 1863.

HON. JOSEPH SEGAR.

My dear Sir: My recollection is that Accomac and Northampton counties (eastern shore of Virginia) were not exempted from a proclamation issued some short while after the adjournment of Congress; that some time after the issuing of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September, and before the issuing of the final one on January 1, 1863, you called on me and requested that the "eastern shore of Virginia" might be exempted from both the summer proclamation and the final Emancipation Proclamation. I told you that the non-exemption of it from the former was a mere omission which would be corrected; and that it should also be exempted from the final Emancipation Proclamation. The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation does not define what is included or excluded; but only gives notice that this will be done in the final one.

Both yourself and General Dix at different times (General Dix in writing) called my attention to the fact that I had omitted to exempt the "eastern shore of Virginia" from the first proclamation; and this was all that was needed to have me correct it. Without being reminded by either him or yourself, I do not think I should have omitted to exempt it from the final Emancipation Proclamation; but at all events you did not allow me to forget it. Supposing it was your duty to your constituents to attend to these matters, I think you acted with entire good faith and fidelity to them. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 23, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
April 23, 1863. 10.10 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Murfreesborough, Tennessee:

Your despatch of the 21st received. I really cannot say that I have heard any complaint of you. I have heard complaint of a police corps at Nashville, but your name was not mentioned in connection with it, so far as I remember. It may be that by inference you are connected with it, but my attention has never been drawn to it in that light.

A. LINCOLN.

April 27, 1863.—LETTER TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY WATSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 27, 1863.

HON. P. H. WATSON, Assistant Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I have attentively considered the matter of the "Republican," in regard to which you called on me the other day; and the result is that I prefer to make no change unless it shall again give just cause of offense, in which case I will at once withdraw the patronage it is enjoying at my hands. I believe it will not offend again; and if not, it is better to let the past go by quietly.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1863. 3.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

How does it look now?

A. LINCOLN.

April 27, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL LANE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 27, 1863.

HON. JAMES H. LANE, Leavenworth, Kansas:

The Governor of Kansas is here asking that Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Williams, of a colored regiment there, shall be removed; and also complaining of the military interference of General Blunt in the late election at Leavenworth. I do not know how, if at all, you are connected with these things; but I wish your assistance to so shape things that the Governor of Kansas may be treated with the consideration that is extended to governors of other States. We are not forcing a regimental officer upon any other governor against his protest. Cannot this matter be somehow adjusted?

A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

Not sent because Governor Carney thought it best not be.

April 28, 1863.— INDORSEMENT ON LETTER OF F. L. CAPEN.

It seems to me Mr. Capen knows nothing about the weather in advance. He told me three days ago that it would not rain again till the 30th of April or 1st of May. It is raining now, and has been for ten hours. I cannot spare any more time to Mr. Capen.

A. LINCOLN.

April 28, 1863.

April 28, 1863.— TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 28, 1863.

HON. A. G. CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

I do not think the people of Pennsylvania should be uneasy about an invasion. Doubtless a small force of the enemy is flourishing about in the northern part of Virginia, on the "skewhorn" principle, on purpose to divert us in another quarter. I believe it is nothing more. We think we have adequate force close after them.

A. LINCOLN.

April 29, 1863.— LETTER FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL BURNSIDE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, April 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE,
Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati:

A telegram from Louisville, published in the "National Intelligencer" of this morning, contains the following paragraph:

During the sale of a lot of negroes at the court-house this morning, the provost-marshal notified the owners that four were free under the President's proclamation. They nevertheless went on, when the matter of the four contrabands was turned over to the district judge, who will take measures to annul the sale.

The President directs me to say to you that he is much surprised to find that persons who are free under his proclamation have been suffered to be sold under any pretense whatever; and also desires me to remind you of the terms of the acts of Congress by which the fugitive negroes of rebel owners taking refuge within our lines are declared to be "captives of war." He desires you to take immediate measures to prevent any persons who, by act of Congress, are entitled to protection from the government as "captives of war" from being returned to bondage or suffering any wrong prohibited by that act. A detailed despatch, with instructions, will be sent to you to-day. Your vigilant and earnest attention to this subject within your department is specially requested.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

April 30, 1863.—INDORSEMENT IN THE CASE OF CAPTAIN SCHAADT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 30, 1863.

Such facts are brought to my notice as induce me to withhold my approval of the dismissal of Captain Schaadt, named within. He is satisfactorily proved to me to be of good character for candor and manliness, and generally; and that he was most active and efficient in Pennsylvania last autumn in raising troops for the Union. All this should not retain him in the service if, since then, he has given himself in any way to the injury of the service. How this is I must understand better than I now do before I can approve his dismissal. What has he done? What has he said? If, as is claimed for him, he is guilty of nothing but the withholding his vote or sanction from a certain resolution or resolutions, I think his dismissal is wrong, even though I might think the resolution itself right and very proper to be adopted by such as choose. Captain Schaadt will report himself to General Hunter and deliver him this paper for his further action.

A. LINCOLN.

April 30, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL D. HUNTER.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 30, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER.

My dear Sir: This morning I was presented an order of yours, dismissing from the service, subject to my approval, a Captain Schaadt, of one of the Pennsylvania regiments. Disloyalty, without any statement of the evidence supposed to have proved it, is assigned as the cause of the dismissal; and he represents at home—as I am told—that the sole evidence was his refusal to sanction a resolution (indorsing the Emancipation Proclamation, I believe); and our friends assure me that this statement is doing the Union cause great harm in his neighborhood and county, especially as he is a man of character, did good service in raising troops for us last fall, and still declares for the Union and his wish to fight for it.

On this state of the case I wrote a special indorsement on the order, which I suppose he will present to you; and I write this merely to assure you that no censure is intended upon you; but that it is hoped that you will inquire into the case more minutely, and that if there be no evidence but his refusal to sanction the resolution, you will restore him. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

May 1, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 1, 1863.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

The whole disposable force at Baltimore and elsewhere in reach have already been sent after the enemy which alarms you. The

worst thing the enemy could do for himself would be to weaken himself before Hooker, and therefore it is safe to believe he is not doing it; and the best thing he could do for himself would be to get us so scared as to bring part of Hooker's force away, and that is just what he is trying to do.

I will telegraph you in the morning about calling out the militia.

A. LINCOLN.

May 2, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 2, 1863.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

General Halleck tells me he has a despatch from General Schenck this morning, informing him that our forces have joined, and that the enemy menacing Pennsylvania will have to fight or run to-day. I hope I am not less anxious to do my duty to Pennsylvania than yourself, but I really do not yet see the justification for incurring the trouble and expense of calling out the militia. I shall keep watch, and try to do my duty.

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. Our forces are exactly between the enemy and Pennsylvania.

May 3, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. BUTTERFIELD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTTERFIELD, Chief of Staff:

The President thanks you for your telegrams, and hopes you will keep him advised as rapidly as any information reaches you.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 3, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. BUTTERFIELD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 3, 1863. 4.35 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTTERFIELD:

Where is General Hooker? Where is Sedgwick? Where is Stoneman?

A. LINCOLN.

May 4, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4, 1863. 3.10 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

We have news here that the enemy has reoccupied heights above Fredericksburg. Is that so?

A. LINCOLN.

May 6, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6, 1863. 12.25 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

We have through General Dix the contents of Richmond papers of the 5th. General Dix's despatch in full is going to you by Captain Fox of the navy. The substance is General Lee's despatch of the 3d (Sunday), claiming that he had beaten you, and that you were then retreating across the Rappahannock, distinctly stating that two of Longstreet's divisions fought you on Saturday, and that General [E. F.] Paxton was killed, Stonewall Jackson severely wounded, and Generals Heth and A. P. Hill slightly wounded. The Richmond papers also stated, upon what authority not mentioned, that our cavalry have been at Ashland, Hanover Court House, and other points, destroying several locomotives and a good deal of other property, and all the railroad bridges to within five miles of Richmond.

A. LINCOLN.

May 6, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6, 1863. 12.30 P. M.

GENERAL HOOKER:

Just as I had telegraphed you contents of Richmond papers showing that our cavalry has not failed, I received General Butterfield's of 11 A. M. yesterday. This, with the great rain of yesterday and last night securing your right flank, I think puts a new face upon your case; but you must be the judge.

A. LINCOLN.

May 6, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO COLONEL R. INGALLS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6, 1863. 1.45 P. M.

COLONEL INGALLS:

News has gone to General Hooker which may change his plans. Act in view of such contingency.

A. LINCOLN.

May 7, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, May 7, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER.

My dear Sir: The recent movement of your army is ended without effecting its object, except, perhaps, some important breakings of the enemy's communications. What next? If possible, I would be very glad of another movement early enough to give us some benefit from the fact of the enemy's communication being broken; but neither for this reason nor any other do I wish anything done

in desperation or rashness. An early movement would also help to supersede the bad moral effect of the recent one, which is said to be considerably injurious. Have you already in your mind a plan wholly or partially formed? If you have, prosecute it without interference from me. If you have not, please inform me, so that I, incompetent as I may be, can try and assist in the formation of some plan for the army. Yours as ever, A. LINCOLN.

May 8, 1863.—PROCLAMATION CONCERNING ALIENS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States, at its last session, enacted a law entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces and for other purposes," which was approved on the third day of March last; and

Whereas, it is recited in the said act that there now exists in the United States an insurrection and rebellion against the authority thereof, and it is, under the Constitution of the United States, the duty of the government to suppress insurrection and rebellion, to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and to preserve the public tranquillity; and

Whereas, for these high purposes a military force is indispensable, to raise and support which all persons ought willingly to contribute; and

Whereas, no service can be more praiseworthy and honorable than that which is rendered for the maintenance of the Constitution and Union, and the consequent preservation of free government; and

Whereas, for the reasons thus recited, it was enacted by the said statute that all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath their intention to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws thereof, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years (with certain exceptions not necessary to be here mentioned), are declared to constitute the national forces, and shall be liable to perform military duty in the service of the United States when called out by the President for that purpose; and

Whereas, it is claimed by and in behalf of persons of foreign birth within the ages specified in said act, who have heretofore declared on oath their intentions to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws of the United States, and who have not exercised the right of suffrage or any other political franchise under the laws of the United States, or of any of the States thereof, that they are not absolutely concluded by their aforesaid declaration of intention from renouncing their purpose to become citizens, and that, on the contrary, such persons under treaties or the law of nations retain a right to renounce that purpose and to forego the privileges of citi-

zenship and residence within the United States under the obligations imposed by the aforesaid act of Congress:

Now, therefore, to avoid all misapprehensions concerning the liability of persons concerned to perform the service required by such enactment, and to give it full effect, I do hereby order and proclaim that no plea of alienage will be received or allowed to exempt from the obligations imposed by the aforesaid act of Congress, any person of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath his intention to become a citizen of the United States under the laws thereof, and who shall be found within the United States at any time during the continuance of the present insurrection and rebellion, at or after the expiration of the period of sixty-five days from the date of this proclamation; nor shall any such plea of alienage be allowed in favor of any such person who has so, as aforesaid, declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and shall have exercised at any time the right of suffrage, or any other political franchise, within the United States, under the laws thereof, or under the laws of any of the several States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighth day of May, in
[L. S.] the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

May 8, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8, 1863. 4 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

The news is here of the capture by our forces of Grand Gulf—a large and very important thing. General Willich, an exchanged prisoner just from Richmond, has talked with me this morning. He was there when our cavalry cut the roads in that vicinity. He says there was not a sound pair of legs in Richmond, and that our men, had they known it, could have safely gone in and burned everything and brought in Jeff Davis. We captured and paroled 300 or 400 men. He says as he came to City Point there was an army three miles long (Longstreet's, he thought) moving toward Richmond.

Milroy has captured a despatch of General Lee, in which he says his loss was fearful in his last battle with you.

A. LINCOLN.

May 8, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 8, 1863.

HON. SALMON P. CHASE.

My dear Sir: I address this to you personally rather than officially, because of the nature of the case. My mind is made up to

remove Victor Smith as collector of the customs at the Puget Sound district. Yet in doing this I do not decide that the charges against him are true. I only decide that the degree of dissatisfaction with him there is too great for him to be retained. But I believe he is your personal acquaintance and friend, and if you desire it I will try to find some other place for him. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

May 9, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. A. DIX.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 9, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX:

It is very important for Hooker to know exactly what damage is done to the railroads at all points between Fredericksburg and Richmond. As yet we have no word as to whether the crossings of the North and South Anna, or any of them, have been touched. There are four of these crossings; that is, one on each road on each stream. You readily perceive why this information is desired. I suppose Kilpatrick or Davis can tell. Please ascertain fully what was done, and what is the present condition, as near as you can, and advise me at once.

A. LINCOLN.

May 11, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 11, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Dear Sir: I have again concluded to relieve General Curtis. I see no other way to avoid the worst consequences there. I think of General Schofield as his successor, but I do not wish to take the matter of a successor out of the hands of yourself and General Halleck. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 13, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 13, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I return the letters of General Garfield and Mr. Flanders. I am sorry to know the general's pet expedition, under Colonel Streight, has already been captured. Whether it had paid for itself, as he hoped, I do not know. If you think it proper to fill the agency mentioned by Mr. Flanders, by all means let Mr. Flanders be the man.

Please send me over the commission for Lewis C. Gunn, as you recommended, for collector of customs at Puget Sound.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

May 13, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 13, 1863. 1 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

If it will not interfere with the service, nor personally incommode you, please come up and see me this evening.

A. LINCOLN.

May 13, 1863.—MEMORANDUM ABOUT LIEUTENANT MERRYMAN.

I understand there are, or have been, some charges against Lieutenant Merryman, of which I know nothing. I only wish to say, he was raised from childhood in the town where I lived, and I remember nothing against him as boy or man.

His father, now dead, was a very intimate acquaintance and friend of mine.

A. LINCOLN.

May 13, 1863.

May 13, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 13, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: Since parting with you I have seen the Secretaries of State and the Treasury, and they both think we better not issue the special suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* spoken of. Governor Chase thinks the case is not before Judge Swaim; that it is before Judge Leavitt; that the writ will probably not issue whichever the applications may be before; and that in no event will Swaim commit an imprudence. His chief reason for thinking the writ will not issue is that he has seen in a newspaper that Judge Leavitt stated that Judge Swaim and he refused a similar application last year. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 14, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER, Commanding.

My dear Sir: When I wrote on the 7th, I had an impression that possibly by an early movement you could get some advantage from the supposed facts that the enemy's communications were disturbed, and that he was somewhat deranged in position. That idea has now passed away, the enemy having reëstablished his communications, regained his positions, and actually received reinforcements. It does not now appear probable to me that you can gain anything by an early renewal of the attempt to cross the Rappahannock. I

therefore shall not complain if you do no more for a time than to keep the enemy at bay and out of other mischief by menaces and occasional cavalry raids, if practicable, and to put your own army in good condition again. Still, if in your own clear judgment you can renew the attack successfully, I do not mean to restrain you. Bearing upon this last point, I must tell you that I have some painful intimations that some of your corps and division commanders are not giving you their entire confidence. This would be ruinous, if true, and you should therefore, first of all, ascertain the real facts beyond all possibility of doubt. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 14, 1863.—LETTER TO W. C. BRYANT.

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1863.

MR. W. C. BRYANT.

My dear Sir: Yours, requesting that General Sigel may be again assigned to command, is received. Allow me to briefly explain. I kept General Sigel in command for several months, he requesting to resign or to be relieved. At length, at his urgent and repeated solicitation, he was relieved. Now it is inconvenient to assign him a command without relieving or depriving some other officer who is not asking and perhaps would object to being so disposed of.

This is one of a class of cases, and you perceive how embarrassing they are. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 15, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO H. T. BLOW AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 15, 1863.

HON. H. T. BLOW, C. D. DRAKE, AND OTHERS, St. Louis, Missouri:

Your despatch of to-day is just received. It is very painful to me that you in Missouri cannot or will not settle your factional quarrel among yourselves. I have been tormented with it beyond endurance for months by both sides. Neither side pays the least respect to my appeals to your reason. I am now compelled to take hold of the case.

A. LINCOLN.

May 17, 1863.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL HERRON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, May 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL F. J. HERRON, Rolla, Missouri:

Your despatch threatening to resign rather than to serve under General Schofield has been received and shown to the President. He directs me to say that he is unaware of any valid objection to

General Schofield, he having recently commanded the Department of the Missouri, giving almost universal satisfaction so far as the President ever heard. He directs me to add that he has appreciated the services of General Herron and rewarded them by rapid promotions; but that, even in him, insubordination will be met as insubordination, and that your resignation will be acted upon as circumstances may require whenever it is tendered.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 19, 20, 1863.— ORDERS SENDING C. L. VALLANDIGHAM BEYOND MILITARY LINES.

(*Cipher.*)

UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, May 19, 1863.

By telegraph from Washington, 9.40 P. M., 1863.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Commanding Department of Ohio.

Sir: The President directs that without delay you send C. L. Vallandigham under secure guard to the headquarters of General Rosecrans, to be put by him beyond our military lines; and in case of his return within our lines, he be arrested and kept in close custody for the term specified in his sentence.

By order of the President:

E. R. S. CANBY,
Brigadier-General and Assistant Adjutant-General.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE,
Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Your despatch of three o'clock this afternoon to the Secretary of War has been received and shown to the President. He thinks the best disposition to be made of Vallandigham is to put him beyond the lines, as directed in the order transmitted to you last evening, and directs that you execute that order by sending him forward under secure guard without delay to General Rosecrans.

By order of the President:

ED. R. S. CANBY, Brigadier-General.

May 20, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WASHINGTON, May 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS:

Yours of yesterday in relation to Colonel Haggard is received. I am anxious that you shall not misunderstand me. In no case have I intended to censure you or to question your ability. In Colonel Haggard's case I meant no more than to suggest that pos-

sibly you might have been mistaken in a point that could [be] corrected.

I frequently make mistakes myself in the many things I am compelled to do hastily.

A. LINCOLN.

May 20, 1863.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., May 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Murfreesborough:

The President desires to know whether you have any late news from Grant, or any of the operations on the Mississippi. If you have, please report.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

May 21, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WASHINGTON, May 21, 1863. 4.40 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS:

For certain reasons it is thought best for Rev. Dr. Jaquess not to come here.

Present my respects to him, and ask him to write me fully on the subject he has in contemplation.

A. LINCOLN.

May 22, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBUT, Memphis, Tennessee:

We have news here in the Richmond newspapers of 20th and 21st, including a despatch from General Joe Johnston himself, that on the 15th or 16th — a little confusion as to the day — Grant beat Pemberton and [W. W.] Loring near Edwards Station, at the end of a nine hours' fight, driving Pemberton over the Big Black and cutting Loring off and driving him south to Crystal Springs, twenty-five miles below Jackson. Joe Johnston telegraphed all this, except about Loring, from his camp between Brownsville and Lexington, on the 18th. Another despatch indicates that Grant was moving against Johnston on the 18th.

A. LINCOLN.

May 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 27, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Murfreesborough, Tennessee:

Have you anything from Grant? Where is Forrest's headquarters?

A. LINCOLN.

May 27, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL SCHOFIELD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 27, 1863.

GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD.

My dear Sir: Having relieved General Curtis and assigned you to the command of the Department of the Missouri, I think it may be of some advantage for me to state to you why I did it. I did not relieve General Curtis because of any full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting, when united, a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves—General Curtis, perhaps not of choice, being the head of one faction and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse, until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow; and as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis. Now that you are in the position, I wish you to undo nothing merely because General Curtis or Governor Gamble did it, but to exercise your own judgment, and do right for the public interest. Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader and keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult rôle, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 27, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 27, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: The office of second comptroller is vacant by the death of Mr. Cutts. Of course I wish your concurrence whenever I shall fill it. I believe the only applicants—whose papers are now before me—are Augustin Chester, late of Connecticut, now of Chicago, and John M. Broadhead, of this city. I herewith inclose their papers to you. I believe they are both competent and worthy gentlemen. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1863. 11 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Have you Richmond papers of this morning? If so, what news?

A. LINCOLN.

May 28, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Murfreesborough, Tennessee:

I would not push you to any rashness, but I am very anxious that you do your utmost, short of rashness, to keep Bragg from getting off to help Johnston against Grant.

A. LINCOLN.

May 28, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 28, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS.

My dear Sir: I have but a slight personal acquaintance with Colonel Jaquess, though I know him very well by character.

Such a mission as he proposes I think promises good, if it were free from difficulties, which I fear it cannot be.

First. He cannot go with any government authority whatever. This is absolute and imperative.

Secondly. If he goes without authority, he takes a great deal of personal risk — he may be condemned and executed as a spy.

If, for any reason, you think fit to give Colonel Jaquess a furlough, and any authority from me for that object is necessary, you hereby have it for any length of time you see fit.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

May 29, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1863.

GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON, Louisville, Kentucky:

General Burnside has been frequently informed lately that the division under General Getty cannot be spared. I am sorry to have to tell you this, but it is true, and cannot be helped.

A. LINCOLN.

May 29, 1863.—LETTER TO J. K. DUBOIS AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 29, 1863.

MESSRS. JESSE K. DUBOIS, O. M. HATCH, JOHN WILLIAMS, JACOB BUNN, JOHN BUNN, GEORGE R. WEBER, WILLIAM YATES, S. M. CULLOM, CHARLES W. MATHENY, WILLIAM F. ELKIN, FRANCIS SPRINGER, B. A. WATSON, ELIPHALET HAWLEY, AND JAMES CAMPBELL.

Gentlemen: Agree among yourselves upon any two of your own number — one of whom to be quartermaster and the other to be commissary — to serve at Springfield, Illinois, and send me their names, and I will appoint them. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 29, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Your despatch of to-day received. When I shall wish to supersede you I will let you know. All the cabinet regretted the necessity of arresting, for instance, Vallandigham, some perhaps doubting there was a real necessity for it; but, being done, all were for seeing you through with it.

A. LINCOLN.

May [30?], 1863.—REPLY TO MEMBERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

It has been my happiness to receive testimonies of a similar nature from, I believe, all denominations of Christians. They are all loyal, but perhaps not in the same degree or in the same numbers; but I think they all claim to be loyal. This to me is most gratifying, because from the beginning I saw that the issue of our great struggle depended on the divine interposition and favor. If we had that, all would be well. The proportions of this rebellion were not for a long time understood. I saw that it involved the greatest difficulties, and would call forth all the powers of the whole country. The end is not yet.

The point made in your paper is well taken as to "the government" and "the administration" in whose hands are these interests. I fully appreciate its correctness and justice. In my administration I may have committed some errors. It would be indeed remarkable if I had not. I have acted according to my best judgment in every case. The views expressed by the committee accord with my own; and on this principle "the government" is to be supported though "the administration" may not in every case wisely act. As a pilot I have used my best exertions to keep afloat our Ship of State, and shall be glad to resign my trust at the appointed time to another pilot more skilful and successful than I may prove. In every case and at all hazards the government must be perpetuated. Relying, as I do, upon the Almighty Power, and encouraged as I am by these resolutions which you have just read, with the support which I receive from Christian men, I shall not hesitate to use all the means at my control to secure the termination of this rebellion, and will hope for success.

I sincerely thank you for this interview, this pleasant mode of presentation, and the General Assembly for their patriotic support in these resolutions.

June 1, 1863.—LETTER TO CHARLES SUMNER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 1, 1863.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

My dear Sir: In relation to the matter spoken of Saturday morning and this morning—to wit, the raising of colored troops in the

North, with the understanding that they shall be commanded by General Frémont — I have to say:

That while it is very objectionable, as a general rule, to have troops raised on any special terms, such as to serve only under a particular commander or only at a particular place or places, yet I would forego the objection in this case upon a fair prospect that a large force of this sort could thereby be the more rapidly raised.

That being raised, say to the number of ten thousand, I would very cheerfully send them to the field under General Frémont, assigning him a department, made or to be made, with such white force also as I might be able to put in.

That with the best wishes toward General Frémont, I cannot now give him a department, because I have not spare troops to furnish a new department, and I have not, as I think, justifiable ground to relieve the present commander of any old one. In the raising of the colored troops, the same consent of governors would have to be obtained as in case of white troops, and the government would make the same provision for them during organization as for white troops.

It would not be a point with me whether General Frémont should take charge of the organization, or take charge of the force only after the organization.

If you think fit to communicate this to General Frémont, you are at liberty to do so. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 2, 1863.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 2, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT, Vicksburg, via Memphis:

Are you in communication with General Banks? Is he coming toward you or going farther off? Is there or has there been anything to hinder his coming directly to you by water from Alexandria?

A. LINCOLN.

June 4, 1863.— NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 4, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I have received additional despatches, which, with former ones, induce me to believe we should revoke or suspend the order suspending the Chicago "Times"; and if you concur in opinion, please have it done. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 5, 1863.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 5, 1863. 4 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Yours of to-day was received an hour ago. So much of professional military skill is requisite to answer it, that I have turned the task

over to General Halleck. He promises to perform it with his utmost care. I have but one idea which I think worth suggesting to you, and that is, in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahannock, I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should leave a rear force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at disadvantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other. If Lee would come to my side of the river, I would keep on the same side, and fight him or act on the defense, according as might be my estimate of his strength relatively to my own. But these are mere suggestions which I desire to be controlled by the judgment of yourself and General Halleck.

A. LINCOLN.

June 6, 1863.—ANONYMOUS NOTE TO THE WASHINGTON "CHRONICLE."

EDITOR OF THE "CHRONICLE":

In your issue of this morning you have an article on the Chicago "Times." Being an Illinoisian, I happen to know that much of the article is incorrect. As I remember, upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Democratic newspapers at Chicago went over to the opposition. Thereupon the "Times" was established by the friends of the administration, Senator Douglas being the most prominent in establishing it. A man by the name of James Sheahan, from this city, was its first and only editor nearly if not quite all the remainder of the senator's life. On the political separation between Mr. Buchanan and Senator Douglas, the "Times" adhered to the senator, and was the ablest paper in his support through his senatorial contest with Mr. Lincoln. Since the last presidential election certainly, perhaps since Senator Douglas's death, Mr. Sheahan left the "Times"; the "Times" since then has been identical with the "Times" before then in little more than the name. The writer hereof is not well enough posted to say but that your article in other respects is correct.

June 8, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL S. R. CURTIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS.

My dear Sir: I have scarcely supposed it possible that you would entirely understand my feelings and motives in making the late change of commander for the department of the Missouri. I inclose you a copy of a letter which I recently addressed to General Schofield, and which will explain the matter in part. It became

almost a matter of personal self-defense to somehow break up the state of things in Missouri. I did not mean to cast any censure upon you, nor to indorse any of the charges made against you by others. With me the presumption is still in your favor: that you are honest, capable, faithful, and patriotic.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 10, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1863. 6.40 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Your long despatch of to-day is just received. If left to me, I would not go south of the Rappahannock upon Lee's moving north of it. If you had Richmond invested to-day, you would not be able to take it in twenty days; meanwhile your communications, and with them your army, would be ruined. I think Lee's army, and not Richmond, is your true objective point. If he comes toward the upper Potomac, follow on his flank and on his inside track, shortening your lines while he lengthens his. Fight him, too, when opportunity offers. If he stays where he is, fret him and fret him.

A. LINCOLN.

June 12, 1863.—LETTER TO ERASTUS CORNING AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 12, 1863.

HON. ERASTUS CORNING AND OTHERS.

Gentlemen: Your letter of May 19, inclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany, New York, on the 16th of the same month, was received several days ago.

The resolutions, as I understand them, are resolvable into two propositions—first, the expression of a purpose to sustain the cause of the Union, to secure peace through victory, and to support the administration in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and, secondly, a declaration of censure upon the administration for supposed unconstitutional action, such as the making of military arrests. And from the two propositions a third is deduced, which is that the gentlemen composing the meeting are resolved on doing their part to maintain our common government and country, despite the folly or wickedness, as they may conceive, of any administration. This position is eminently patriotic, and as such I thank the meeting, and congratulate the nation for it. My own purpose is the same; so that the meeting and myself have a common object, and can have no difference, except in the choice of means or measures for effecting that object.

And here I ought to close this paper, and would close it, if there were no apprehension that more injurious consequences than any merely personal to myself might follow the censures systematically cast upon me for doing what, in my view of duty, I could not forbear. The resolutions promise to support me in every constitutional and

lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by their resolutions, assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not. The resolutions quote from the Constitution the definition of treason, and also the limiting safeguards and guarantees therein provided for the citizen on trials for treason, and on his being held to answer for capital or otherwise infamous crimes, and in criminal prosecutions his right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. They proceed to resolve "that these safeguards of the rights of the citizen against the pretensions of arbitrary power were intended more especially for his protection in times of civil commotion." And, apparently to demonstrate the proposition, the resolutions proceed: "They were secured substantially to the English people after years of protracted civil war, and were adopted into our Constitution at the close of the revolution." Would not the demonstration have been better if it could have been truly said that these safeguards had been adopted and applied during the civil wars and during our revolution, instead of after the one and at the close of the other? I, too, am devotedly for them after civil war, and before civil war, and at all times, "except when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require" their suspension. The resolutions proceed to tell us that these safeguards "have stood the test of seventy-six years of trial under our republican system, under circumstances which show that while they constitute the foundation of all free government, they are the elements of the enduring stability of the republic." No one denies that they have so stood the test up to the beginning of the present rebellion, if we except a certain occurrence at New Orleans hereafter to be mentioned; nor does any one question that they will stand the same test much longer after the rebellion closes. But these provisions of the Constitution have no application to the case we have in hand, because the arrests complained of were not made for treason—that is, not for the treason defined in the Constitution, and upon the conviction of which the punishment is death—nor yet were they made to hold persons to answer for any capital or otherwise infamous crimes; nor were the proceedings following, in any constitutional or legal sense, "criminal prosecutions." The arrests were made on totally different grounds, and the proceedings following accorded with the grounds of the arrests. Let us consider the real case with which we are dealing, and apply to it the parts of the Constitution plainly made for such cases.

Prior to my installation here it had been inculcated that any State had a lawful right to secede from the national Union, and that it would be expedient to exercise the right whenever the devotees of the doctrine should fail to elect a president to their own liking. I was elected contrary to their liking; and, accordingly, so far as it was legally possible, they had taken seven States out of the Union, had seized many of the United States forts, and had fired upon the United States flag, all before I was inaugurated, and, of course, before I had done any official act whatever. The rebellion thus begun soon ran

into the present civil war; and, in certain respects, it began on very unequal terms between the parties. The insurgents had been preparing for it more than thirty years, while the government had taken no steps to resist them. The former had carefully considered all the means which could be turned to their account. It undoubtedly was a well-pondered reliance with them that in their own unrestricted effort to destroy Union, Constitution and law, all together, the government would, in great degree, be restrained by the same Constitution and law from arresting their progress. Their sympathizers pervaded all departments of the government and nearly all communities of the people. From this material, under cover of "liberty of speech," "liberty of the press," and "*habeas corpus*," they hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways. They knew that in times such as they were inaugurating, by the Constitution itself the "*habeas corpus*" might be suspended; but they also knew they had friends who would make a question as to who was to suspend it; meanwhile their spies and others might remain at large to help on their cause. Or if, as has happened, the Executive should suspend the writ without ruinous waste of time, instances of arresting innocent persons might occur, as are always likely to occur in such cases; and then a clamor could be raised in regard to this, which might be at least of some service to the insurgent cause. It needed no very keen perception to discover this part of the enemy's programme, so soon as by open hostilities their machinery was fairly put in motion. Yet, thoroughly imbued with a reverence for the guaranteed rights of individuals, I was slow to adopt the strong measures which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the Constitution, and as indispensable to the public safety. Nothing is better known to history than that courts of justice are utterly incompetent to such cases. Civil courts are organized chiefly for trials of individuals, or, at most, a few individuals acting in concert—and this in quiet times, and on charges of crimes well defined in the law. Even in times of peace bands of horse-thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary courts of justice. But what comparison, in numbers, have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers even in many of the loyal States? Again, a jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor. And yet again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

Ours is a case of rebellion — so called by the resolutions before me — in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," is the provision which specially applies to our present case. This provision plainly attests the understanding of those who made the

Constitution that ordinary courts of justice are inadequate to "cases of rebellion" — attests their purpose that, in such cases, men may be held in custody whom the courts, acting on ordinary rules, would discharge. *Habeas corpus* does not discharge men who are proved to be guilty of defined crime; and its suspension is allowed by the Constitution on purpose that men may be arrested and held who cannot be proved to be guilty of defined crime, "when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it."

This is precisely our present case — a case of rebellion wherein the public safety does require the suspension. Indeed, arrests by process of courts and arrests in cases of rebellion do not proceed altogether upon the same basis. The former is directed at the small percentage of ordinary and continuous perpetration of crime, while the latter is directed at sudden and extensive uprisings against the government, which, at most, will succeed or fail in no great length of time. In the latter case arrests are made not so much for what has been done, as for what probably would be done. The latter is more for the preventive and less for the vindictive than the former. In such cases the purposes of men are much more easily understood than in cases of ordinary crime. The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more if he talks ambiguously — talks for his country with "buts," and "ifs" and "ands." Of how little value the constitutional provision I have quoted will be rendered if arrests shall never be made until defined crimes shall have been committed, may be illustrated by a few notable examples: General John C. Breckinridge, General Robert E. Lee, General Joseph E. Johnston, General John B. Magruder, General William B. Preston, General Simon B. Buckner, and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, now occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all within the power of the government since the rebellion began, and were nearly as well known to be traitors then as now. Unquestionably if we had seized and held them, the insurgent cause would be much weaker. But no one of them had then committed any crime defined in the law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on *habeas corpus* were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many.

By the third resolution the meeting indicate their opinion that military arrests may be constitutional in localities where rebellion actually exists, but that such arrests are unconstitutional in localities where rebellion or insurrection does not actually exist. They insist that such arrests shall not be made "outside of the lines of necessary military occupation and the scenes of insurrection." Inasmuch, however, as the Constitution itself makes no such distinction, I am unable to believe that there is any such constitutional distinction. I concede that the class of arrests complained of can be constitutional only when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require them; and I insist that in such cases they are constitutional

wherever the public safety does require them, as well in places to which they may prevent the rebellion extending, as in those where it may be already prevailing; as well where they may restrain mischievous interference with the raising and supplying of armies to suppress the rebellion, as where the rebellion may actually be; as well where they may restrain the enticing men out of the army, as where they would prevent mutiny in the army; equally constitutional at all places where they will conduce to the public safety, as against the dangers of rebellion or invasion. Take the particular case mentioned by the meeting. It is asserted in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried "for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting in criticism of the course of the administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of the general." Now, if there be no mistake about this, if this assertion is the truth and the whole truth, if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest, as I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

I understand the meeting whose resolutions I am considering to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force—by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that, in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them: in other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the

same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will by means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and *habeas corpus* throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

In giving the resolutions that earnest consideration which you request of me, I cannot overlook the fact that the meeting speak as "Democrats." Nor can I, with full respect for their known intelligence, and the fairly presumed deliberation with which they prepared their resolutions, be permitted to suppose that this occurred by accident, or in any way other than that they preferred to designate themselves "Democrats" rather than "American citizens." In this time of national peril I would have preferred to meet you upon a level one step higher than any party platform, because I am sure that from such more elevated position we could do better battle for the country we all love than we possibly can from those lower ones where, from the force of habit, the prejudices of the past, and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with and aiming blows at each other. But since you have denied me this, I will yet be thankful for the country's sake that not all Democrats have done so. He on whose discretionary judgment Mr. Vallandigham was arrested and tried is a Democrat, having no old party affinity with me, and the judge who rejected the constitutional view expressed in these resolutions, by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandigham on *habeas corpus*, is a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson. And still more, of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battle-field, I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it. I cannot assert that there are none such. And the name of President Jackson recalls an instance of pertinent history. After the battle of New Orleans, and while the fact that the treaty of peace had been concluded was well known in the city, but before official knowledge of it had arrived, General Jackson still maintained martial or military law. Now that it could be said the war was over, the clamor against martial law, which had existed from the first, grew more furious. Among other things, a Mr. Louaillier published a denunciatory newspaper article. General Jackson arrested him. A lawyer by the name of Morel procured

the United States Judge Hall to order a writ of *habeas corpus* to release Mr. Louaillier. General Jackson arrested both the lawyer and the judge. A Mr. Hollander ventured to say of some part of the matter that "it was a dirty trick." General Jackson arrested him. When the officer undertook to serve the writ of *habeas corpus*, General Jackson took it from him, and sent him away with a copy. Holding the judge in custody a few days, the general sent him beyond the limits of his encampment, and set him at liberty with an order to remain till the ratification of peace should be regularly announced, or until the British should have left the southern coast. A day or two more elapsed, the ratification of the treaty of peace was regularly announced, and the judge and others were fully liberated. A few days more, and the judge called General Jackson into court and fined him $1000 for having arrested him and the others named. The general paid the fine, and then the matter rested for nearly thirty years, when Congress refunded principal and interest. The late Senator Douglas, then in the House of Representatives, took a leading part in the debates in which the constitutional question was much discussed. I am not prepared to say whom the journals would show to have voted for the measure.

It may be remarked — first, that we had the same Constitution then as now; secondly, that we then had a case of invasion, and now we have a case of rebellion; and, thirdly, that the permanent right of the people to public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, the law of evidence, and the *habeas corpus*, suffered no detriment whatever by that conduct of General Jackson, or its subsequent approval by the American Congress.

And yet, let me say that, in my own discretion, I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. While I cannot shift the responsibility from myself, I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is the better judge of the necessity in any particular case. Of course I must practise a general directory and revisory power in the matter.

One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specifically called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this as, at least, a fair appeal to me on the expediency of exercising a constitutional power which I think exists. In response to such appeal I have to say, it gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested (that is, I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him), and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him so soon as I can by any means believe the public safety will not suffer by it.

I further say that, as the war progresses, it appears to me, opinion and action, which were in great confusion at first, take shape and fall into more regular channels, so that the necessity for strong dealing with them gradually decreases. I have every reason to desire that it should cease altogether, and far from the least is my regard for the opinions and wishes of those who, like the meeting at Albany, declare their purpose to sustain the government in every

constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion. Still, I must continue to do so much as may seem to be required by the public safety.

A. LINCOLN.

June 14, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1863. 1.14 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Do you consider it possible that 15,000 of Ewell's men can now be at Winchester?

A. LINCOLN.

June 14, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1863. 5.50 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

So far as we can make out here, the enemy have Milroy surrounded at Winchester, and Tyler at Martinsburg. If they could hold out a few days, could you help them? If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?

A. LINCOLN.

June 14, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1863. 11.55 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Yours of 11.30 [11.15] just received. You have nearly all the elements for forming an opinion whether Winchester is surrounded that I have. I really fear—almost believe—it is. No communication has been had with it during the day, either at Martinsburg or Harper's Ferry. At 7 P. M. we also lost communication with Martinsburg. The enemy had also appeared there some hours before. At 9 P. M. Harper's Ferry said the enemy was reported at Berryville and Smithfield. If I could know that Longstreet and Ewell moved in that direction so long ago as you stated in your last, then I should feel sure that Winchester is strongly invested. It is quite certain that a considerable force of the enemy is thereabout, and I fear it is an overwhelming one compared with Milroy's. I am unable to give you any more certain opinions.

A. LINCOLN.

June 14, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK:

Get General Milroy from Winchester to Harper's Ferry, if possible. He will be "gobbled up" if he remains, if he is not already past salvation.

A. LINCOLN, President United States.

June 15, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1863. 8.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER, Fairfax Station:

The facts are now known here that Winchester and Martinsburg were both besieged yesterday. The troops from Martinsburg have got into Harper's Ferry without loss. Those from Winchester are also in, having lost in killed, wounded, and missing about one third of their number. Of course the enemy holds both places, and I think the report is authentic that he is crossing the Potomac at Williamsport. We have not heard of his yet appearing at Harper's Ferry or on the river anywhere below. I would like to hear from you.

A. LINCOLN.

June 15, 1863.—CALL FOR 100,000 MILITIA TO SERVE FOR SIX MONTHS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, the armed insurrectionary combinations now existing in several of the States are threatening to make inroads into the States of Maryland, Western Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, requiring immediately an additional military force for the service of the United States:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy thereof, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States one hundred thousand militia from the States following, namely: from the State of Maryland, ten thousand; from the State of Pennsylvania, fifty thousand; from the State of Ohio, thirty thousand; from the State of West Virginia, ten thousand—to be mustered into the service of the United States forthwith, and to serve for the period of six months from the date of such muster into said service, unless sooner discharged; to be mustered in as infantry, artillery, and cavalry, in proportions which will be made known through the War Department, which department will also designate the several places of rendezvous. These militia to be organized according to the rules and regulations of the volunteer service and such orders as may hereafter be issued. The States aforesaid will be respectively credited, under the enrolment act, for the militia services rendered under this proclamation.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

June 15, 1863.—LETTER FROM JOHN HAY TO J. R. CAMPBELL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 15, 1863.

JULIAN R. CAMPBELL, Esq., etc.

My dear Sir: I am directed by the President to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 10th June, and to express his gratification to the gentlemen composing the association you represent for the liberal and patriotic tone of the resolutions which you inclosed.

I have the honor to be, very truly,

Your obedient servant, JOHN HAY.

June 16, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863.

My dear General: I send you this by the hand of Captain Dahlgren. Your despatch of 11.30 A. M. to-day is just received. When you say I have long been aware that you do not enjoy the confidence of the major-general commanding, you state the case much too strongly.

You do not lack his confidence in any degree to do you any harm. On seeing him, after telegraphing you this morning, I found him more nearly agreeing with you than I was myself. Surely you do not mean to understand that I am withholding my confidence from you when I happen to express an opinion (certainly never discourteously) differing from one of your own.

I believe Halleck is dissatisfied with you to this extent only, that he knows that you write and telegraph ("report," as he calls it) to me. I think he is wrong to find fault with this; but I do not think he withholds any support from you on account of it. If you and he would use the same frankness to one another, and to me, that I use to both of you, there would be no difficulty. I need and must have the professional skill of both, and yet these suspicions tend to deprive me of both.

I believe you are aware that since you took command of the army I have not believed you had any chance to effect anything till now. As it looks to me, Lee's now returning toward Harper's Ferry gives you back the chance that I thought McClellan lost last fall. Quite possibly I was wrong both then and now; but, in the great responsibility resting upon me, I cannot be entirely silent. Now, all I ask is that you will be in such mood that we can get into our action the best cordial judgment of yourself and General Halleck, with my poor mite added, if indeed he and you shall think it entitled to any consideration at all. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

June 16, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863. 10 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

To remove all misunderstanding, I now place you in the strict military relation to General Halleck of a commander of one of the armies to the general-in-chief of all the armies. I have not intended differently, but as it seems to be differently understood I shall direct him to give you orders, and you to obey them. A. LINCOLN.

June 17, 1863.—MEMORANDUM ABOUT I. D. ANDREWS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 17, 1863.

Mr. Israel D. Andrews appeals to me, saying he is suffering injury by something I have said of him. I really know very little of Mr. Andrews. As well as I can remember, I was called on by one or two persons asking me to give him or aid him in getting some public employment; and as a reason for declining I stated that I had a very unfavorable opinion of him, chiefly because I had been informed that, in connection with some former service of his to the government, he had presented an enormous and unjustifiable claim, which I understood he was still pressing the government to pay. I certainly did not pretend to know anything of the matter personally; and I say now, I do not personally know anything which should detract from Mr. Andrews's character. A. LINCOLN.

June 18, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 18, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: Could you without too much trouble have sent to me a statement of the case of John Steele, who it seems has been banished to Canada? Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 18, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO J. K. MOORHEAD.

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1863. 10.40 A. M.

TO HON. J. K. MOORHEAD, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania:

If General Brooks, now in command at Pittsburg, finds any person or persons injuriously affecting his military operations, he is authorized to arrest him or them at once if the case is urgent. If not urgent, let him communicate the particulars to me. General Brooks is the man to now manage the matter at Pittsburg. Please show this to him. A. LINCOLN.

June 19, 1863.—LETTER TO E. E. MALHIOT AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 19, 1863.

MESSRS. E. E. MALHIOT, BRADISH JOHNSON, AND THOMAS COTTMAN.

Gentlemen: Your letter, which follows, has been received and considered.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States:

The undersigned, a committee appointed by the planters of the State of Louisiana, respectfully represent that they have been delegated to seek of the General Government a full recognition of all the rights of the State as they existed previous to the passage of an act of secession, upon the principle of the existence of the State constitution unimpaired, and no legal act having transpired that could in any way deprive them of the advantages conferred by that constitution. Under this constitution the State wishes to return to its full allegiance, in the enjoyment of all rights and privileges exercised by the other States under the Federal Constitution. With the view of accomplishing the desired object, we further request that your Excellency will, as commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, direct the Military Governor of Louisiana to order an election, in conformity with the constitution and laws of the State, on the first Monday of November next, for all State and Federal officers.

With high consideration and respect, we have the honor to subscribe ourselves, Your obedient servants,

E. E. MALHIOT.
BRADISH JOHNSON.
THOMAS COTTMAN.

Since receiving the letter, reliable information has reached me that a respectable portion of the Louisiana people desire to amend their State constitution, and contemplate holding a State convention for that object. This fact alone, as it seems to me, is a sufficient reason why the General Government should not give the committal you seek to the existing State constitution. I may add that while I do not perceive how such committal could facilitate our military operations in Louisiana, I really apprehend it might be so used as to embarrass them.

As to an election to be held next November, there is abundant time without any order or proclamation from me just now. The people of Louisiana shall not lack an opportunity for a fair election for both Federal and State officers by want of anything within my power to give them. Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

June 21, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1863. 9 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Operator at Leesburg just now tells us that firing commenced about seven this morning in direction from here of Aldie's Gap and Middleburg; has continued all day, and has receded from him, and is apparently now about White Plains; was very heavy this morning, but lighter now.

A. LINCOLN.

June 22, 1863.—Letter to Secretary Stanton.

Executive Mansion, Washington, June 22, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Do you not remember the French officer Colonel Duffie, whom we saw at General McDowell's headquarters near Fredericksburg, last May a year ago? I remember he was then well spoken of. On the night of the 17th instant he was surrounded by Stuart's cavalry near Millersburg, and cut his way out with proportionately heavy loss to his then small command. Please see and hear him. I think you have strong recommendations on file in his behalf. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

June 22, 1863.—Letter to General J. M. Schofield.

Executive Mansion, Washington, June 22, 1863.

General John M. Schofield.

My dear Sir: Your despatch, asking in substance whether, in case Missouri shall adopt gradual emancipation, the General Government will protect slave-owners in that species of property during the short time it shall be permitted by the State to exist within it, has been received. Desirous as I am that emancipation shall be adopted by Missouri, and believing as I do that gradual can be made better than immediate for both black and white, except when military necessity changes the case, my impulse is to say that such protection would be given. I cannot know exactly what shape an act of emancipation may take. If the period from the initiation to the final end should be comparatively short, and the act should prevent persons being sold during that period into more lasting slavery, the whole would be easier. I do not wish to pledge the General Government to the affirmative support of even temporary slavery beyond what can be fairly claimed under the Constitution. I suppose, however, this is not desired, but that it is desired for the military force of the United States, while in Missouri, to not be used in subverting the temporarily reserved legal rights in slaves during the progress of emancipation. This I would desire also. I have very earnestly urged the slave States to adopt emancipation; and it ought to be, and is, an object with me not to overthrow or thwart what any of them may in good faith do to that end. You are therefore authorized to act in the spirit of this letter in conjunction with what may appear to be the military necessities of your department. Although this letter will become public at some time, it is not intended to be made so now. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

June 22, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

WASHINGTON, June 22, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Operator at Leesburg just now says:

I heard very little firing this A. M. about daylight, but it seems to have stopped now. It was in about same direction as yesterday, but farther off.

A. LINCOLN.

June 25, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 25, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Hon. William Kellogg will tell you plainly what he wants; and I wish him obliged so far as you can consistently do it. Please strain a point for him, if you do not have to strain it too far.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 28, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. N. COUCH.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1863. 4 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL COUCH:

What news now? What are the enemy firing at four miles from your works?

A. LINCOLN.

June 29, 1863.—LETTER TO W. KELLOGG.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 29, 1863.

HON. WILLIAM KELLOGG.

My dear Sir: I have received and read your pencil note. I think you do not know how embarrassing your request is. Few things are so troublesome to the government as the fierceness with which the profits in trading are sought. The temptation is so great that nearly everybody wishes to be in it; and, when in, the question of profit controls all, regardless of whether the cotton-seller is loyal or rebel, or whether he is paid in corn-meal or gunpowder. The officers of the army, in numerous instances, are believed to connive and share the profits, and thus the army itself is diverted from fighting the rebels to speculating in cotton, and steamboats and wagons in the pay of the government are set to gathering and carrying cotton, and the soldiers to loading cotton-trains and guarding them.

The matter deeply affects the Treasury and War Departments, and has been discussed again and again in the cabinet. What can and what cannot be done has for the time been settled, and it

seems to me I cannot safely break over it. I know it is thought that one case is not much, but how can I favor one and deny another? One case cannot be kept a secret. The authority given would be utterly ineffectual until it is shown, and when shown, everybody knows of it.

The administration would do for you as much as for any other man; and I personally would do some more than for most others; but really I cannot involve myself and the government as this would do. Yours as ever, A. LINCOLN.

June 29, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL R. H. MILROY.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MILROY.

My dear Sir: Your letters to Mr. Blair and to myself are handed to me by him. I have never doubted your courage and devotion to the cause. But you have just lost a division, and, *prima facie*, the fault is upon you; and while that remains unchanged, for me to put you in command again is to justly subject me to the charge of having put you there on purpose to have you lose another. If I knew facts sufficient to satisfy me that you were not in fault or error, the case would be different; but the facts I do know, while they are not at all conclusive (and I hope they may never prove so), tend the other way.

First, I have scarcely seen anything from you at any time that did not contain imputations against your superiors, and a chafing against acting the part they had assigned you. You have constantly urged the idea that you were persecuted because you did not come from West Point, and you repeat it in these letters. This, my dear general, is, I fear, the rock on which you have split.

In the Winchester case you were under General Schenck, and he under General Halleck. I know by General Halleck's order-book that he, on the 11th of June, advised General Schenck to call you in from Winchester to Harper's Ferry; and I have been told, but do not know, that General Schenck gave you the order accordingly on the same day; and I have been told, but do not know, that on receiving it, instead of obeying it, you sent by mail a written protest against obeying it, which did not reach him until you were actually beleaguered at Winchester.

I say I do not know this. You hate West Point generally and General Halleck particularly; but I do know that it is not his fault that you were at Winchester on the 13th, 14th, and morning of the 15th—the days of your disaster. If General Schenck gave the order on the 11th, as General Halleck advised, it was an easy matter for you to have been off at least on the 12th. The case is inevitably between General Schenck and you.

Neither General Halleck nor any one else, as far as I know, required you to stay and fight 60,000 with 6000, as you insinuate.

I know General Halleck, through General Schenck, required you to get away, and that in abundant time for you to have done it.

General Schenck is not a West-Pointer, and has no prejudice against you on that score. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 29, 1863.—LETTER TO M. BIRCHARD AND OTHERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1863.

MESSRS. M. BIRCHARD, DAVID A. HOUK, GEORGE BLISS, T. W. BARTLEY, W. J. GORDON, JOHN O'NEILL, C. A. WHITE, W. E. FINCK, ALEXANDER LONG, J. W. WHITE, GEORGE H. PENDLETON, GEORGE L. CONVERSE, WARREN P. NOBLE, JAMES R. MORRIS, W. A. HUTCHINS, ABNER L. BACKUS, J. F. MCKINNEY, F. C. LE BLOND, LOUIS SCHAEFER.

Gentlemen: The resolutions of the Ohio Democratic State Convention, which you present me, together with your introductory and closing remarks, being in position and argument mainly the same as the resolutions of the Democratic meeting at Albany, New York, I refer you to my response to the latter as meeting most of the points in the former.

This response you evidently used in preparing your remarks, and I desire no more than that it be used with accuracy. In a single reading of your remarks, I only discovered one inaccuracy in matter which I suppose you took from that paper. It is where you say: "The undersigned are unable to agree with you in the opinion you have expressed that the Constitution is different in time of insurrection or invasion from what it is in time of peace and public security."

A recurrence to the paper will show you that I have not expressed the opinion you suppose. I expressed the opinion that the Constitution is different in its application in cases of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety, from what it is in times of profound peace and public security; and this opinion I adhere to, simply because, by the Constitution itself, things may be done in the one case which may not be done in the other.

I dislike to waste a word on a merely personal point, but I must respectfully assure you that you will find yourselves at fault should you ever seek for evidence to prove your assumption that I "opposed, in discussions before the people, the policy of the Mexican war."

You say: "Expunge from the Constitution this limitation upon the power of Congress to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and yet the other guarantees of personal liberty would remain unchanged." Doubtless, if this clause of the Constitution, improperly called, as I think, a limitation upon the power of Congress, were expunged, the other guarantees would remain the same; but the question is not how those guarantees would stand with that clause out of the Constitution, but how they stand with that clause remaining in it, in case of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety.

If the liberty could be indulged of expunging that clause, letter and spirit, I really think the constitutional argument would be with you.

My general view on this question was stated in the Albany response, and hence I do not state it now. I only add that, as seems to me, the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* is the great means through which the guarantees of personal liberty are conserved and made available in the last resort; and corroborative of this view is the fact that Mr. Vallandigham, in the very case in question, under the advice of able lawyers, saw not where else to go but to the *habeas corpus*. But by the Constitution the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* itself may be suspended when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

You ask, in substance, whether I really claim that I may override all the guaranteed rights of individuals, on the plea of conserving the public safety—when I may choose to say the public safety requires it. This question, divested of the phraseology calculated to represent me as struggling for an arbitrary personal prerogative, is either simply a question who shall decide, or an affirmation that nobody shall decide, what the public safety does require in cases of rebellion or invasion.

The Constitution contemplates the question as likely to occur for decision, but it does not expressly declare who is to decide it. By necessary implication, when rebellion or invasion comes, the decision is to be made from time to time; and I think the man whom, for the time, the people have, under the Constitution, made the commander-in-chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands to be dealt with by all the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution.

The earnestness with which you insist that persons can only, in times of rebellion, be lawfully dealt with in accordance with the rules for criminal trials and punishments in times of peace, induces me to add a word to what I said on that point in the Albany response.

You claim that men may, if they choose, embarrass those whose duty it is to combat a giant rebellion, and then be dealt with in turn, only as if there were no rebellion. The Constitution itself rejects this view. The military arrests and detentions which have been made, including those of Mr. Vallandigham, which are not different in principle from the others, have been for prevention, and not for punishment—as injunctions to stay injury, as proceedings to keep the peace; and hence, like proceedings in such cases and for like reasons, they have not been accompanied with indictments, or trials by juries, nor in a single case by any punishment whatever, beyond what is purely incidental to the prevention. The original sentence of imprisonment in Mr. Vallandigham's case was to prevent injury to the military service only, and the modification of it was made as a less disagreeable mode to him of securing the same prevention.

I am unable to perceive an insult to Ohio in the case of Mr. Vallandigham. Quite surely nothing of the sort was or is intended. I was wholly unaware that Mr. Vallandigham was, at the time of his arrest, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor until so informed by your reading to me the resolutions of the convention. I am grateful to the State of Ohio for many things, especially for the brave soldiers and officers she has given in the present national trial to the armies of the Union.

You claim, as I understand, that according to my own position in the Albany response, Mr. Vallandigham should be released; and this because, as you claim, he has not damaged the military service by discouraging enlistments, encouraging desertions, or otherwise; and that if he had, he should have been turned over to the civil authorities under the recent acts of Congress. I certainly do not know that Mr. Vallandigham has specifically and by direct language advised against enlistments and in favor of desertion and resistance to drafting.

We all know that combinations, armed in some instances, to resist the arrest of deserters began several months ago; that more recently the like has appeared in resistance to the enrolment preparatory to a draft; and that quite a number of assassinations have occurred from the same animus. These had to be met by military force, and this again has led to bloodshed and death. And now, under a sense of responsibility more weighty and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hindrance of the military, including maiming and murder, is due to the course in which Mr. Vallandigham has been engaged in a greater degree than to any other cause; and it is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other one man.

These things have been notorious, known to all, and of course known to Mr. Vallandigham. Perhaps I would not be wrong to say they originated with his special friends and adherents. With perfect knowledge of them, he has frequently if not constantly made speeches in Congress and before popular assemblies; and if it can be shown that, with these things staring him in the face, he has ever uttered a word of rebuke or counsel against them, it will be a fact greatly in his favor with me, and one of which as yet I am totally ignorant. When it is known that the whole burden of his speeches has been to stir up men against the prosecution of the war, and that in the midst of resistance to it he has not been known in any instance to counsel against such resistance, it is next to impossible to repel the inference that he has counseled directly in favor of it.

With all this before their eyes, the convention you represent have nominated Mr. Vallandigham for governor of Ohio, and both they and you have declared the purpose to sustain the National Union by all constitutional means. But of course they and you in common reserve to yourselves to decide what are constitutional means; and, unlike the Albany meeting, you omit to state or intimate that in your opinion an army is a constitutional means of saving the Union against a rebellion, or even to intimate that you are conscious of an existing rebellion being in progress with the avowed object of de-

stroying that very Union. At the same time your nominee for governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like, because it teaches those who incline to desert and to escape the draft to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so.

After a short personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the committee, I cannot say I think you desire this effect to follow your attitude; but I assure you that both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope, and by consequence a real strength to the enemy. If it is a false hope and one which you would willingly dispel, I will make the way exceedingly easy.

I send you duplicates of this letter in order that you, or a majority of you, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them and return it thus indorsed to me with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions and to nothing else:

1. That there is now a rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the National Union; and that, in your opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion;

2. That no one of you will do anything which, in his own judgment, will tend to hinder the increase, or favor the decrease, or lessen the efficiency of the army or navy while engaged in the effort to suppress that rebellion; and

3. That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers, and seamen of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided for and supported.

And with the further understanding that upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publication shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr. Vallandigham.

It will not escape observation that I consent to the release of Mr. Vallandigham upon terms not embracing any pledge from him or from others as to what he will or will not do. I do this because he is not present to speak for himself, or to authorize others to speak for him; and because I should expect that on his returning he would not put himself practically in antagonism with the position of his friends. But I do it chiefly because I thereby prevail on other influential gentlemen of Ohio to so define their position as to be of immense value to the army—thus more than compensating for the consequences of any mistake in allowing Mr. Vallandigham to return; so that, on the whole, the public safety will not have suffered by it. Still, in regard to Mr. Vallandigham and all others, I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public safety may seem to require.

I have the honor to be respectfully yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

June 30, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL D. HUNTER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 30, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER.

My dear General: I have just received your letter of the 25th of June.

I assure you, and you may feel authorized in stating, that the recent change of commanders in the Department of the South was made for no reasons which convey any imputation upon your known energy, efficiency, and patriotism; but for causes which seemed sufficient, while they were in no degree incompatible with the respect and esteem in which I have always held you as a man and an officer.

I cannot, by giving my consent to a publication of whose details I know nothing, assume the responsibility of whatever you may write. In this matter your own sense of military propriety must be your guide, and the regulations of the service your rule of conduct.

I am very truly your friend, A. LINCOLN.

July 4, 1863.—DRAFT OF TELEGRAM TO REAR-ADMIRAL LEE. (NOT SENT.)

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 4, 1863.

REAR-ADMIRAL S. P. LEE:

Your despatch transmitting a note from Mr. Alexander H. Stephens has been received.

You will not permit Mr. Stephens to proceed to Washington or to pass the blockade. He does not make known the subjects to which the communication in writing from Mr. Davis relates, which he bears and seeks to deliver in person to the President, and upon which he desires to confer. Those subjects can only be military or not military, or partly both. Whatever may be military will be readily received if offered through the well-understood military channel. Of course nothing else will be received by the President when offered, as in this case, in terms assuming the independence of the so-called Confederate States; and anything will be received, and carefully considered by him, when offered by any influential person or persons in terms not assuming the independence of the so-called Confederate States.

July 4, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO REAR-ADMIRAL LEE.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 4, 1863.

REAR-ADMIRAL S. P. LEE:

The request of A. H. Stephens is inadmissible. The customary agents and channels are adequate for all needful communication and conference between the United States forces and the insurgents.

A. LINCOLN.

July 4, 1863.—ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEWS FROM GETTYSBURG.

WASHINGTON, July 4. 10.30 A. M.

The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac, up to 10 P. M. of the 3d, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor, to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this he especially desires that on this day He whose will, not ours, should ever be done be everywhere remembered and reverenced with profoundest gratitude.

A. LINCOLN.

July 4, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1863. 9.20 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Maryland:

Your despatches about negro regiments are not uninteresting or unnoticed by us, but we have not been quite ready to respond. You will have an answer to-morrow.

A. LINCOLN.

July 6, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

SOLDIERS' HOME, WASHINGTON, July 6, 1863. 7 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

I left the telegraph office a good deal dissatisfied. You know I did not like the phrase—in Orders, No. 68, I believe—"Drive the invaders from our soil." Since that, I see a despatch from General French, saying the enemy is crossing his wounded over the river in flats, without saying why he does not stop it, or even intimating a thought that it ought to be stopped. Still later, another despatch from General Pleasonton, by direction of General Meade, to General French, stating that the main army is halted because it is believed the rebels are concentrating "on the road toward Hagerstown, beyond Fairfield," and is not to move until it is ascertained that the rebels intend to evacuate Cumberland Valley.

These things all appear to me to be connected with a purpose to cover Baltimore and Washington, and to get the enemy across the river again without a further collision, and they do not appear connected with a purpose to prevent his crossing and to destroy him. I do fear the former purpose is acted upon and the latter is rejected.

If you are satisfied the latter purpose is entertained, and is judiciously pursued, I am content. If you are not so satisfied, please look to it. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 7, 1863.—RESPONSE TO A SERENADE.

Fellow-citizens: I am very glad indeed to see you to-night, and yet I will not say I thank you for this call; but I do most sincerely thank Almighty God for the occasion on which you have called. How long ago is it?—eighty-odd years since, on the Fourth of July, for the first time in the history of the world, a nation, by its representatives, assembled and declared, as a self-evident truth, "that all men are created equal." That was the birthday of the United States of America. Since then the Fourth of July has had several very peculiar recognitions. The two men most distinguished in the framing and support of the Declaration were Thomas Jefferson and John Adams—the one having penned it, and the other sustained it the most forcibly in debate—the only two of the fifty-five who signed it that were elected Presidents of the United States. Precisely fifty years after they put their hands to the paper, it pleased Almighty God to take both from this stage of action. This was indeed an extraordinary and remarkable event in our history. Another President, five years after, was called from this stage of existence on the same day and month of the year; and now on this last Fourth of July just passed, when we have a gigantic rebellion, at the bottom of which is an effort to overthrow the principle that all men are created equal, we have the surrender of a most powerful position and army on that very day. And not only so, but in a succession of battles in Pennsylvania, near to us, through three days, so rapidly fought that they might be called one great battle, on the first, second, and third of the month of July; and on the fourth the cohorts of those who opposed the Declaration that all men are created equal "turned tail" and run. Gentlemen, this is a glorious theme, and the occasion for a speech, but I am not prepared to make one worthy of the occasion. I would like to speak in terms of praise due to the many brave officers and soldiers who have fought in the cause of the Union and liberties of their country from the beginning of the war. These are trying occasions, not only in success, but for the want of success. I dislike to mention the name of one single officer, lest I might do wrong to those I might forget. Recent events bring up glorious names, and particularly prominent ones; but these I will not mention. Having said this much, I will now take the music.

July 7, 1863.—TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 7, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of the Potomac:

I have received from the President the following note, which I respectfully communicate:

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

We have certain information that Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant on the Fourth of July. Now, if General Meade can complete his work

so gloriously prosecuted thus far, by the literal or substantial destruction of Lee's army, the rebellion will be over. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

July 8, 1863.—TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Frederick, Maryland:

There is reliable information that the enemy is crossing at Williamsport. The opportunity to attack his divided forces should not be lost. The President is urgent and anxious that your army should move against him by forced marches.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

July 8, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL THOMAS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, July 8, 1863. 12.30 P. M.

GENERAL LORENZO THOMAS, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

Your despatch of this morning to the Secretary of War is before me. The forces you speak of will be of no imaginable service if they cannot go forward with a little more expedition. Lee is now passing the Potomac faster than the forces you mention are passing Carlisle. Forces now beyond Carlisle to be joined by regiments still at Harrisburg, and the united force again to join Pierce somewhere, and the whole to move down the Cumberland Valley, will, in my unprofessional opinion, be quite as likely to capture the "man in the moon" as any part of Lee's army.

A. LINCOLN.

July 11, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO J. K. DUBOIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11, 1863. 9 A. M.

HON. J. K. DUBOIS, Springfield, Ill.:

It is certain that after three days' fighting at Gettysburg, Lee withdrew and made for the Potomac; that he found the river so swollen as to prevent his crossing; that he is still this side, near Hagerstown and Williamsport, preparing to defend himself; and that Meade is close upon him, and preparing to attack him, heavy skirmishing having occurred nearly all day yesterday.

I am more than satisfied with what has happened north of the Potomac so far, and am anxious and hopeful for what is to come.

A. LINCOLN.

July 13, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 13, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT.

My dear General: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 13, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO H. T. BLOW.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, July 13, 1863.

HON. H. T. BLOW, St. Louis, Mo.:

I saw your despatch to the Secretary of War. The publication of a letter without the leave of the writer or the receiver I think cannot be justified, but in this case I do not think it of sufficient consequence to justify an arrest; and again, the arrest being, through a parole, merely nominal, does not deserve the importance sought to be attached to it. Cannot this small matter be dropped on both sides without further difficulty?

A. LINCOLN.

July 13, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, July 13, 1863.

GENERAL SCHOFIELD, St. Louis, Mo.:

I regret to learn of the arrest of the "Democrat" editor. I fear this loses you the middle position I desired you to occupy. I have not learned which of the two letters I wrote you it was that the "Democrat" published, but I care very little for the publication of any letter I have written. Please spare me the trouble this is likely to bring.

A. LINCOLN.

July 14, 1863.—DRAFT OF LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

I have just seen your despatch to General Halleck, asking to be relieved of your command because of a supposed censure of mine.

I am very, very grateful to you for the magnificent success you gave the cause of the country at Gettysburg; and I am sorry now to be the author of the slightest pain to you. But I was in such deep distress myself that I could not restrain some expression of it. I have been oppressed nearly ever since the battles at Gettysburg by what appeared to be evidences that yourself and General Couch and General Smith were not seeking a collision with the enemy, but were trying to get him across the river without another battle. What these evidences were, if you please, I hope to tell you at some time when we shall both feel better. The case, summarily stated, is this: You fought and beat the enemy at Gettysburg, and, of course, to say the least, his loss was as great as yours. He retreated, and you did not, as it seemed to me, pressingly pursue him; but a flood in the river detained him till, by slow degrees, you were again upon him. You had at least twenty thousand veteran troops directly with you, and as many more raw ones within supporting distance, all in addition to those who fought with you at Gettysburg, while it was not possible that he had received a single recruit, and yet you stood and let the flood run down, bridges be built, and the enemy move away at his leisure without attacking him. And Couch and Smith! The latter left Carlisle in time, upon all ordinary calculation, to have aided you in the last battle at Gettysburg, but he did not arrive. At the end of more than ten days, I believe twelve, under constant urging, he reached Hagerstown from Carlisle, which is not an inch over fifty-five miles, if so much, and Couch's movement was very little different.

Again, my dear general, I do not believe you appreciate the magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp, and to have closed upon him would, in connection with our other late successes, have ended the war. As it is, the war will be prolonged indefinitely. If you could not safely attack Lee last Monday, how can you possibly do so south of the river, when you can take with you very few more than two thirds of the force you then had in hand? It would be unreasonable to expect, and I do not expect [that], you can now effect much. Your golden opportunity is gone, and I am distressed immeasurably because of it.

I beg you will not consider this a prosecution or persecution of yourself. As you had learned that I was dissatisfied, I have thought it best to kindly tell you why.

[*Indorsement on the Envelop.*]

To General Meade, never sent or signed.

July 14, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 14, 1863. 1.40 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. Jaquess is a very worthy gentleman, but I can have nothing to do, directly, or indirectly with the matter he has in view.

A. LINCOLN.

July 15, 1863.—PROCLAMATION FOR THANKSGIVING.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplications and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the army and navy of the United States victories on land and on the sea so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the union of these States will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity permanently restored. But these victories have been accorded not without sacrifices of life, limb, health, and liberty, incurred by brave, loyal, and patriotic citizens. Domestic affliction in every part of the country follows in the train of these fearful bereavements. It is meet and right to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father, and the power of his hand equally in these triumphs and in these sorrows.

Now, therefore, be it known that I do set apart Thursday, the 6th day of August next, to be observed as a day for national thanksgiving, praise, and prayer, and I invite the people of the United States to assemble on that occasion in their customary places of worship, and, in the forms approved by their own consciences, render the homage due to the Divine Majesty for the wonderful things he has done in the nation's behalf, and invoke the influence of his Holy Spirit to subdue the anger which has produced and so long sustained a needless and cruel rebellion, to change the hearts of the insurgents, to guide the counsels of the government with wisdom adequate to so great a national emergency, and to visit with tender care and consolation throughout the length and breadth of our land all those who, through the vicissitudes of marches, voyages, battles, and sieges have been brought to suffer in mind, body, or estate, and finally to lead the whole nation through the paths of repentance and submission to the Divine Will back to the perfect enjoyment of union and fraternal peace.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

[L. S.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

July 15, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO J. O. BROADHEAD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 15, 1863. 8 A. M.

J. O. BROADHEAD, St. Louis, Mo.:

The effect on political position of McKee's arrest will not be relieved any by its not having been made with that purpose.

A. LINCOLN.

July 17, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 17, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: It is proper on principle that the governor of Kansas should stand on the same ground as other loyal governors, in giving original commissions and in filling vacancies for troops raised in his State; and I wish him to be so placed at once, unless you know some substantial reason to the contrary.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 17, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL LANE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 17, 1863.

HON. J. H. LANE.

My dear Sir: Governor Carney has not asked to [have] General Blunt removed, or interfered with, in his military operations. He has asked that he, the governor, be allowed to commission officers for troops raised in Kansas, as other governors of loyal States do; and I think he is right in this.

He has asked that General Blunt shall not take persons charged with civil crimes out of the hands of the courts and turn them over to mobs to be hung; and I think he is right in this also. He has asked that General Ewing's department be extended to include all Kansas; and I have not determined whether this is right or not.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 20, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR PARKER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 20, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOEL PARKER, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

Dear Sir: Yours of the fifteenth has been received, and considered by the Secretary of War and myself. I was pained to be informed this morning by the Provost-Marshal-General that New Jersey is now behind twelve thousand, irrespective of the draft. I did not have time to ascertain by what rules this was made out; and I shall be very glad if it shall, by any means, prove to be incorrect. He also tells me that eight thousand will be about the quota of New Jersey on the first draft; and the Secretary of War says the first draft in that State would not be made for some time in any event. As every man obtained otherwise lessens the draft so much, and this may supersede it altogether, I hope you will push forward your volunteer regiments as fast as possible.

It is a very delicate matter to postpone the draft in one State, because of the argument it furnishes others to have postponement also. If we could have a reason in one case which would be good if presented in all cases, we could act upon it.

I will thank you, therefore, to inform me, if you can, by what day,

at the earliest, you can promise to have ready to be mustered into the United States service the eight thousand men.

If you can make a reliable promise (I mean one which you can rely on yourself) of this sort, it will be of great value, if the day is not too remote.

I beg you to be assured, I wish to avoid the difficulties you dread as much as yourself. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

July 20, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL SCHOFIELD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD.

My dear General: I have received and read your letter of the 14th of July.

I think the suggestion you make, of discontinuing proceedings against Mr. McKee, a very proper one. While I admit that there is an apparent impropriety in the publication of the letter mentioned, without my consent or yours, it is still a case where no evil could result, and which I am entirely willing to overlook.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 21, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 21, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I desire that a renewed and vigorous effort be made to raise colored forces along the shores of the Mississippi. Please consult the general-in-chief, and if it is perceived that any acceleration of the matter can be effected, let it be done. I think the evidence is nearly conclusive that General Thomas is one of the best (if not the very best) instruments for this service.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 21, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR CARNEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 21, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR THOMAS CARNEY, Topeka, Kansas:

Yours dated Pittsburg, the 19th instant, is received.

The day after you were with me, I wrote a note to the Secretary of War, asking him to place you on the same ground with all other governors of loyal States, as to the appointment of military officers. In reply to this, he verbally told me, when I next met him, that he had never placed you on any other ground—that the forces in regard to which you and General Blunt have a controversy were raised on special authority from the War Department, given before you were governor, and that the officers were commissioned by him (the Secretary of War) according to the original authority; and

that he never had required you to commission officers nominated by General Blunt.

The like of this has been done in some other States, as I remember.

As to leaving no part of Kansas in Blunt's department, the thing should not be hastily done. He, with his command, is now in the field south of Kansas; and while I do not know how much what you desire might interfere with his supplies, it is very certain that he cannot now be interfering with you.

It is my purpose to take care that he shall not any more take persons charged with civil crimes out of the custody of the courts, and turn them over to mobs to be hanged.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

July 21, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL O. O. HOWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 21, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL HOWARD:

Your letter of the 18th is received. I was deeply mortified by the escape of Lee across the Potomac, because the substantial destruction of his army would have ended the war, and because I believed such destruction was perfectly easy—believed that General Meade and his noble army had expended all the skill, and toil, and blood, up to the ripe harvest, and then let the crop go to waste.

Perhaps my mortification was heightened because I had always believed—making my belief a hobby, possibly—that the main rebel army going north of the Potomac could never return, if well attended to; and because I was so greatly flattered in this belief by the operations at Gettysburg. A few days having passed, I am now profoundly grateful for what was done, without criticism for what was not done.

General Meade has my confidence, as a brave and skilful officer and a true man. Yours very truly.

A. LINCOLN.

July 21, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL HOVEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 21, 1863.

GENERAL CHARLES E. HOVEY.

Dear Sir: I distinctly say that I will nominate you as a brigadier-general of volunteers, if you will furnish me with Major-General William T. Sherman's written request to do so.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 22, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 22, 1863. 10.45 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHOFIELD, St. Louis, Mo.:

The following despatch has been placed in my hands. Please look to the subject of it.

LEXINGTON, Mo., July 21, 1863.

HON. S. C. POMEROY:

Under Orders No. 63, the sheriff is arresting slaves of rebels inside our lines, and returning them in great numbers. Can he do it? Answer.

GOULD.

A. LINCOLN.

July 23, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR GAMBLE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 23, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY, H. R. GAMBLE.

Sir: My private secretary has just brought me a letter, saying it is a very "cross" one from you, about mine to General Schofield, recently published in the "Democrat." As I am trying to preserve my own temper by avoiding irritants so far as practicable, I decline to read the cross letter. I think fit to say, however, that when I wrote the letter to General Schofield, I was totally unconscious of any malice or disrespect toward you, or of using any expression which should offend you if seen by you. I have not seen the document in the "Democrat," and therefore cannot say whether it is a correct copy. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

July 23, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 23, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK.

My dear Sir: Returning to the Executive Room yesterday, I was mortified to find you were gone, leaving no word of explanation. I went down-stairs, as I understood, on a perfect understanding with you that you would remain till my return. I got this impression distinctly from "Edward," whom I believe you know. Possibly I misunderstood him. I had been very unwell in the morning, and had scarcely tasted food during the day, till the time you saw me go down.

I beg you will not believe I have treated you with intentional discourtesy. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

July 24, 1863.—LETTER TO POSTMASTER-GENERAL BLAIR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 24, 1863.

HON. POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

Sir: Yesterday little indorsements of mine went to you in two cases of postmasterships sought for widows whose husbands have fallen in the battles of this war. These cases occurring on the same day brought me to reflect more attentively than I had before done,

as to what is fairly due from us here in the dispensing of patronage toward the men who, by fighting our battles, bear the chief burden of saving our country. My conclusion is that, other claims and qualifications being equal, they have the better right; and this is especially applicable to the disabled soldier and the deceased soldier's family. Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

July 24, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 24, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

What, if anything, further do you hear from John [H.] Morgan?

A. LINCOLN.

July 25, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR PARKER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 25, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JOEL PARKER.

Sir: Yours of the 21st is received, and I have taken time and considered and discussed the subject with the Secretary of War and Provost-Marshal-General, in order, if possible, to make you a more favorable answer than I finally find myself able to do.

It is a vital point with us to not have a special stipulation with the governor of any one State, because it would breed trouble in many, if not all, other States; and my idea was when I wrote you, as it still is, to get a point of time to which we could wait, on the reason that we were not ready ourselves to proceed, and which might enable you to raise the quota of your State, in whole, or in large part, without the draft. The points of time you fix are much farther off than I had hoped. We might have got along in the way I have indicated for twenty, or possibly thirty, days. As it stands, the best I can say is that every volunteer you will present us within thirty days from this date, fit and ready to be mustered into the United States service, on the usual terms, shall be *pro tanto* an abatement of your quota of the draft. That quota I can now state at eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-three (8783). No draft from New Jersey, other than for the above quota, will be made before an additional draft, common to [all] the States, shall be required; and I may add that if we get well through with this draft, I entertain a strong hope that any further one may never be needed. This expression of hope, however, must not be construed into a promise.

As to conducting the draft by townships, I find it would require such a waste of labor already done, and such an additional amount of it, and such a loss of time, as to make it, I fear, inadmissible.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

P. S. Since writing the above, getting additional information, I am enabled to say that the draft may be made in subdistricts, as

the enrolment has been made, or is in process of making. This will amount practically to drafting by townships, as the enrolment sub-districts are generally about the extent of townships.

A. L.

July 27, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

Will the Secretary of War please glance over these papers and inform me on what ground Dr. Phillips's nomination was withheld from the Senate, and what objection there is, if any, to his reappointment?

July 27, 1863. A. LINCOLN.

July 27, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 27, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

I have not thrown General Hooker away; and therefore I would like to know whether it would be agreeable to you, all things considered, for him to take a corps under you, if he himself is willing to do so. Write me in perfect freedom, with the assurance that I will not subject you to any embarrassment by making your letter or its contents known to any one. I wish to know your wishes before I decide whether to break the subject to him. Do not lean a hair's breadth against your own feelings, or your judgment of the public service, on the idea of gratifying me.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, July 27, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Let me explain. In General Grant's first despatch after the fall of Vicksburg, he said, among other things, he would send the Ninth Corps to you. Thinking it would be pleasant to you, I asked the Secretary of War to telegraph you the news. For some reasons never mentioned to us by General Grant, they have not been sent, though we have seen outside intimations that they took part in the expedition against Jackson. General Grant is a copious worker and fighter, but a very meager writer or telegrapher. No doubt he changed his purpose in regard to the Ninth Corps for some sufficient reason, but has forgotten to notify us of it.

A. LINCOLN.

July 28, 1863.—Letter to Secretary Stanton.

Executive Mansion, Washington, July 28, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: A young son of Senator Brown of Mississippi, not yet twenty, as I understand, was wounded and made a prisoner at Gettysburg. His mother is sister of Mrs. P. R. Fendall, of this city. Mr. Fendall, on behalf of himself and family, asks that he and they may have charge of the boy to cure him up, being responsible for his person and good behavior. Would it not be rather a grateful and graceful thing to let them have him?

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

July 29, 1863.—Letter to General H. W. Halleck.

Executive Mansion, July 29, 1863.

Major-General Halleck:

Seeing General Meade's despatch of yesterday to yourself causes me to fear that he supposes the government here is demanding of him to bring on a general engagement with Lee as soon as possible. I am claiming no such thing of him. In fact, my judgment is against it; which judgment, of course, I will yield if yours and his are the contrary. If he could not safely engage Lee at Williamsport, it seems absurd to suppose he can safely engage him now when he has scarcely more than two thirds of the force he had at Williamsport, while it must be that Lee has been reinforced. True, I desired General Meade to pursue Lee across the Potomac, hoping, as has proved true, that he would thereby clear the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and get some advantages by harassing him on his retreat. These being past, I am unwilling he should now get into a general engagement on the impression that we here are pressing him, and I shall be glad for you to so inform him, unless your own judgment is against it. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief.

July 29, 1863.—Letter to Secretary Stanton.

Executive Mansion, Washington, July 29, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Can we not renew the effort to organize a force to go to Western Texas?

Please consult with the general-in-chief on the subject.

If the governor of New Jersey shall furnish any new regiments, might not they be put into such an expedition? Please think of it.

I believe no local object is now more desirable.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

July 30, 1863.—ORDER OF RETALIATION.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 30, 1863.

It is the duty of every government to give protection to its citizens of whatever class, color, or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The law of nations, and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized powers, permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person on account of his color, and for no offense against the laws of war, is a relapse into barbarism and a crime against the civilization of the age.

The government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession.

It is therefore ordered that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed; and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 30, 1863.—LETTER TO F. P. BLAIR, SR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 30, 1863.

HON. F. P. BLAIR.

My dear Sir: Yours of to-day, with inclosure, is received. Yesterday I commenced trying to get up an expedition for Texas.

I shall do the best I can. Meantime I would like to know who is the great man Alexander, that talks so oracularly about "if the President keeps his word" and Banks not having "capacity to run an omnibus on Broadway"? How has this Alexander's immense light been obscured hitherto?

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 31, 1863.—LETTER TO —— MOULTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 31, 1863.

My dear Sir: There has been a good deal of complaint against you by your superior officers of the Provost-Marshal-General's Department, and your removal has been strongly urged on the ground of "persistent disobedience of orders and neglect of duty." Firmly convinced, as I am, of the patriotism of your motives, I am unwilling to do anything in your case which may seem unnecessarily harsh or at variance with the feelings of personal respect and esteem with which I have always regarded you. I consider your services in your district valuable, and should be sorry to lose them. It is unnecessary for me to state, however, that when differences of opinion arise between officers of the government, the ranking officer must be obeyed.

You of course recognize as clearly as I do the importance of this rule. I hope you will conclude to go on in your present position under the regulations of the department. I wish you would write to me. I am very truly your friend and obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

July 31, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 31, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL HURLBUT:

Your letter by Mr. Dana was duly received. I now learn that your resignation has reached the War Department. I also learn that an active command has been assigned you by General Grant. The Secretary of War and General Halleck are very partial to you, as you know I also am. We all wish you to reconsider the question of resigning; not that we would wish to retain you greatly against your wish and interest, but that your decision may be at least a very well-considered one.

I understand that Senator [William K.] Sebastian, of Arkansas, thinks of offering to resume his place in the Senate. Of course the Senate, and not I, would decide whether to admit or reject him. Still I should feel great interest in the question. It may be so presented as to be one of the very greatest national importance; and it may be otherwise so presented as to be of no more than temporary personal consequence to him.

The emancipation proclamation applies to Arkansas. I think it is valid in law, and will be so held by the courts. I think I shall not retract or repudiate it. Those who shall have tasted actual freedom I believe can never be slaves or quasi-slaves again. For the rest, I believe some plan substantially being gradual emancipation would be better for both white and black. The Missouri plan, recently adopted, I do not object to on account of the time for ending the institution; but I am sorry the beginning should have been postponed for seven years, leaving all that time to agitate for the repeal of the whole thing. It should begin at once, giving at least the new-born a vested interest in freedom which could not be taken away. If Senator Sebastian could come with something of this sort from Arkansas, I, at least, should take great interest in his case; and I believe a single individual will have scarcely done the world so great a service. See him, if you can, and read this to him; but charge him to not make it public for the present. Write me again.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 1, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

ALBANY, August 1, 1863. Rec'd 2 P. M.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

I ask that the draft be suspended in this State until I can send you a communication I am preparing.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 1, 1863. 4 P. M.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR SEYMOUR, Albany, New York:

By what day may I expect your communication to reach me? Are you anxious about any part except the city and vicinity?

A. LINCOLN.

August 5, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 5, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL BANKS:

Being a poor correspondent is the only apology I offer for not having sooner tendered my thanks for your very successful and very valuable military operations this year. The final stroke in opening the Mississippi never should, and I think never will, be forgotten.

Recent events in Mexico, I think, render early action in Texas more important than ever. I expect, however, the general-in-chief will address you more fully upon this subject.

Governor Boutwell read me to-day that part of your letter to him which relates to Louisiana affairs. While I very well know what I would be glad for Louisiana to do, it is quite a different thing for me to assume direction of the matter. I would be glad for her to make a new constitution recognizing the emancipation proclamation, and adopting emancipation in those parts of the State to which the proclamation does not apply. And while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of the old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included in the plan. After all, the power or element of "contract" may be sufficient for this probationary period; and, by its simplicity and flexibility, may be the better.

As an anti-slavery man, I have a motive to desire emancipation which pro-slavery men do not have; but even they have strong enough reason to thus place themselves again under the shield of the Union; and to thus perpetually hedge against the recurrence of the scenes through which we are now passing.

Governor Shepley has informed me that Mr. Durant is now taking a registry, with a view to the election of a constitutional convention in Louisiana. This to me appears proper. If such convention were to ask my views, I could present little else than what I now say to you. I think the thing should be pushed forward, so that, if possible, its mature work may reach here by the meeting of Congress.

For my own part, I think I shall not, in any event, retract the emancipation proclamation; nor, as executive, ever return to slavery any person who is freed by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.

If Louisiana shall send members to Congress, their admission to seats will depend, as you know, upon the respective Houses, and not upon the President.

If these views can be of any advantage in giving shape and impetus to action there, I shall be glad for you to use them prudently for that object. Of course you will confer with intelligent and trusty citizens of the State, among whom I would suggest Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant; and to each of whom I now think I may send copies of this letter.

Still, it is perhaps better to not make the letter generally public.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

Copies sent to Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant, each indorsed as follows:

The within is a copy of a letter to General Banks.

Please observe my directions to him. Do not mention the paragraph about Mexico.

A. LINCOLN.

August 6, 1863.

August 7, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 7, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of New York:

Your communication of the third instant has been received and attentively considered.

I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New York, as you request, because, among other reasons, time is too important.

By the figures you send, which I presume are correct, the twelve districts represented fall into two classes of eight and four respectively. The disparity of the quotas for the draft in these two classes is certainly very striking, being the difference between an average of 2200 in one class, and 4864 in the other. Assuming that the districts are equal one to another in entire population, as required by the plan on which they were made, this disparity is such as to require attention. Much of it, however, I suppose will be accounted for by the fact that so many more persons fit for soldiers are in the city than are in the country, who have too recently arrived from other parts of the United States and from Europe to be either included in the census of 1860, or to have voted in 1862. Still, making due allowance for this, I am yet unwilling to stand upon it as an entirely sufficient explanation of the great disparity.

I shall direct the draft to proceed in all the districts, drawing, however, at first from each of the four districts, to wit: the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth, only 2200 being the average quota of the other class. After this drawing, these four districts, and also the seventeenth and twenty-ninth, shall be carefully reënrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process. Any deficiency which may appear by the new enrolment will be supplied by a special draft for that object, allowing due credit for volunteers who may be obtained from these districts respectively during the

interval. And at all points, so far as consistent with practical convenience, due credits will be given for volunteers; and your excellency shall be notified of the time fixed for commencing a draft in each district.

I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it, but I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers, already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched on our side, if we first waste time to re-experiment with the volunteer system already deemed by Congress, and palpably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be, inadequate, and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it, and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

August 8, 1863.—LETTER TO MRS. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 8, 1863.

My dear Wife: All as well as usual, and no particular trouble anyway. I put the money into the Treasury at five per cent., with the privilege of withdrawing it any time upon thirty days' notice. I suppose you are glad to learn this. Tell dear Tad poor "Nanny Goat" is lost, and Mrs. Cuthbert and I are in distress about it. The day you left, Nanny was found resting herself and chewing her little cud on the middle of Tad's bed; but now she 's gone! The gardener kept complaining that she destroyed the flowers, till it was concluded to bring her down to the White House. This was done, and the second day she had disappeared and has not been heard of since. This is the last we know of poor "Nanny."

The weather continues dry and excessively warm here. Nothing very important occurring. The election in Kentucky has gone very strongly right. Old Mr. Wickliffe got ugly, as you know: ran for governor, and is terribly beaten. Upon Mr. Crittenden's death, Brutus Clay, Cassius's brother, was put on the track for Congress, and is largely elected. Mr. Menzies, who, as we thought, behaved very badly last session of Congress, is largely beaten in the district opposite Cincinnati, by Green Clay Smith, Cassius Clay's nephew. But enough. Affectionately,

A. LINCOLN.

August 8, 1863.—Letter to General J. G. Foster.

Executive Mansion, Washington, August 8, 1863.

General Foster:

This will be handed you by Governor Peirpoint of Virginia. He goes, among other things, seeking to adjust a difficulty at Norfolk and Portsmouth. It seems there is a large number of families in Portsmouth who are destitute and whose natural supporters are in the rebel army or have been killed in it. These destitute families must live somehow, and it seems the city authorities on one side, and our military on the other, are in ruinous conflict about the mode of providing.

Governor Peirpoint is a good man, and if you will place him in conference and amicable relations with the military authority in the vicinity, I do not doubt that much good will come of it. Please do it. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

August 9, 1863.—Letter to J. M. Fleming and R. Morrow.

Executive Mansion, Washington, August 9, 1863.

Messrs. Jno. M. Fleming and R. Morrow.

Gentlemen: The petition of which you were the bearers has just been handed me. Your cards and notes had come to me on two or three successive days before; and I knew then, as well as I do now after reading the petition, what your mission was. I knew it was the same true and painful story which Governor Johnson, Mr. Maynard, Dr. Clements, and others have been telling me for more than two years. I also knew that meeting you could do no good, because I have all the while done, and shall continue to do, the best for you I could and can. I do as much for East Tennessee as I would or could if my own home and family were in Knoxville. The difficulties of getting a Union army into that region, and of keeping it there, are so apparent—so obvious—that none can fail to see them, unless it may be those who are driven mad and blind by their sufferings. Start by whatever route they may, their lines of supply are broken before they get half way. A small force sufficient to beat the enemy now there would be of no value, because the enemy would reinforce to meet them, until we should have to give back or accumulate so large a force as to be very difficult to supply, and as to ruin us entirely if a great disaster should befall it. I know you are too much distressed to be argued with, and therefore I do not attempt it at length. You know I am not indifferent to your troubles, else I should not, more than a year and a half ago, have made the effort I did to have a railroad built on purpose to relieve you. The Secretary of War, General Halleck, General Burnside, and General Rosecrans are all engaged now in an effort to relieve your section. But, remember, you will probably thwart them if you make this public. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

August 9, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 9, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL GRANT:

I see by a despatch of yours that you incline quite strongly toward an expedition against Mobile. This would appear tempting to me also, were it not that in view of recent events in Mexico I am greatly impressed with the importance of reëstablishing the national authority in Western Texas as soon as possible. I am not making an order, however; that I leave, for the present at least, to the general-in-chief.

A word upon another subject. General Thomas has gone again to the Mississippi Valley, with the view of raising colored troops. I have no reason to doubt that you are doing what you reasonably can upon the same subject. I believe it is a resource which if vigorously applied now will soon close the contest. It works doubly, weakening the enemy and strengthening us. We were not fully ripe for it, until the river was opened. Now, I think at least one hundred thousand can and ought to be rapidly organized along its shores, relieving all white troops to serve elsewhere. Mr. Dana understands you as believing that the emancipation proclamation has helped some in your military operations. I am very glad if this is so.

Did you receive a short letter from me dated the thirteenth of July? Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 10, 1863.—MEMORANDUM.

After the report mentioned was made, this case, including the report, was brought before me, and upon quite full hearing and consideration, my conclusion was that Mr. Sands is probably a rather disagreeable man, and that these charges made to get rid of him are frivolous. Such is my present impression.

A. LINCOLN.

August 10, 1863.

August 10, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 10, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL ROSECRANS:

Yours of the 1st was received two days ago. I think you must have inferred more than General Halleck has intended, as to any dissatisfaction of mine with you. I am sure you, as a reasonable man, would not have been wounded could you have heard all my words and seen all my thoughts in regard to you. I have not abated in my kind feeling for and confidence in you. I have seen

most of your despatches to General Halleck — probably all of them. After Grant invested Vicksburg I was very anxious lest Johnston should overwhelm him from the outside, and when it appeared certain that part of Bragg's force had gone and was going to Johnston, it did seem to me it was exactly the proper time for you to attack Bragg with what force he had left. In all kindness let me say it so seems to me yet. Finding from your despatches to General Halleck that your judgment was different, and being very anxious for Grant, I, on one occasion, told General Halleck I thought he should direct you to decide at once to immediately attack Bragg or to stand on the defensive and send part of your force to Grant. He replied he had already so directed in substance. Soon after, despatches from Grant abated my anxiety for him, and in proportion abated my anxiety about any movement of yours. When afterward, however, I saw a despatch of yours arguing that the right time for you to attack Bragg was not before, but would be after, the fall of Vicksburg, it impressed me very strangely, and I think I so stated to the Secretary of War and General Halleck. It seemed no other than the proposition that you could better fight Bragg when Johnston should be at liberty to return and assist him than you could before he could so return to his assistance.

Since Grant has been entirely relieved by the fall of Vicksburg, by which Johnston is also relieved, it has seemed to me that your chance for a stroke has been considerably diminished, and I have not been pressing you directly or indirectly. True, I am very anxious for East Tennessee to be occupied by us; but I see and appreciate the difficulties you mention. The question occurs, Can the thing be done at all? Does preparation advance at all? Do you not consume supplies as fast as you get them forward? Have you more animals to-day than you had at the battle of Stone's River? And yet have not more been furnished you since then than your entire present stock? I ask the same questions as to your mounted force.

Do not misunderstand: I am not casting blame upon you; I rather think by great exertion you can get to East Tennessee; but a very important question is, Can you stay there? I make no order in the case — that I leave to General Halleck and yourself.

And now be assured once more that I think of you in all kindness and confidence, and that I am not watching you with an evil eye.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 10, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 10, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: I have not heard of any charges being filed against General J. A. McClernand. Are there any? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 10, 1863.—LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 10, 1863.

Dear Madam: I thank you very cordially for the beautifully finished cushion received by your courtesy to-day. But, grateful as I am, it will be a greater pleasure to you to reflect that the brave soldiers who reap the benefit of your kindness and liberality are to-day more grateful still. I am yours very sincerely,

A. LINCOLN.

August 11, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 11, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of New York:

Yours of the 8th, with Judge-Advocate-General Waterbury's report, was received to-day.

Asking you to remember that I consider time as being very important, both to the general cause of the country and to the soldiers already in the field, I beg to remind you that I waited, at your request, from the 1st till the 6th inst., to receive your communication dated the 3d. In view of its great length, and the known time and apparent care taken in its preparation, I did not doubt that it contained your full case as you desired to present it. It contained figures for twelve districts, omitting the other nineteen, as I supposed, because you found nothing to complain of as to them. I answered accordingly.

In doing so I laid down the principle to which I purpose adhering, which is to proceed with the draft, at the same time employing infallible means to avoid any great wrongs. With the communication received to-day you send figures for twenty-eight districts including the twelve sent before, and still omitting three, from which I suppose the enrolments are not yet received. In looking over the fuller list of twenty-eight districts, I find that the quotas for sixteen of them are above 2000 and below 2700, while of the rest, six are above 2700 and six are below 2000. Applying the principle to these new facts, the fifth and seventh districts must be added to the four in which the quotas have already been reduced to 2200 for the first draft; and with these, four others must be added to those to be reënroled. The corrected case will then stand: the quotas of the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth districts fixed at 2200 for the first draft. The Provost-Marshal-General informs me that the drawing is already completed in [the] sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, twenty-second, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth districts. In the others, except the three outstanding, the drawing will be made upon the quotas as now fixed. After the first draft, the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, sixteenth, seventeenth, twenty-first, twenty-fifth, twenty-ninth, and thrity-first districts will be reënroled for the purpose, and in the manner stated in my

letter of the 7th inst. The same principle will be applied to the now outstanding districts when they shall come in. No part of my former letter is repudiated by reason of not being restated in this, or for any other cause. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

August 11, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 11, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL MEADE:

Yesterday week I made known to General Hooker our brief correspondence in regard to him. He seemed gratified with the kind spirit manifested by both of us; but said he was busy preparing a report and would consider.

Yesterday he called again, and said he would accept the offer if it was still open; would go at once if you desire, but would prefer waiting till the 1st of September, unless there was to be a battle, or you desire him to come sooner. I told him I would write you. Please answer. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 11, 1863.—INDORSEMENT.

Secretary of War: Please give General Logan the extended leave asked for, unless you know a good reason to the contrary.

A. LINCOLN.

August 11, 1863.

August 12, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. A. MCCLERNAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLERNAND.

My dear Sir: Our friend, William G. Greene, has just presented a kind letter in regard to yourself, addressed to me by our other friends, Yates, Hatch, and Dubois.

I doubt whether your present position is more painful to you than to myself. Grateful for the patriotic stand so early taken by you in this life-and-death struggle of the nation, I have done whatever has appeared practicable to advance you and the public interest together. No charges, with a view to a trial, have been preferred against you by any one; nor do I suppose any will be. All there is, so far as I have heard, is General Grant's statement of his reasons for relieving you. And even this I have not seen or sought to see; because it is a case, as appears to me, in which I could do nothing without doing harm. General Grant and yourself have been conspicuous in our most important successes; and for me to interfere and thus magnify a breach between you could not but be of evil effect. Better leave it where the law of the case has placed it. For me to force you back upon General Grant would be forcing him to resign. I cannot give

you a new command, because we have no forces except such as already have commanders.

I am constantly pressed by those who scold before they think, or without thinking at all, to give commands respectively to Frémont, McClellan, Butler, Sigel, Curtis, Hunter, Hooker, and perhaps others, when, all else out of the way, I have no commands to give them. This is now your case; which, as I have said, pains me not less than it does you. My belief is that the permanent estimate of what a general does in the field is fixed by the "cloud of witnesses" who have been with him in the field; and that relying on these, he who has the right needs not to fear. Your friend as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

August [15?] 1863. — OPINION ON THE DRAFT, NEVER ISSUED OR PUBLISHED BY THE PRESIDENT.

It is at all times proper that misunderstanding between the public and the public servant should be avoided; and this is far more important now than in times of peace and tranquillity. I therefore address you without searching for a precedent upon which to do so. Some of you are sincerely devoted to the republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country, and yet are opposed to what is called the draft, or conscription.

At the beginning of the war, and ever since, a variety of motives, pressing, some in one direction and some in the other, would be presented to the mind of each man physically fit for a soldier, upon the combined effect of which motives he would, or would not, voluntarily enter the service. Among these motives would be patriotism, political bias, ambition, personal courage, love of adventure, want of employment, and convenience, or the opposites of some of these.

We already have, and have had in the service, as appears, substantially all that can be obtained upon this voluntary weighing of motives. And yet we must somehow obtain more, or relinquish the original object of the contest, together with all the blood and treasure already expended in the effort to secure it. To meet this necessity the law for the draft has been enacted. You who do not wish to be soldiers do not like this law. This is natural; nor does it imply want of patriotism. Nothing can be so just and necessary as to make us like it if it is disagreeable to us. We are prone, too, to find false arguments with which to excuse ourselves for opposing such disagreeable things. In this case, those who desire the rebellion to succeed, and others who seek reward in a different way, are very active in accommodating us with this class of arguments. They tell us the law is unconstitutional. It is the first instance, I believe, in which the power of Congress to do a thing has ever been questioned in a case when the power is given by the Constitution in express terms. Whether a power can be implied when it is not expressed has often been the subject of controversy; but this is the first case in which the degree of effrontery has been ventured upon of denying a power which is plainly and distinctly written down in

the Constitution. The Constitution declares that "The Congress shall have power . . . to raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." The whole scope of the conscription act is "to raise and support armies." There is nothing else in it. It makes no appropriation of money, and hence the money clause just quoted is not touched by it.

The case simply is, the Constitution provides that the Congress shall have power to raise and support armies; and by this act the Congress has exercised the power to raise and support armies. This is the whole of it. It is a law made in literal pursuance of this part of the United States Constitution; and another part of the same Constitution declares that "this Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, . . . shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Do you admit that the power is given to raise and support armies, and yet insist that by this act Congress has not exercised the power in a constitutional mode?—has not done the thing in the right way? Who is to judge of this? The Constitution gives Congress the power, but it does not prescribe the mode, or expressly declare who shall prescribe it. In such case Congress must prescribe the mode, or relinquish the power. There is no alternative. Congress could not exercise the power to do the thing if it had not the power of providing a way to do it, when no way is provided by the Constitution for doing it. In fact, Congress would not have the power to raise and support armies, if even by the Constitution it were left to the option of any other or others to give or withhold the only mode of doing it. If the Constitution had prescribed a mode, Congress could and must follow that mode; but, as it is, the mode necessarily goes to Congress, with the power expressly given. The power is given fully, completely, unconditionally. It is not a power to raise armies if State authorities consent; nor if the men to compose the armies are entirely willing; but it is a power to raise and support armies given to Congress by the Constitution, without an "if."

It is clear that a constitutional law may not be expedient or proper. Such would be a law to raise armies when no armies were needed. But this is not such. The republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country cannot be maintained without the further raising and supporting of armies. There can be no army without men. Men can be had only voluntarily or involuntarily. We have ceased to obtain them voluntarily, and to obtain them involuntarily is the draft—the conscription. If you dispute the fact, and declare that men can still be had voluntarily in sufficient numbers, prove the assertion by yourselves volunteering in such numbers, and I shall gladly give up the draft. Or, if not a sufficient number, but any one of you will volunteer, he for his single self will escape all the horrors of the draft, and will thereby do only what each one of at least a million of his manly brethren have already done. Their toil and blood have been

given as much for you as for themselves. Shall it all be lost rather than that you, too, will bear your part?

I do not say that all who would avoid serving in the war are unpatriotic; but I do think every patriot should willingly take his chance under a law made with great care, in order to secure entire fairness. This law was considered, discussed, modified, and amended by Congress at great length, and with much labor; and was finally passed by both branches, with a near approach to unanimity. At last, it may not be exactly such as any one man out of Congress, or even in Congress, would have made it. It has been said, and I believe truly, that the Constitution itself is not altogether such as any one of its framers would have preferred. It was the joint work of all, and certainly the better that it was so.

Much complaint is made of that provision of the conscription law which allows a drafted man to substitute three hundred dollars for himself; while, as I believe, none is made of that provision which allows him to substitute another man for himself. Nor is the three hundred dollar provision objected to for unconstitutionality; but for inequality, for favoring the rich against the poor. The substitution of men is the provision, if any, which favors the rich to the exclusion of the poor. But this, being a provision in accordance with an old and well-known practice in the raising of armies, is not objected to. There would have been great objection if that provision had been omitted. And yet, being in, the money provision really modifies the inequality which the other introduces. It allows men to escape the service who are too poor to escape but for it. Without the money provision, competition among the more wealthy might, and probably would, raise the price of substitutes above three hundred dollars, thus leaving the man who could raise only three hundred dollars no escape from personal service. True, by the law as it is, the man who cannot raise so much as three hundred dollars, nor obtain a personal substitute for less, cannot escape; but he can come quite as near escaping as he could if the money provision were not in the law. To put it another way: is an unobjectionable law which allows only the man to escape who can pay a thousand dollars made objectionable by adding a provision that any one may escape who can pay the smaller sum of three hundred dollars? This is the exact difference at this point between the present law and all former draft laws. It is true that by this law a somewhat larger number will escape than could under a law allowing personal substitutes only; but each additional man thus escaping will be a poorer man than could have escaped by the law in the other form. The money provision enlarges the class of exempts from actual service simply by admitting poorer men into it. How then can the money provision be a wrong to the poor man? The inequality complained of pertains in greater degree to the substitution of men, and is really modified and lessened by the money provision. The inequality could only be perfectly cured by sweeping both provisions away. This, being a great innovation, would probably leave the law more distasteful than it now is.

The principle of the draft, which simply is involuntary or en-

forced service, is not new. It has been practised in all ages of the world. It was well-known to the framers of our Constitution as one of the modes of raising armies, at the time they placed in that instrument the provision that "the Congress shall have power to raise and support armies." It had been used just before in establishing our independence, and it was also used under the Constitution in 1812. Wherein is the peculiar hardship now? Shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free government, which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our own fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are we degenerate? Has the manhood of our race run out?

Again, a law may be both constitutional and expedient, and yet may be administered in an unjust and unfair way. This law belongs to a class, which class is composed of those laws whose object is to distribute burdens or benefits on the principle of equality. No one of these laws can ever be practically administered with that exactness which can be conceived of in the mind. A tax law, the principle of which is that each owner shall pay in proportion to the value of his property, will be a dead letter, if no one can be compelled to pay until it can be shown that every other one will pay in precisely the same proportion, according to value; nay, even, it will be a dead letter if no one can be compelled to pay until it is certain that every other one will pay at all—even in unequal proportion. Again, the United States House of Representatives is constituted on the principle that each member is sent by the same number of people that each other one is sent by; and yet, in practice, no two of the whole number, much less the whole number, are ever sent by precisely the same number of constituents. The districts cannot be made precisely equal in population at first, and if they could, they would become unequal in a single day, and much more so in the ten years which the districts, once made, are to continue. They cannot be remodeled every day; nor, without too much expense and labor, even every year.

This sort of difficulty applies in full force to the practical administration of the draft law. In fact, the difficulty is greater in the case of the draft law. First, it starts with all the inequality of the congressional districts; but these are based on entire population, while the draft is based upon those only who are fit for soldiers, and such may not bear the same proportion to the whole in one district that they do in another. Again, the facts must be ascertained and credit given for the unequal numbers of soldiers which have already gone from the several districts. In all these points errors will occur in spite of the utmost fidelity. The government is bound to administer the law with such an approach to exactness as is usual in analogous cases, and as entire good faith and fidelity will reach. If so great departures as to be inconsistent with such good faith and fidelity, or great departures occurring in any way, be pointed out, they shall be corrected; and any agent shown to have caused such departures intentionally shall be dismissed.

With these views, and on these principles, I feel bound to tell you it is my purpose to see the draft law faithfully executed.

August 16, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 16, 1863.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR, New York:

Your despatch of this morning is just received, and I fear I do not perfectly understand it.

My view of the principle is that every soldier obtained voluntarily leaves one less to be obtained by draft. The only difficulty is in applying the principle properly. Looking to time, as heretofore, I am unwilling to give up a drafted man now, even for the certainty, much less for the mere chance, of getting a volunteer hereafter. Again, after the draft in any district, would it not make trouble to take any drafted man out and put a volunteer in, for how shall it be determined which drafted man is to have the privilege of thus going out, to the exclusion of all the others? And even before the draft in any district the quota must be fixed; and the draft might be postponed indefinitely if every time a volunteer is offered the officers must stop and reconstruct the quota. At least I fear there might be this difficulty; but, at all events, let credits for volunteers be given up to the last moment, which will not produce confusion or delay. That the principle of giving credits for volunteers shall be applied by districts seems fair and proper, though I do not know how far by present statistics it is practicable. When for any cause a fair credit is not given at one time, it should be given as soon thereafter as practicable. My purpose is to be just and fair, and yet to not lose time.

A. LINCOLN.

August 16, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 16, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: It seems that George W. McGuire and David Bell have been tried and condemned to be shot by a military commission at St. Louis, Missouri, of which commission General W. K. Strong was the head. If a transcript of the record is at your control, please send it to me. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 17, 1863.—LETTER TO J. H. HACKETT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 17, 1863.

JAMES H. HACKETT, Esq.

My dear Sir: Months ago I should have acknowledged the receipt of your book and accompanying kind note; and I now have to beg your pardon for not having done so.

For one of my age I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of *Falstaff* I ever saw was yours here, last winter or

spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakspere's plays I have never read; while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are "Lear," "Richard III.," "Henry VIII.," "Hamlet," and especially "Macbeth." I think nothing equals "Macbeth." It is wonderful.

Unlike you gentlemen of the profession, I think the soliloquy in "Hamlet" commencing "Oh, my offense is rank," surpasses that commencing "To be or not to be." But pardon this small attempt at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of Richard III. Will you not soon visit Washington again? If you do, please call and let me make your personal acquaintance.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 17, 1863.—LETTER TO F. F. LOWE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 17, 1863.

HON. F. F. LOWE, San Francisco, California:

There seems to be considerable misunderstanding about the recent movement to take possession of the "New Almaden" mine. It had no reference to any other mine or mines.

In regard to mines and miners generally, no change of policy by the government has been decided on, or even thought of, so far as I know.

The "New Almaden" mine was peculiar in this, that its occupants claimed to be the legal owners of it, on a Mexican grant, and went into court on that claim. The case found its way into the Supreme Court of the United States, and last term, in and by that court, the claim of the occupants was decided to be utterly fraudulent. Thereupon it was considered the duty of the government by the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney-General, and myself, to take possession of the premises; and the Attorney-General carefully made out the writ, and I signed it. It was not obtained surreptitiously, although I suppose General Halleck thought it had been, when he telegraphed, simply because he thought possession was about being taken by a military order, while he knew no such order had passed through his hands as general-in-chief.

The writ was suspended, upon urgent representations from California, simply to keep the peace. It never had any direct or indirect reference to any mine, place, or person, except the "New Almaden" mine and the persons connected with it.

A. LINCOLN.

August 18, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. G. BLUNT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 18, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BLUNT:

Yours of July 31st is received. Governor Carney did leave some papers with me concerning you; but they made no great impression

upon me, and I believe they are not altogether such as you seem to think. As I am not proposing to act upon them, I do not now take the time to reëxamine them.

I regret to find you denouncing so many persons as liars, scoundrels, fools, thieves, and persecutors of yourself. Your military position looks critical, but did anybody force you into it? Have you been ordered to confront and fight 10,000 men with 3000 men? The government cannot make men; and it is very easy, when a man has been given the highest commission, for him to turn on those who gave it and vilify them for not giving him a command according to his rank.

My appointment of you first as a brigadier, and then as a major-general, was evidence of my appreciation of your services; and I have since marked but one thing in connection with you with which to be dissatisfied. The sending a military order twenty-five miles outside of your lines, and all military lines, to take men charged with no offense against the military, out of the hands of the courts, to be turned over to a mob to be hanged, can find no precedent or principle to justify it. Judge Lynch sometimes takes jurisdiction of cases which prove too strong for the courts; but this is the first case within my knowledge wherein the court being able to maintain jurisdiction against Judge Lynch, the military has come to the assistance of the latter. I take the facts of this case as you state them yourself, and not from any report of Governor Carney, or other person. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 19, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 19, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Dear Sir: The bearer of this, Judge Colt, of Missouri, introduced to me by the Attorney-General, tells me he has a stepson—Singleton Wilson—who ran away into the rebel army, then under seventeen, and still under nineteen, and who is now a prisoner at Camp Morton, Indiana. He now wants to take the oath of allegiance, and go home with the judge, and the judge desires the same.

May it not be safely done? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 21, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 21, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: In the autumn of 1861, certain persons in armed rebellion against the United States, within the counties of Accomac and Northampton, laid down their arms upon certain terms then proposed to them by General Dix, in and by a certain proclamation. It is now said that these persons, or some of them, are about to be

forced into the military lines of the existing rebellion, unless they will take an oath prescribed to them since, and not included in General Dix's proclamation referred to. Now, my judgment is that no one of these men should be forced from his home, who has not broken faith with the government, according to the terms fixed by General Dix and these men.

It is bad faith in the government to force new terms upon such as have kept faith with it — at least so it seems to me.

A. LINCOLN.

August 22, 1863.— LETTER TO GENERAL D. SICKLES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 22, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SICKLES.

My dear Sir: Your note and brief about the California land claim are received. The question presented is a property question, with which I do not think I should meddle as a volunteer. It will save me labor, therefore, if you will first point me to the law which assigns any duty to the President in the case. This done, next send me a reference to the treaty, and all the statutory law which bears upon the case. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 24, 1863.— LETTER TO SECRETARY USHER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., August 24, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Sir: By the within you see the claim of Illinois for the two per cent. on sales of public lands is again presented.

My view of the case is not changed. I believe the law is with the State; and yet I think it is ungracious to be pressing the claim at this time of national trouble.

Nevertheless, I have to ask that you will determine what is your duty according to the law, and then do it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 25, 1863.— INDORSEMENT ON NOTE OF SECRETARY STANTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, August 25, 1863.

Dear Sir: Please give me the reference to the act of Congress in relation to the election of members of the House, which you have mentioned to me on one or two occasions. I cannot find the act.

Truly yours, EDWIN M. STANTON.

TO THE PRESIDENT.

[*Indorsement.*]

The little short act on page 804 of the large new volume was shown to me by Mr. Bingham of Ohio, as being the one, in connec-

tion with the other laws therein referred to, which works the result. I have not tracked up the other laws.

A. LINCOLN.

August 26, 1863.—LETTER TO J. C. CONKLING.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 26, 1863.

HON. JAMES C. CONKLING.

My dear Sir: Your letter inviting me to attend a mass-meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois on the 3d day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable to me to thus meet my old friends at my own home, but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require.

The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those and other noble men whom no partizan malice or partizan hope can make false to the nation's life.

There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say: You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginable compromise. I do not believe any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military, its army. That army dominates all the country and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present, because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise, if one were made with them.

To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention, and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union. In what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we should waste time which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage; and that would be all. A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word

or intimation from that rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself the servant of the people, according to the bond of service—the United States Constitution—and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

But to be plain. You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while I suppose you do not. Yet, I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided you are for the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation, to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such way as to save you from greater taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means.

You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said—if so much—is that slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us, or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is valid, it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation issued; the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know, as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy and the use of the colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called Abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who hold

them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.

You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively, to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes.

I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it. Nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be banned who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro', Gettysburg, and on many fields of lesser note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present. Not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all: for the great republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they strove to hinder it.

Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let

us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 26, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., August 26, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: In my correspondence with Governor Seymour in relation to the draft, I have said to him, substantially, that credits shall be given for volunteers up to the latest moment, before drawing in any district, that can be done without producing confusion or delay. In order to do this, let our mustering officers in New York and elsewhere be at once instructed that whenever they muster into our service any number of volunteers, to at once make return to the War Department, both by telegraph and mail, the date of the muster, the number mustered, and the Congressional or enrolment district or districts, of their residences, giving the numbers separately for each district. Keep these returns diligently posted, and by them give full credit on the quotas, if possible, on the last day before the draft begins in any district.

Again, I have informed Governor Seymour that he shall be notified of the time when the draft is to commence in each district in his State. This is equally proper for all the States. In order to carry it out, I propose that so soon as the day for commencing the draft in any district is definitely determined, the governor of the State, including the district, be notified thereof, both by telegraph and mail, in form about as follows:

.....

.....1863.

Governor of.....

.....

You are notified that the draft will commence in the.....

.....*district, at*.....*on the*.....

day of.....1863, *at*.....*A. M. of said day.*

Please acknowledge receipt of this by telegraph and mail.

This notice may be given by the Provost-Marshal-General here, the sub-provost-marshal-generals in the States, or perhaps by the district provost-marshals.

Whenever we shall have so far proceeded in New York as to make the reënrolment specially promised there, practicable, I wish that also to go forward, and I wish Governor Seymour notified of it; so that if he choose, he can place agents of his with ours to see the work fairly done. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 26, 1863.—LETTER TO I. N. MORRIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 26, 1863.

HON. I. N. MORRIS.

Dear Sir: Your note asking what you were to understand, was received yesterday. Monday morning I sent the papers to the Secretary of the Interior, with an indorsement that my impression of the law was not changed, and that I desired him to take up the case and do his duty according to his view of the law. Yesterday I said the same thing to him verbally.

Now, my understanding is that the law has not assigned me, specifically, any duty in the case, but has assigned it to the Secretary of the Interior. It may be my general duty to direct him to act—which I have performed. When he shall have acted, if his action is not satisfactory, there may or may not be an appeal to me. It is a point I have not examined; but if it be shown that the law gives such appeal, I shall not hesitate to entertain it when presented. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of New York:

Yours of the 21st, with exhibits, was received on the 24th.

In the midst of pressing duties I have been unable to answer it sooner. In the mean time the Provost-Marshal-General has had access to yours, and has addressed a communication in relation to it to the Secretary of War, a copy of which communication I herewith inclose to you.

Independently of this, I addressed a letter on the same subject to the Secretary of War, a copy of which I also inclose to you. The Secretary has sent my letter to the Provost-Marshal-General, with direction that he adopt and follow the course therein pointed out. It will, of course, overrule any conflicting view of the Provost-Marshal-General, if there be such. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. I do not mean to say that if the Provost-Marshal-General can find it practicable to give credits by sub-districts, I overrule him in that. On the contrary, I shall be glad of it; but I will not take the risk of over-burdening him by ordering him to do it.

A. L.

August 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO A. C. WILDER AND J. H. LANE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1863. 8.30 A. M.

HON. A. C. WILDER, HON. J. H. LANE, Leavenworth, Kansas:

Notice of your demand for the removal of General Schofield is hereby acknowledged.

A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1863. 8.30 A. M.

GENERAL SCHOFIELD, St. Louis:

I have just received the despatch which follows from two very influential citizens of Kansas, whose names I omit. The severe blow they have received naturally enough makes them intemperate even without there being any just cause for blame. Please do your utmost to give them future security and to punish their invaders.

A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1863. 9 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Warrenton, Virginia:

Walter, Rionese, Folancy, Lai, and Kuhn appealed to me for mercy, without giving any ground for it whatever. I understand these are very flagrant cases, and that you deem their punishment as being indispensable to the service. If I am not mistaken in this, please let them know at once that their appeal is denied.

A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO F. C. SHERMAN AND J. S. HAYES.

WASHINGTON, August 27, 1863.

F. C. SHERMAN, Mayor, J. S. HAYES, Comptroller, Chicago, Illinois:

Yours of the 24th, in relation to the draft, is received. It seems to me the government here will be overwhelmed if it undertakes to conduct these matters with the authorities of cities and counties. They must be conducted with the governors of States, who will, of course, represent their cities and counties. Meanwhile you need not be uneasy until you again hear from here.

A. LINCOLN.

August 31, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 31, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL ROSECRANS:

Yours of the 22d was received yesterday. When I wrote you before, I did [not] intend, nor do I now, to engage in an argument with you on military questions. You had informed me you were impressed through General Halleck that I was dissatisfied with you; and I could not bluntly deny that I was without unjustly implicating him. I therefore concluded to tell you the plain truth, being satisfied the matter would thus appear much smaller than it would if seen by mere glimpses. I repeat that my appreciation of you has not abated. I can never forget whilst I remember anything that about the end of last year and beginning of this, you gave us a hard-earned victory, which, had there been a defeat instead, the nation could scarcely have lived over.

Neither can I forget the check you so opportunely gave to a dangerous sentiment which was spreading in the North.

Yours as ever, A. LINCOLN.

August 31, 1863.—NOTE TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

It is not improbable that retaliation for the recent great outrage at Lawrence, in Kansas, may extend to indiscriminate slaughter on the Missouri border, unless averted by very judicious action. I shall be obliged if the general-in-chief can make any suggestions to General Schofield upon the subject.

A. LINCOLN.

September 1, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 1, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I am now informed, contrary to my impression when I last talked with you, that the order compelling the four hundred on the eastern shore of Virginia to take the oath or be sent away is about being carried into execution. As this, and also the assessment for damage done to and at the lighthouse, are very strong measures, and as I have to bear the responsibility of them, I wish them suspended until I can at least be better satisfied of their propriety than I now am. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 2, 1863.—DRAFT OF LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 2, 1863.

HON. SALMON P. CHASE.

My dear Sir: Knowing your great anxiety that the Emancipation Proclamation shall now be applied to certain parts of Virginia

and Louisiana which were exempted from it last January, I state briefly what appear to me to be difficulties in the way of such a step. The original proclamation has no constitutional or legal justification, except as a military measure. The exemptions were made because the military necessity did not apply to the exempted localities. Nor does that necessity apply to them now any more than it did then. If I take the step, must I not do so without the argument of military necessity, and so without any argument except the one that I think the measure politically expedient and morally right? Would I not thus give up all footing upon Constitution or law? Would I not thus be in the boundless field of absolutism? Could this pass unnoticed or unresisted? Could it fail to be perceived that without any further stretch I might do the same in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, and even change any law in any State? Would not many of our own friends shrink away appalled? Would it not lose us the elections, and with them the very cause we seek to advance?

[A. LINCOLN.]

September 4, 1863.—ORDER CONCERNING COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON CITY, September 4, 1863.

Ordered, That the Executive Order, dated November 21, 1862, prohibiting the exportation from the United States of arms, ammunition, or munitions of war, under which the commandants of departments were, by order of the Secretary of War dated May 13, 1863, directed to prohibit the purchase and sale for exportation from the United States of all horses and mules within their respective commands, and to take and appropriate to the use of the United States any horses, mules, and live stock designed for exportation, be so far modified as that any arms heretofore imported into the United States may be reëxported to the place of original shipment, and that any live stock raised in any State or Territory bounded by the Pacific Ocean may be exported from any port of such State or Territory.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

September 6, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, September 6, 1863. 6 P. M.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR, Bedford, Pennsylvania:

Burnside has Kingston and Knoxville, and drove the enemy across the river at Loudon, the enemy destroying the bridge there; captured some stores and one or two trains; very little fighting; few wounded and none killed. No other news of consequence.

A. LINCOLN.

September 7, 1863.— TELEGRAM TO F. C. SHERMAN AND J. S. HAYES.

WASHINGTON, September 7, 1863.

Yours of August 29 just received. I suppose it was intended by Congress that this government should execute the act in question without dependence upon any other government, State, city, or county. It is, however, within the range of practical convenience to confer with the governments of States, while it is quite beyond that range to have correspondence on the subject with counties and cities. They are too numerous. As instances, I have corresponded with Governor Seymour, but not with Mayor Opdyke; with Governor Curtin, but not with Mayor Henry.

A. LINCOLN.

September 8, 1863.— TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 8, 1863. 9.30 A. M.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Despatch of yesterday just received. I shall try to find the paper you mention and carefully consider it. In the mean time let me urge that you do your utmost to get every man you can, black and white, under arms at the very earliest moment, to guard roads, bridges, and trains, allowing all the better trained soldiers to go forward to Rosecrans. Of course I mean for you to act in coöperation with, and not independently of, the military authorities.

A. LINCOLN.

September 10, 1863.— LETTER TO J. P. GRAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 10, 1863.

DR. JOHN P. GRAY.

Sir: Dr. David M. Wright is in military custody at Norfolk, Virginia, having been by a military commission tried for murder and sentenced to death, his execution awaiting the order of the major-general in command of that military department, or of the President of the United States. The record is before me, and a question is made as to the sanity of the accused. You will please proceed to the military department whose headquarters are at Fort Monroe, and take in writing all evidence which may be offered on behalf of Dr. Wright and against him, and any, in addition, which you may find within your reach, and deem pertinent; all said evidence to be directed to the question of Dr. Wright's sanity or insanity, and not to any other questions; you to preside with power to exclude evidence which shall appear to you clearly not pertinent to the question.

When the taking of the evidence shall be closed, you will report the same to me, together with your own conclusions as to Dr. Wright's sanity both at the time of the homicide and at the time of your examination. On reaching Fort Monroe, you will present this letter to the officer then commanding that department, and deliver to him a copy of the same, upon which he is hereby directed to notify Hon. L. J. Bowden and Hon. L. H. Chandler of the same; to designate some suitable person in his command to appear for the government as judge-advocate or prosecuting attorney; to provide for the attendance of all such witnesses before you as may be desired by either party, or by yourself, and who may be within convenient reach of you; to furnish you a suitable place, or places, for conducting the examination; and to render you such other reasonable assistance in the premises as you may require. If you deem it proper, you will examine Dr. Wright personally, and you may in your discretion require him to be present during the whole or any part of the taking of the evidence. The military are hereby charged to see that an escape does not occur.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 11, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 11, 1863.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON.

My dear Sir: All Tennessee is now clear of armed insurrectionists. You need not to be reminded that it is the nick of time for reinaugurating a loyal State government. Not a moment should be lost. You and the coöperating friends there can better judge of the ways and means than can be judged by any here. I only offer a few suggestions. The reinauguration must not be such as to give control of the State and its representation in Congress to the enemies of the Union, driving its friends there into political exile. The whole struggle for Tennessee will have been profitless to both State and nation if it so ends that Governor Johnson is put down and Governor Harris is put up. It must not be so. You must have it otherwise. Let the reconstruction be the work of such men only as can be trusted for the Union. Exclude all others, and trust that your government so organized will be recognized here as being the one of republican form to be guaranteed to the State, and to be protected against invasion and domestic violence. It is something on the question of time to remember that it cannot be known who is next to occupy the position I now hold, nor what he will do. I see that you have declared in favor of emancipation in Tennessee, for which may God bless you. Get emancipation into your new State government — constitution — and there will be no such word as fail for your case. The raising of colored troops, I think, will greatly help every way. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

September 11, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WASHINGTON, September 11, 1863. 11.30 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cumberland Gap:

Yours received. A thousand thanks for the late successes you have given us. We cannot allow you to resign until things shall be a little more settled in East Tennessee. If then, purely on your own account, you wish to resign, we will not further refuse you.

A. LINCOLN.

September 12, 1863.—LETTER TO JOSIAH QUINCY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 12, 1863.

Dear and honored Sir: Allow me to express the personal gratification I feel at the receipt of your very kind letter of the 7th of September, and to thank you most cordially for its wise and earnest words of counsel.

Believe me, my dear sir, to be very respectfully and sincerely your friend and servant,

A. LINCOLN.

September 14, 1863.—LETTER FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL MCCLERNAND.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, September 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. MCCLERNAND, Springfield, Illinois.

General: Your letter of the 5th instant has been submitted to the President, who directs me to say that a court of inquiry embracing any one of the subjects specified in that letter would necessarily withdraw from the field many officers whose presence with their commands is absolutely indispensable to the service, and whose absence might cause irreparable injury to the success of operations now in active progress. For these reasons he declines at present your application, but if hereafter it can be done without prejudice to the service, he will, in view of your anxiety upon the subject, order a court. Your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

September 15, 1863.—PROCLAMATION SUSPENDING WRIT OF *Habeas Corpus.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States has ordained that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may

require it; and whereas, a rebellion was existing on the third day of March, 1863, which rebellion is still existing; and whereas, by a statute which was approved on that day, it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, that during the present insurrection the President of the United States, whenever in his judgment the public safety may require it, is authorized to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any case throughout the United States, or any part thereof; and whereas, in the judgment of the President, the public safety does require the privilege of the said writ shall now be suspended, throughout the United States, in the cases where, by the authority of the President of the United States, military, naval, and civil officers of the United States, or any of them, hold persons under their command, or in their custody, either as prisoners of war, spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen enrolled or drafted or mustered or enlisted in, or belonging to, the land or naval forces of the United States, or as deserters therefrom, or otherwise amenable to military law, or the rules and articles of war, or the rules or regulations prescribed for the military or naval service by authority of the President of the United States; or for resisting a draft, or for any other offense against the military or naval service:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and make known to all whom it may concern, that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended throughout the United States in the several cases before mentioned, and that this suspension will continue throughout the duration of the said rebellion, or until this proclamation shall, by a subsequent one to be issued by the President of the United States, be modified or revoked. And I do hereby require all magistrates, attorneys, and other civil officers within the United States, and all officers and others in the military and naval service of the United States, to take distinct notice of this suspension, and to give it full effect, and all citizens of the United States to conduct and govern themselves accordingly, and in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress in such cases made and provided.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, this
[L. S.] fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

September 15, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 15, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

If I did not misunderstand General Meade's last despatch, he posts you on facts as well as he can, and desires your views and

those of the government as to what he shall do. My opinion is that he should move upon Lee at once in manner of general attack, leaving to developments whether he will make it a real attack. I think this would develop Lee's real condition and purposes better than the cavalry alone can do. Of course my opinion is not to control you and General Meade. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

September 18, 1863.—LETTER TO I. N. MORRIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 18, 1863.

HON. I. N. MORRIS.

Sir: Please carefully put the argument in writing, with reference to authorities, in the matter intended to show that the law gives an appeal to me in the case referred to. When that is ready to be presented, I will try to give you the personal interview about Illinois matters generally. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

September 19, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 19, 1863.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON.

My dear Sir: Herewith I send you a paper, substantially the same as the one drawn up by yourself and mentioned in your despatch, but slightly changed in two particulars: First, yours was so drawn as that I authorized you to carry into effect the fourth section, etc., whereas I so modify it as to authorize you to so act as to require the United States to carry into effect that section.

Secondly, you had a clause committing me in some sort to the State constitution of Tennessee, which I feared might embarrass you in making a new constitution, if you desire; so I dropped that clause. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Inclosure.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 19, 1863.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Military Governor of Tennessee:

In addition to the matters contained in the orders and instructions given you by the Secretary of War, you are hereby authorized to exercise such powers as may be necessary and proper to enable the loyal people of Tennessee to present such a republican form of State government as will entitle the State to the guaranty of the United States therefor, and to be protected under such State government by the United States against invasion and domestic violence, all according to the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

September 19, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 19, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

By General Meade's despatch to you of yesterday it appears that he desires your views and those of the government as to whether he shall advance upon the enemy. I am not prepared to order, or even advise, an advance in this case, wherein I know so little of particulars, and wherein he, in the field, thinks the risk is so great, and the promise of advantage so small.

And yet the case presents matter for very serious consideration in another aspect. These two armies confront each other across a small river, substantially midway between the two capitals, each defending its own capital, and menacing the other. General Meade estimates the enemy's infantry in front of him at not less than 40,000. Suppose we add fifty per cent. to this for cavalry, artillery, and extra-duty men stretching as far as Richmond, making the whole force of the enemy 60,000.

General Meade, as shown by the returns, has with him, and between him and Washington, of the same classes of well men, over 90,000. Neither can bring the whole of his men into a battle; but each can bring as large a percentage in as the other. For a battle, then, General Meade has three men to General Lee's two. Yet, it having been determined that choosing ground and standing on the defensive gives so great advantage that the three cannot safely attack the two, the three are left simply standing on the defensive also.

If the enemy's 60,000 are sufficient to keep our 90,000 away from Richmond, why, by the same rule, may not 40,000 of ours keep their 60,000 away from Washington, leaving us 50,000 to put to some other use? Having practically come to the mere defensive, it seems to be no economy at all to employ twice as many men for that object as are needed. With no object, certainly, to mislead myself, I can perceive no fault in this statement, unless we admit we are not the equal of the enemy, man for man. I hope you will consider it.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me say that to attempt to fight the enemy slowly back into his intrenchments at Richmond, and then to capture him, is an idea I have been trying to repudiate for quite a year.

My judgment is so clear against it that I would scarcely allow the attempt to be made if the general in command should desire to make it. My last attempt upon Richmond was to get McClellan, when he was nearer there than the enemy was, to run in ahead of him. Since then I have constantly desired the Army of the Potomac to make Lee's army, and not Richmond, its objective point. If our army cannot fall upon the enemy and hurt him where he is, it is plain to me it can gain nothing by attempting to follow him over a succession of intrenched lines into a fortified city.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 21, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 21, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

I think it very important for General Rosecrans to hold his position at or about Chattanooga, because if held from that place to Cleveland, both inclusive, it keeps all Tennessee clear of the enemy, and also breaks one of his most important railroad lines. To prevent these consequences is so vital to his cause that he cannot give up the effort to dislodge us from the position, thus bringing him to us and saving us the labor, expense, and hazard of going farther to find him, and also giving us the advantage of choosing our own ground and preparing it to fight him upon. The details must, of course, be left to General Rosecrans, while we must furnish him the means to the utmost of our ability. If you concur, I think he would better be informed that we are not pushing him beyond this position; and that, in fact, our judgment is rather against his going beyond it. If he can only maintain this position, without more, this rebellion can only eke out a short and feeble existence, as an animal sometimes may with a thorn in its vitals. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

September 21, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 21, 1863. 11 A. M.

GENERAL BURNSIDE, Greenville, Tennessee:

If you are to do any good to Rosecrans it will not do to waste time with Jonesboro. It is already too late to do the most good that might have been done, but I hope it will still do some good. Please do not lose a moment.

A. LINCOLN.

September 21, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 21, 1863.

GENERAL BURNSIDE, Knoxville, Tenn.:

Go to Rosecrans with your force without a moment's delay.

A. LINCOLN.

September 21, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WASHINGTON, September 21, 1863. 12.55 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Chattanooga:

Be of good cheer. We have unabated confidence in you, and in your soldiers and officers. In the main you must be the judge as

to what is to be done. If I were to suggest, I would say, save your army by taking strong positions until Burnside joins you, when, I hope, you can turn the tide. I think you had better send a courier to Burnside to hurry him up. We cannot reach him by telegraph. We suppose some force is going to you from Corinth, but for want of communication we do not know how they are getting along. We shall do our utmost to assist you. Send us your present positions.

A. LINCOLN.

September 22, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

(*In cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 22, 1863. 8.30 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

We have not a word here as to the whereabouts or condition of your army up to a later hour than sunset, Sunday, the 20th. Your despatches to me of 9 A. M., and to General Halleck of 2 P. M., yesterday, tell us nothing later on those points. Please relieve my anxiety as to the position and condition of your army up to the latest moment.

A. LINCOLN.

September 23, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WASHINGTON, September 23, 1863. 9.15 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

Below is Bragg's despatch as found in the Richmond papers. You see he does not claim so many prisoners or captured guns as you were inclined to concede. He also confesses to heavy loss. An exchanged general of ours leaving Richmond yesterday says two of Longstreet's divisions and his entire artillery and two of Pickett's brigades and Wise's legion have gone to Tennessee. He mentions no other.

CHICKAMAUGA RIVER, September 20 (via Ringold, 21st).

GENERAL COOPER, Adjutant-General:

After two days' hard fighting we have driven the enemy, after a desperate resistance, from several positions, and now hold the field; but he still confronts us. The losses are heavy on both sides, especially in our officers. We have taken over twenty pieces of artillery and some 2500 prisoners.

BRAXTON BRAGG.

A. LINCOLN.

September 24, 1863.—PROCLAMATION OPENING THE PORT OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, in my proclamation of the twenty-seventh of April, 1861, the ports of the States of Virginia and North Carolina were, for reasons therein set forth, placed under blockade; and whereas the port of Alexandria, Virginia, has since been blockaded, but as the blockade of said port may now be safely relaxed with advantage to the interests of commerce:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority in me vested by the fifth section of the act of Congress, approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," do hereby declare that the blockade of the said port of Alexandria shall so far cease and determine, from and after this date, that commercial intercourse with said port, except as to persons, things, and information contraband of war, may from this date be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, and to the limitations, and in pursuance of the regulations which are prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury in his order, which is appended to my proclamation of the 12th of May, 1862.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fourth day
[L. S.] of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

September 24, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 24, 1863. 10 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

Last night we received the rebel accounts, through Richmond papers, of your late battle. They give Major-General Hood as mortally wounded, and Brigadiers Preston Smith, Wofford, Walthall, Helm of Kentucky, and Deshler killed, and Major-Generals Preston, Cleburne, and Gregg, and Brigadier-Generals Benning, Adams, Bunn, Brown, and John [B. H.] Helm wounded. By confusion the two Helms may be the same man, and Bunn and Brown may be the same man. With Burnside, Sherman, and from elsewhere we shall get to you from forty to sixty thousand additional men.

A. LINCOLN.

September 24, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 24, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York:

We now have a tolerably accurate summing up of the late battle between Rosecrans and Bragg. The result is that we are worsted, if at all, only in the fact that we, after the main fighting was over, yielded the ground, thus leaving considerable of our artillery and wounded to fall into the enemy's hands, for which we got nothing in turn. We lost in general officers one killed and three or four wounded, all brigadiers, while, according to the rebel accounts which we have, they lost six killed and eight wounded. Of the killed one major-general and five brigadiers, including your brother-in-law, Helm; and of the wounded three major-generals and five brigadiers. This list may be reduced two in number by corrections of confusion in names. At 11.40 A. M. yesterday General Rosecrans telegraphed from Chattanooga: "We hold this point, and I cannot be dislodged except by very superior numbers and after a great battle." A despatch leaving there after night yesterday says: "No fight to-day."

A. LINCOLN.

September 25, 1863.—DRAFT OF LETTER TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE. NOT SENT.

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH,

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE:

Yours of the 23d is just received, and it makes me doubt whether I am awake or dreaming. I have been struggling for ten days, first through General Halleck, and then directly, to get you to go to assist General Rosecrans in an extremity, and you have repeatedly declared you would do it, and yet you steadily move the contrary way. On the 19th you telegraph once from Knoxville, and twice from Greenville, acknowledging receipt of order, and saying you will hurry support to Rosecrans. On the 20th you telegraph again from Knoxville, saying you will do all you can, and are hurrying troops to Rosecrans. On the 21st you telegraph from Morristown, saying you will hurry support to Rosecrans, and now your despatch of the 23d comes in from Carter's Station, still farther away from Rosecrans, still saying you will assist him, but giving no account of any progress made toward assisting him.

You came in upon the Tennessee River at Kingston, Loudon, and Knoxville; and what bridges, or the want of them, upon the Holston, can have to do in getting the troops toward Rosecrans at Chattanooga, is incomprehensible. They were already many miles nearer Chattanooga than any part of the Holston River is, and on the right side of it. If they are now on the wrong side of it, they can only have

got so by going from the direction of Chattanooga, and that, too, since you have assured us you would move to Chattanooga; while it would seem, too, that they could recross the Holston by whatever means they crossed in going east.

September 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 27, 1863. 6.45 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Knoxville, Tennessee:

Your despatch just received. My order to you meant simply that you should save Rosecrans from being crushed out, believing if he lost his position you could not hold East Tennessee in any event; and that if he held his position, East Tennessee was substantially safe in any event. This despatch is in no sense an order. General Halleck will answer you fully.

A. LINCOLN.

September 27, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 27, 1863. 8 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Knoxville, Tennessee:

It was suggested to you, not ordered, that you should move to Rosecrans on the north side of the river, because it was believed the enemy would not permit you to join him if you should move on the south side. Hold your present positions, and send Rosecrans what you can spare, in the quickest and safest way. In the mean time hold the remainder as nearly in readiness to go to him as you can consistently with the duty it is to perform while it remains. East Tennessee can be no more than temporarily lost so long as Chattanooga is firmly held.

A. LINCOLN.

September 28, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 28, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL ROSECRANS:

We are sending you two small corps, one under General Howard and one under General Slocum, and the whole under General Hooker.

Unfortunately the relations between Generals Hooker and Slocum are not such as to promise good, if their present relative positions remain. Therefore, let me beg—almost enjoin upon you—that on their reaching you, you will make a transposition by which General Slocum with his corps may pass from under the command of General Hooker, and General Hooker, in turn, receive some other equal force. It is important for this to be done, though we could not well arrange it here. Please do it.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 28, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 28, 1863. 8 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

You can perhaps communicate with General Burnside more rapidly by sending telegrams directly to him at Knoxville. Think of it. I send a like despatch to him.

A. LINCOLN.

September 28, 1863.—LETTER TO H. AMES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 28, 1863.

MR. HORATIO AMES, Falls Village, Connecticut:

If you will on or before the first day of March, 1864, within the State of Connecticut, or at any point nearer this city, produce fifteen guns, each of capacity to carry a missile of at least one hundred pounds' weight, and notify me thereof, I will cause some person or persons to examine and test said guns; and if, upon such examination and test, it shall be the opinion of such person or persons that said guns, or any of them, are, on the whole, better guns than any of like caliber heretofore, or now, in use in the United States, I will, on account of the United States, accept said guns, or so many thereof as shall be so favorably reported on, and advise that you be paid for all so accepted, at the rate of eighty-five cents per pound, avoirdupois weight, of said guns so accepted; it being understood that I have no public money at my control, with which I could make such payment absolutely. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

September 29, 1863.—REPLY TO SONS OF TEMPERANCE.

As a matter of course, it will not be possible for me to make a response coextensive with the address which you have presented to me. If I were better known than I am, you would not need to be told that in the advocacy of the cause of temperance you have a friend and sympathizer in me.

When I was a young man—long ago—before the Sons of Temperance as an organization had an existence—I, in a humble way, made temperance speeches, and I think I may say that to this day I have never, by my example, belied what I then said.

In regard to the suggestions which you make for the purpose of the advancement of the cause of temperance in the army, I cannot make particular responses to them at this time. To prevent intemperance in the army is even a part of the articles of war. It is part of the law of the land, and was so, I presume, long ago, to dismiss officers for drunkenness. I am not sure that, consistently with the public service, more can be done than has been done. All, therefore, that I can promise you is—if you will be pleased to furnish

me with a copy of your address—to have it submitted to the proper department, and have it considered whether it contains any suggestions which will improve the cause of temperance and repress the cause of drunkenness in the army any better than it is already done. I can promise no more than that.

I think that the reasonable men of the world have long since agreed that intemperance is one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of all evils among mankind. That is not a matter of dispute, I believe. That the disease exists, and that it is a very great one, is agreed upon by all.

The mode of cure is one about which there may be differences of opinion. You have suggested that in an army—our army—drunkenness is a great evil, and one which, while it exists to a very great extent, we cannot expect to overcome so entirely as to have such successes in our arms as we might have without it. This undoubtedly is true, and while it is perhaps rather a bad source to derive comfort from, nevertheless, in a hard struggle, I do not know but what it is some consolation to be aware that there is some intemperance on the other side, too; and that they have no right to beat us in physical combat on that ground.

But I have already said more than I expected to be able to say when I began, and if you please to hand me a copy of your address, it shall be considered. I thank you very heartily, gentlemen, for this call, and for bringing with you these very many pretty ladies.

October 1, 1863.—Letter to General J. M. Schofield.

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., October 1, 1863.

General John M. Schofield:

There is no organized military force in avowed opposition to the General Government now in Missouri, and if any such shall reappear, your duty in regard to it will be too plain to require any special instruction. Still, the condition of things both there and elsewhere is such as to render it indispensable to maintain for a time the United States military establishment in that State, as well as to rely upon it for a fair contribution of support to that establishment generally. Your immediate duty in regard to Missouri now is to advance the efficiency of that establishment, and to so use it as far as practicable to compel the excited people there to leave one another alone. Under your recent order, which I have approved, you will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers when they may be working palpable injury to the military in your charge, and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise with great caution, calmness, and forbearance. With the matters of removing the inhabitants of certain counties *en masse*, and of removing certain individuals from time to time who are supposed to be mischievous, I am not now interfering, but am leaving to your own discretion. Nor am I interfering with what may still seem to

you to be necessary restrictions upon trade and intercourse. I think proper, however, to enjoin upon you the following:

Allow no part of the military under your command to be engaged in either returning fugitive slaves or in forcing or enticing slaves from their homes, and, so far as practicable, enforce the same forbearance upon the people.

Report to me your opinion upon the availability for good of the enrolled militia of the State.

Allow no one to enlist colored troops except upon orders from you or from here, through you.

Allow no one to assume the functions of confiscating property under the law of Congress, or otherwise, except upon orders from here.

At elections see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including, as of those laws, the restriction laid by the Missouri convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion.

So far as practicable, you will, by means of your military force, expel guerrillas, marauders, and murderers, and all who are known to harbor, aid, or abet them. But in like manner you will repress assumptions of unauthorized individuals to perform the same service because, under pretense of doing this, they become marauders and murderers themselves.

To now restore peace, let the military obey orders, and those not of the military leave each other alone, thus not breaking the peace themselves.

In giving the above directions, it is not intended to restrain you in other expedient and necessary matters not falling within their range. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

October 2, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 2, 1863. 9 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHOFIELD:

I have just seen your despatch to Halleck about Major-General Blunt. If possible, you better allow me to get through with a certain matter here before adding to the difficulties of it. Meantime supply me the particulars of Major-General Blunt's case.

A. LINCOLN.

October 3, 1863.—PROCLAMATION FOR THANKSGIVING.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

The year that is drawing toward its close has been filled with the blessings of fruitful fields and healthful skies. To these bounties,

which are so constantly enjoyed that we are prone to forget the source from which they come, others have been added, which are of so extraordinary a nature that they cannot fail to penetrate and soften the heart which is habitually insensible to the ever-watchful providence of almighty God.

In the midst of a civil war of unequaled magnitude and severity, which has sometimes seemed to foreign states to invite and provoke their aggressions, peace has been preserved with all nations, order has been maintained, the laws have been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere, except in the theater of military conflict; while that theater has been greatly contracted by the advancing armies and navies of the Union.

Needful diversions of wealth and of strength from the fields of peaceful industry to the national defense have not arrested the plow, the shuttle, or the ship; the ax has enlarged the borders of our settlements, and the mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals, have yielded even more abundantly than heretofore. Population has steadily increased, notwithstanding the waste that has been made in the camp, the siege, and the battle-field, and the country, rejoicing in the consciousness of augmented strength and vigor, is permitted to expect continuance of years with large increase of freedom.

No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the most high God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.

It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently, and gratefully acknowledged as with one heart and one voice by the whole American people. I do, therefore, invite my fellow-citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea and those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next as a day of thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the heavens. And I recommend to them that, while offering up the ascriptions justly due to him for such singular deliverances and blessings, they do also, with humble penitence for our national perverseness and disobedience, commend to his tender care all those who have become widows, orphans, mourners, or sufferers in the lamentable civil strife in which we are unavoidably engaged, and fervently implore the interposition of the almighty hand to heal the wounds of the nation, and to restore it, as soon as may be consistent with the Divine purposes, to the full enjoyment of peace, harmony, tranquillity, and union.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this third day of October,
[L. S.] in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

A. LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

October 4, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 4, 1863. 11 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHOFIELD, St. Louis, Mo.:

I think you will not have just cause to complain of my action.

A. LINCOLN.

October 4, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 4, 1863. 11.30 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

Yours of yesterday received. If we can hold Chattanooga and East Tennessee, I think the rebellion must dwindle and die. I think you and Burnside can do this, and hence doing so is your main object. Of course to greatly damage or destroy the enemy in your front would be a greater object, because it would include the former and more, but it is not so certainly within your power. I understand the main body of the enemy is very near you, so near that you could "board at home," so to speak, and menace or attack him any day. Would not the doing of this be your best mode of counteracting his raid on your communications? But this is not an order. I intend doing something like what you suggest whenever the case shall appear ripe enough to have it accepted in the true understanding rather than as a confession of weakness and fear.

A. LINCOLN.

October 5, 1863.—LETTER TO C. D. DRAKE AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1863.

HON. CHARLES D. DRAKE AND OTHERS, COMMITTEE.

Gentlemen: Your original address presented on the 30th ultimo, and the four supplementary ones presented on the 3d instant, have been carefully considered. I hope you will regard the other duties claiming my attention, together with the great length and importance of these documents, as constituting a sufficient apology for my not having responded sooner. These papers, framed for a common object, consist of the things demanded and the reasons for demanding them. The things demanded are:

First. That General Schofield shall be relieved, and General Butler be appointed, as commander of the military department of Missouri.

Second. That the system of enrolled militia in Missouri may be broken up, and national forces be substituted for it; and

Third. That at elections persons may not be allowed to vote who are not entitled by law to do so.

Among the reasons given, enough of suffering and wrong to Union men is certainly, and I suppose truly, stated. Yet the whole

case, as presented, fails to convince me that General Schofield or the enrolled militia is responsible for that suffering and wrong. The whole can be explained on a more charitable and, as I think, a more rational hypothesis. We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound — Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without, slavery — those for it without, but not with — those for it with or without, but prefer it with — and those for it with or without, but prefer it without.

Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual, extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned, and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only; but this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general. The newspaper files, those chroniclers of current events, will show that the evils now complained of were quite as prevalent under Frémont, Hunter, Halleck, and Curtis, as under Schofield. If the former had greater force opposed to them, they also had greater force with which to meet it. When the organized rebel army left the State, the main Federal force had to go also, leaving the department commander at home relatively no stronger than before. Without disparaging any, I affirm with confidence that no commander of that department has, in proportion to his means, done better than General Schofield.

The first specific charge against General Schofield is that the enrolled militia was placed under his command, whereas it had not been placed under the command of General Curtis. The fact, I believe, is true; but you do not point out, nor can I conceive how that did or could injure loyal men or the Union cause.

You charge that, upon General Curtis being superseded by General Schofield, Franklin A. Dick was superseded by James O. Broadhead as Provost-Marshal-General. No very specific showing is made as to how this did or could injure the Union cause. It recalls, however, the condition of things, as presented to me, which led to a change of commander for that department.

To restrain contraband intelligence and trade, a system of searches, seizures, permits, and passes had been introduced, I think, by General Frémont. When General Halleck came, he found and continued this system, and added an order, applicable to some parts of the State, to levy and collect contributions from noted rebels, to compensate losses and relieve destitution caused by the rebellion. The action of General Frémont and General Halleck, as stated, constituted a sort of system, which General Curtis found in full operation when he took command of the department. That there was a necessity for something of the sort was clear, but that it could only be justified by stern necessity, and that it was liable to great abuse in administration, was equally clear. Agents to execute it, contrary to the great prayer, were led into temptation. Some might, while others would not, resist that temptation. It was not possible to hold any to a very strict accountability, and those yielding to the temptation would sell permits and passes to those who would pay most and most readily for them; and would seize property and collect levies in the aptest way to fill their own pockets. Money being the object, the man having money, whether loyal or disloyal, would be a victim. This practice doubtless existed to some extent, and it was a real additional evil that it could be and was plausibly charged to exist in greater extent than it did.

When General Curtis took command of the department, Mr. Dick, against whom I never knew anything to allege, had general charge of this system. A controversy in regard to it rapidly grew into almost unmanageable proportions. One side ignored the necessity and magnified the evils of the system, while the other ignored the evils and magnified the necessity, and each bitterly assailed the motives of the other. I could not fail to see that the controversy enlarged in the same proportion as the professed Union men there distinctly took sides in two opposing political parties. I exhausted my wits, and very nearly my patience also, in efforts to convince both that the evils they charged on each other were inherent in the case, and could not be cured by giving either party a victory over the other.

Plainly the irritating system was not to be perpetual, and it was plausibly urged that it could be modified at once with advantage. The case could scarcely be worse, and whether it could be made better could only be determined by a trial. In this view, and not to ban or brand General Curtis, or to give a victory to any party, I made the change of commander for the department.

I now learn that soon after this change Mr. Dick was removed, and that Mr. Broadhead, a gentleman of no less good character, was put in the place. The mere fact of this change is more distinctly complained of than is any conduct of the new officer or other consequences of the change.

I gave the new commander no instructions as to the administration of the system mentioned beyond what is contained in the private letter afterward surreptitiously published, in which I directed him to act solely for the public good and independently of both parties. Neither anything you have presented me nor anything I have

otherwise learned has convinced me that he has been unfaithful to this charge.

Imbecility is urged as one cause for removing General Schofield, and the late massacre at Lawrence, Kansas, is pressed as evidence of that imbecility. To my mind that fact scarcely tends to prove the proposition. That massacre is only an example of what Grierson, John [H.] Morgan, and many others might have repeatedly done on their respective raids had they chosen to incur the personal hazard and possessed the fiendish hearts to do it.

The charge is made that General Schofield, on purpose to protect the Lawrence murderers, would not allow them to be pursued into Missouri. While no punishment could be too sudden or too severe for those murderers, I am well satisfied that the preventing of the threatened remedial raid into Missouri was the only safe way to avoid an indiscriminate massacre there, including probably more innocent than guilty. Instead of condemning I therefore approve what I understand General Schofield did in that respect.

The charges that General Schofield has purposely withheld protection from loyal people and purposely facilitated the objects of the disloyal are altogether beyond my power of belief. I do not arraign the veracity of gentlemen as to the facts complained of, but I do more than question the judgment which would infer that those facts occurred in accordance with the purposes of General Schofield.

With my present views, I must decline to remove General Schofield. In this I decide nothing against General Butler. I sincerely wish it were convenient to assign him a suitable command. In order to meet some existing evils I have addressed a letter of instructions to General Schofield, a copy of which I inclose to you.

As to the enrolled militia, I shall endeavor to ascertain better than I now know what is its exact value. Let me say now, however, that your proposal to substitute national forces for the enrolled militia implies that in your judgment the latter is doing something which needs to be done; and if so, the proposition to throw that force away and to supply its place by bringing other forces from the field where they are urgently needed seems to me very extraordinary. Whence shall they come? Shall they be withdrawn from Banks, or Grant, or Steele, or Rosecrans? Few things have been so grateful to my anxious feelings as when, in June last, the local force in Missouri aided General Schofield to so promptly send a large general force to the relief of General Grant, then investing Vicksburg, and menaced from without by General Johnston. Was this all wrong? Should the enrolled militia then have been broken up and General Herron kept from Grant to police Missouri? So far from finding cause to object, I confess to a sympathy for whatever relieves our general force in Missouri and allows it to serve elsewhere. I therefore, as at present advised, cannot attempt the destruction of the enrolled militia of Missouri. I may add that the force being under the national military control, it is also within the proclamation in regard to the *habeas corpus*.

I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do

not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it all. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things, for then they would agree with each other and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise; and I do not question their right. I too shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all, but at last I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

October 5, 1863.—MEMORANDUM CONCERNING T. J. CARTER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 5, 1863.

Whom it may concern: Unless something now unknown and unexpected shall come to my knowledge, tending to change my purpose, I shall, at the proper time, appoint Timothy J. Carter one of the two directors to be appointed by the President, according to a provision in the first section of the act of Congress, entitled "An act to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes, approved July 1, 1862."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

October 9, 1863.—DETAIL OF C. B. STEWART FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 9, 1863.

To whom it may concern: In pursuance of a resolution of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York, in the words following, to wit: "Resolved, That the governor be and hereby is empowered and requested to invite the President of the United States to select and detail a competent engineer in behalf and at the expense of the General Government, to consult with the engineers so to be appointed by the canal board, in respect to the surveys mentioned in the preceding resolution, and as to the mode of constructing the work so as most effectually to promote the national interests," and in response to the invitation of the governor of said State of New York, made in virtue of said resolution, I do hereby select and detail Charles B. Stewart, of Geneva, in said State, to perform the duties contemplated in and by said resolution, it being understood

by said Stewart that he is to rely upon an appropriation hereafter to be made by Congress, for any compensation he may receive.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

October 10, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

WASHINGTON, October 10, 1863. 4.55 P. M.

GENERAL MEADE:

Am interested with your despatch of noon. How is it now?

A. LINCOLN.

October 12, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

(*Cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 12, 1863. 8.35 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

As I understand, Burnside is menaced from the west, and so cannot go to you without surrendering East Tennessee. I now think the enemy will not attack Chattanooga and I think you will have to look out for his making a concentrated drive at Burnside. You and Burnside now have him by the throat; and he must break your hold or perish. I therefore think you better try to hold the road up to Kingston, leaving Burnside to what is above there. Sherman is coming to you, though gaps in the telegraph prevent our knowing how far he is advanced. He and Hooker will so support you on the west and northwest as to enable you to look east and northeast. This is not an order. General Halleck will give his views.

A. LINCOLN.

October 12, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

WASHINGTON, October 12, 1863. 9 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

What news this morning? A despatch from Rosecrans, leaving him at 7.30 P. M. yesterday, says:

Rebel rumors that head of Ewell's column reached Dalton yesterday.

I send this for what it is worth.

A. LINCOLN.

October 14, 1863.—LETTER TO THURLOW WEED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 14, 1863.

HON. THURLOW WEED.

My dear Sir: I have been brought to fear recently that somehow, by commission or omission, I have caused you some degree of pain. I have never entertained an unkind feeling or a disparaging thought

toward you; and if I have said or done anything which has been construed into such unkindness or disparagement, it has been misconstrued. I am sure if we could meet we would not part with any unpleasant impression on either side.

Yours as ever, A. LINCOLN.

October 16, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 16, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

I do not believe Lee can have over 60,000 effective men.

Longstreet's corps would not be sent away to bring an equal force back upon the same road; and there is no other direction for them to have come from.

Doubtless, in making the present movement, Lee gathered in all available scraps, and added them to Hill's and Ewell's corps; but that is all, and he made the movement in the belief that four corps had left General Meade; and General Meade's apparently avoiding a collision with him has confirmed him in that belief. If General Meade can now attack him on a field no worse than equal for us, and will do so with all the skill and courage which he, his officers, and men possess, the honor will be his if he succeeds, and the blame may be mine if he fails. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

October 17, 1863.—CALL FOR 300,000 VOLUNTEERS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the term of service of a part of the volunteer forces of the United States will expire during the coming year, and whereas, in addition to the men raised by the present draft, it is deemed expedient to call out three hundred thousand volunteers to serve for three years or the war, not, however, exceeding three years:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy thereof, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service, do issue this, my proclamation, calling upon the governors of the different States to raise and have enlisted into the United States service, for the various companies and regiments in the field from their respective States, their quotas of three hundred thousand men.

I further proclaim that all volunteers thus called out and duly enlisted shall receive advance pay, premium, and bounty, as heretofore communicated to the governors of States by the War Department, through the Provost-Marshal-General's office, by special letters.

I further proclaim that all volunteers received under this call, as well as all others not heretofore credited, shall be duly credited on, and deducted from, the quotas established for the next draft.

I further proclaim that if any State shall fail to raise the quota assigned to it by the War Department under this call, then a draft for the deficiency in said quota shall be made on said State, or on the districts of said State, for their due proportion of said quota; and the said draft shall commence on the fifth day of January, 1864.

And I further proclaim that nothing in this proclamation shall interfere with existing orders, or those which may be issued, for the present draft in the States where it is now in progress, or where it has not yet commenced.

The quotas of the States and districts will be assigned by the War Department, through the Provost-Marshal-General's office, due regard being had for the men heretofore furnished, whether by volunteering or drafting, and the recruiting will be conducted in accordance with such instructions as have been or may be issued by that department.

In issuing this proclamation, I address myself not only to the governors of the several States, but also to the good and loyal people thereof, invoking them to lend their willing, cheerful, and effective aid to the measures thus adopted, with a view to reinforce our victorious armies now in the field, and bring our needful military operations to a prosperous end, thus closing forever the fountains of sedition and civil war.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington, this seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

October 17, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO J. WILLIAMS AND N. G. TAYLOR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 17, 1863.

JOHN WILLIAMS AND N. G. TAYLOR, Knoxville, Tennessee:

You do not estimate the holding of East Tennessee more highly than I do. There is no absolute purpose of withdrawing our forces from it, and only a contingent one to withdraw them temporarily for the purpose of not losing the position permanently. I am in great hope of not finding it necessary to withdraw them at all, particularly if you raise new troops rapidly for us there.

A. LINCOLN.

October 19, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR GAMBLE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., October 19, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY HAMILTON R. GAMBLE, Governor of Missouri:

Yours of the 1st instant was duly received; and I have delayed so long to answer it because of other pressing duties; because it did not

appear to me that the domestic violence you apprehend was very imminent; and because, if it were so imminent, my direction to General Schofield embraces very nearly the extent of my power to repress it. Being instructed to repress all violence, of course he will, so far as in his power, repress any which may be offered to the State government. At the beginning of our present troubles, the regularly installed State officers of Missouri, taking sides with the rebellion, were forced to give way to the provisional State government, at the head of which you stand, and which was placed in authority, as I understood, by the unanimous action and acquiescence of the Union people of the State. I have seen no occasion to make a distinction against the provisional government because of its not having been chosen and inaugurated in the usual way. Nor have I seen any cause to suspect it of unfaithfulness to the Union. So far as I have yet considered, I am as ready, on a proper case made, to give the State the constitutional protection against invasion and domestic violence, under the provisional government, as I would be if it were under a government installed in the ordinary manner. I have not thought of making a distinction.

In your proclamation of the 12th instant you state the proposition substantially, that no objection can be made to any change in the State government which the people may desire to make so far as the end can be effected by means conforming to the constitution and laws through the expression of the popular will, but that such change should not be effected by violence. I concur in this, and I may add that it makes precisely the distinction I wish to keep in view. In the absence of such violence, or imminent danger thereof, it is not proper for the national executive to interfere, and I am unwilling by any formal action to show an appearance of belief that there is such imminent danger before I really believe there is. I might thereby to some extent bear false witness. You tell me "a party has sprung up in Missouri which openly and loudly proclaims the purpose to overturn the provisional government by violence." Does the party so proclaim, or is it only that some members of the party so proclaim? If I mistake not, the party alluded to recently held a State convention and adopted resolutions. Did they therein declare violence against the provisional State government? No party can be justly held responsible for what individual members of it may say or do. Nothing in this letter is written with reference to any State which may have maintained within it no State government professedly loyal to the United States.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

October 19, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 19, 1863. 9 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

There has been no battle recently at Bull Run. I suppose what you have heard a rumor of was not a general battle but an "affair" at Bristow Station, on the railroad a few miles beyond Manassas

Junction toward the Rappahannock, on Wednesday, the 14th. It began by an attack of the enemy upon General Warren, and ended in the enemy being repulsed with a loss of four cannon and from four to seven hundred prisoners.

A. LINCOLN.

October 21, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 21, 1863. 2.45 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Maryland:

A delegation is here saying that our armed colored troops are at many, if not all, the landings on the Patuxent River, and by their presence with arms in their hands are frightening quiet people and producing great confusion. Have they been sent there by any order, and if so, for what reason?

A. LINCOLN.

October 22, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 22, 1863. 1.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Maryland:

Please come over here. The fact of one of our officers being killed on the Patuxent is a specimen of what I would avoid. It seems to me we could send white men to recruit better than to send negroes and thus inaugurate homicides on *punctilio*. Please come over.

A. LINCOLN.

October 24, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 24, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

Taking all our information together, I think it probable that Ewell's corps has started for East Tennessee by way of Abingdon, marching last Monday, say, from Meade's front directly to the railroad at Charlottesville.

First, the object of Lee's recent movement against Meade; his destruction of the Alexandria and Orange Railroad, and subsequent withdrawal, without more motive, not otherwise apparent, would be explained by this hypothesis.

Secondly, the direct statement of Sharpe's men that Ewell has gone to Tennessee.

Thirdly, the Irishman's statement that he has not gone through Richmond and his further statement of an appeal made to the people at Richmond to go and protect their salt, which could only refer to the works near Abingdon.

Fourthly, Graham's statement from Martinsburg that Imboden is in retreat for Harrisonburg. This last matches with the idea that

Lee has retained his cavalry, sending Imboden and perhaps other scraps to join Ewell. Upon this probability what is to be done?

If you have a plan matured, I have nothing to say. If you have not, then I suggest that, with all possible expedition, the Army of the Potomac get ready to attack Lee, and that in the mean time a raid shall, at all hazards, break the railroad at or near Lynchburg.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

October 26, 1863.—LETTER TRANSMITTING ORIGINAL DRAFT OF EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 26, 1863.

LADIES HAVING IN CHARGE THE NORTHWESTERN FAIR FOR THE SANITARY COMMISSION, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS:

According to the request made in your behalf, the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation is herewith inclosed. The formal words at the top and the conclusion, except the signature, you perceive, are not in my handwriting. They were written at the State Department, by whom I know not. The printed part was cut from a copy of the preliminary proclamation, and pasted on, merely to save writing. I had some desire to retain the paper; but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

October 26, 1863.—LETTER TO G. H. BOKER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 26, 1863.

GEORGE H. BOKER, Esq., Secretary.

My dear Sir: It is with heartfelt gratification that I acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th, and the accompanying medal, by which I am made an honorary member of the Union League of Philadelphia.

I shall always bear with me the consciousness of having endeavored to do my duty in the trying times through which we are passing, and the generous approval of a portion of my fellow-citizens so intelligent and so patriotic as those composing your association assures me that I have not wholly failed.

I could not ask, and no one could merit, a better reward.

Be kind enough, sir, to convey to the gentlemen whom you represent, the assurance of the grateful appreciation with which I accept the honor you have conferred upon me.

I am very truly your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

October 26, 1863.—LETTER TO E. B. WASHBURNE.

(*Private and confidential.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 26, 1863.

HON. E. B. WASHBURNE.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 12th has been in my hands several days. Inclosed I send the leave of absence for your brother, in as good form as I think I can safely put it. Without knowing whether he would accept it, I have tendered the collectorship at Portland, Maine, to your other brother, the governor.

Thanks to both you and our friend Campbell for your kind words and intentions. A second term would be a great honor and a great labor, which, together, perhaps I would not decline if tendered.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

October 26, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 26, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: The writer of the accompanying letter is one of Mrs. Lincoln's numerous cousins. He is a grandson of "Milliken's Bend," near Vicksburg—that is, a grandson of the man who gave name to Milliken's Bend. His father was a brother to Mrs. Lincoln's mother. I know not a thing about his loyalty beyond what he says. Supposing he is loyal, can any of his requests be granted, and if any, which of them? Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

October 27, 1863.—OPINION ON THE LOSS OF GENERAL R. H. MILROY'S DIVISION.

October 27, 1863.

In June last a division was substantially lost at or near Winchester, Va. At the time, it was under General Milroy as immediate commander in the field, General Schenck as department commander at Baltimore, and General Halleck as general-in-chief at Washington.

General Milroy, as immediate commander, was put in arrest, and subsequently a court of inquiry examined chiefly with reference to disobedience of orders, and reported the evidence.

The foregoing is a synoptical statement of the evidence, together with the judge-advocate-general's conclusions. The disaster, when it came, was a surprise to all. It was very well known to Generals Schenck and Milroy for some time before, that General Halleck thought the division was in great danger of a surprise at Winchester; that it was of no service commensurate with the risk it incurred, and that it ought to be withdrawn; but, although he more

than once advised its withdrawal, he never positively ordered it. General Schenck, on the contrary, believed the service of the force at Winchester was worth the hazard, and so did not positively order its withdrawal until it was so late that the enemy cut the wire and prevented the order reaching General Milroy.

General Milroy seems to have concurred with General Schenck in the opinion that the force should be kept at Winchester at least until the approach of danger, but he disobeyed no order upon the subject.

Some question can be made whether some of General Halleck's despatches to General Schenck should not have been construed to be orders to withdraw the force, and obeyed accordingly; but no such question can be made against General Milroy. In fact, the last order he received was to be prepared to withdraw, but not to actually withdraw until further order, which further order never reached him.

Serious blame is not necessarily due to any serious disaster, and I cannot say that in this case any of the officers are deserving of serious blame. No court-martial is deemed necessary or proper in the case.

A. LINCOLN.

October 27, 1863.—LETTER TO T. SWANN.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., October 27, 1863.

HON. THOMAS SWANN.

Dear Sir: Your letter, a copy of which is on the other half of this sheet, is received. I trust there is no just ground for the suspicion you mention; and I am somewhat mortified that there could be any doubt of my views upon the point of your inquiry. I wish all loyal qualified voters in Maryland and elsewhere to have the undisturbed privilege of voting at elections; and neither my authority nor my name can be properly used to the contrary.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

Publish both letters, if either. A. L.

October 28, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL SCHOFIELD.

(*Private and Confidential.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 28, 1863.

GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD.

There have recently reached the War Department, and thence been laid before me, from Missouri, three communications, all similar in import and identical in object. One of them, addressed to nobody, and without place or date, but having the signature of (apparently) the writer, is a letter of eight closely written foolscap

pages. The other two are written by a different person, at St. Joseph, Mo., and of the dates, respectively, October 12 and 13, 1863, and each inclosing a large number of affidavits. The general statements of the whole are that the Federal and State authorities are arming the disloyal and disarming the loyal, and that the latter will all be killed or driven out of the State unless there shall be a change. In particular, no loyal man who has been disarmed is named, but the affidavits show by name forty-two persons as disloyal who have been armed. They are as follows: [The names are omitted.]

A majority of these are shown to have been in the rebel service. I believe it could be shown that the government here has deliberately armed more than ten times as many captured at Gettysburg, to say nothing of similar operations in East Tennessee. These papers contain altogether thirty-one manuscript pages, and one newspaper *in extenso*, and yet I do not find it anywhere charged in them that any loyal man has been harmed by reason of being disarmed, or that any disloyal one has harmed anybody by reason of being armed by the Federal or State Government. Of course, I have not had time to carefully examine all; but I have had most of them examined and briefed by others, and the result is as stated. The remarkable fact that the actual evil is yet only anticipated—inferred—induces me to suppose I understand the case; but I do not state my impression, because I might be mistaken, and because your duty and mine is plain in any event. The locality of nearly all this seems to be St. Joseph and Buchanan County. I wish you to give special attention to this region, particularly on election day. Prevent violence from whatever quarter, and see that the soldiers themselves do no wrong. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

October 29, 1863.—NOTE TO GENERAL C. B. FISK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 29, 1863.

GENERAL CLINTON B. FISK.

My dear Sir: I have just received and read your very kind and instructive letter of the 24th, for which please accept my thanks. It is so free from passion, and so full of charity and good-will, that I regret not having time to do more than acknowledge the receipt of it. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

October 29, 1863.—LETTER TO VICE-PRESIDENT HAMLIN.

AN ACT TO REGULATE THE DUTIES OF THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN PREPARING FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that, before the first meeting of the next Congress, and of every subsequent Congress, the clerk of the next

preceding House of Representatives shall make a roll of the Representatives-elect, and place thereon the names of all persons, and of such persons only, whose credentials show that they were regularly elected in accordance with the laws of their States respectively, or the laws of the United States.

Approved March 3, 1863.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., October 29, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY H. HAMLIN, Vice-President.

My dear Sir: The above act of Congress was passed, as I suppose, to exclude improper applicants from seats in the House of Representatives, and there is danger now that it will be used to exclude proper ones. The attempt will be made, if at all, upon the members of those States whose delegations are entirely, or by a majority, Union men, and of which your State is one.

I suppose your members already have the usual certificates — which let them bring on. I suggest that for greater caution, yourself, the two senators, Messrs. Fessenden and Morrill, and the Governor consider this matter, and that the Governor make out an additional certificate, or set of certificates, in the form on the other half of this sheet, and still another, if on studying the law you gentlemen shall be able to frame one which will give additional security; and bring the whole with you, to be used if found necessary. Let it all be done quietly. The members of Congress themselves need not know of it.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

October 31, 1863.— MEMORANDUM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 31, 1863.

The Provost-Marshal-General has issued no proclamation at all. He has in no form announced anything recently in regard to troops in New York, except in his letter to Governor Seymour of October 21, which has been published in the newspapers of that State. It has not been announced or decided in any form by the Provost Marshal-General, or any one else in authority of the government, th every citizen who has paid his three hundred dollars commutat is liable to be immediately drafted again, or that towns that just raised the money to pay their quotas will have again to be ject to similar taxation or suffer the operations of the new con tion, nor is it probable that the like of them ever will be ann or decided.

November 2, 1863.— LETTER TO POSTMASTER-GENERA

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Novemb

HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

My dear Sir: Some days ago I understood you t brother, General Frank Blair, desires to be guided h to whether he will occupy his seat in Congress or r

My wish, then, is compounded of what I believe will be best for the country and best for him, and it is that he will come here, put his military commission in my hands, take his seat, go into caucus with our friends, abide the nominations, help elect the nominees, and thus aid to organize a House of Representatives which will really support the government in the war. If the result shall be the election of himself as Speaker, let him serve in that position; if not, let him retake his commission and return to the army. For the country this will heal a dangerous schism; for him it will relieve from a dangerous position. By a misunderstanding, as I think, he is in danger of being permanently separated from those with whom only he can ever have a real sympathy — the sincere opponents of slavery. It will be a mistake if he shall allow the provocations offered him by insincere time-servers to drive him out of the house of his own building. He is young yet. He has abundant talent — quite enough to occupy all his time without devoting any to temper. He is rising in military skill and usefulness. His recent appointment to the command of a corps by one so competent to judge as General Sherman proves this. In that line he can serve both the country and himself more profitably than he could as a member of Congress on the floor. The foregoing is what I would say if Frank Blair were my brother instead of yours. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 2, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 2, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY A. W. BRADFORD, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: Yours of the 31st ult. was received yesterday about noon, and since then I have been giving most earnest attention to the subject-matter of it. At my call General Schenck has attended, and he assures me it is almost certain that violence will be used at some of the voting places on election day unless prevented by his provost-guards. He says that at some of those places Union voters will not attend at all, or run a ticket, unless they have some assurance of protection. This makes the Missouri case, of my action in regard which you express your approval.

The remaining point of your letter is a protest against any person offering to vote being put to any test not found in the laws of Maryland. This brings us to a difference between Missouri and Maryland. With the same reason in both States, Missouri has, by statute, provided a test for the voter with reference to the present rebellion, while Maryland has not. For example, General Trimble, who is fighting us at Gettysburg, is, without recanting his treason, a voter by the laws of Maryland. Even General Schenck's order allows him to vote, if he recants upon oath. I think that is unnecessary. My order in Missouri, which you approve, and General Schenck's order here, reach precisely the same end. Each assumes the right of voting to all loyal men, and whether a man is loyal is for that man to fix by his own oath. Your suggestion

that nearly all the candidates are loyal, I do not think quite meets the case. In this struggle for the nation's life, I cannot so confidently rely on those whose elections may have depended upon disloyal votes. Such men, when elected, may prove true; but such votes are given them in the expectation that they will prove false.

Nor do I think that to keep the peace at the polls, and to prevent the persistently disloyal from voting, constitutes just cause of offense to Maryland. I think she has her own example for it. If I mistake not, it is precisely what General Dix did when your Excellency was elected governor.

I revoke the first of the three propositions in General Schenck's General Order No. 53; not that it is wrong in principle, but because the military, being of necessity exclusive judges as to who shall be arrested, the provision is too liable to abuse. For the revoked part I substitute the following:

> That all provost-marshals and other military officers do prevent all disturbance and violence at or about the polls, whether offered by such persons as above described, or by any other person or persons whomsoever.

The other two propositions of the order I allow to stand. General Schenck is fully determined, and has my strict orders besides, that all loyal men may vote, and vote for whom they please.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

November 2, 1863.—LETTER TO J. H. HACKETT.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 2, 1863.

JAMES H. HACKETT.

My dear Sir: Yours of October 22 is received, as also was in due course that of October 3. I look forward with pleasure to the fulfilment of the promise made in the former.

Give yourself no uneasiness on the subject mentioned in that the 22d.

My note to you I certainly did not expect to see in print; have not been much shocked by the newspaper comments u Those comments constitute a fair specimen of what has occu me through life. I have endured a great deal of ridicule much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, free from ridicule. I am used to it.

Yours truly, A.

November 5, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Nov

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

Three months ago to-day I wrote you about stating, on the word of Governor Shepley, a

that Mr. Durant was taking a registry of citizens preparatory to the election of a constitutional convention for that State. I sent a copy of the letter to Mr. Durant, and I now have his letter, written two months after, acknowledging receipt, and saying he is not taking such registry; and he does not let me know that he personally is expecting to do so. Mr. Flanders, to whom I also sent a copy, is now here, and he says nothing has yet been done. This disappoints me bitterly; yet I do not throw blame on you or on them.

I do, however, urge both you and them to lose no more time. Governor Shepley has special instructions from the War Department. I wish him—those gentlemen and others coöperating—without waiting for more territory, to go to work and give me a tangible nucleus which the remainder of the State may rally around as fast as it can, and which I can at once recognize and sustain as the true State government. And in that work I wish you and all under your command to give them a hearty sympathy and support.

The instruction to Governor Shepley bases the movement (and rightfully, too) upon the loyal element. Time is important. There is danger, even now, that the adverse element seeks insidiously to preoccupy the ground. If a few professedly loyal men shall draw the disloyal about them, and colorably set up a State government, repudiating the Emancipation Proclamation, and reëstablishing slavery, I cannot recognize or sustain their work. I should fall powerless in the attempt. This government in such an attitude would be a house divided against itself.

I have said, and say again, that if a new State government, acting in harmony with this government, and consistently with general freedom, shall think best to adopt a reasonable temporary arrangement in relation to the landless and homeless freed people, I do not object; but my word is out to be for and not against them on the question of their permanent freedom. I do not insist upon such temporary arrangement, but only say such would not be objectionable to me. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[redacted]ember 9, 1863.—LETTER TO J. J. ASTOR, JR., AND OTHERS.

(*Private, except to General Dix.*)

[redacted]CUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., November 9, 1863.

[redacted]. J. ASTOR, JR., R. B. ROOSEVELT, AND NATHANIEL SANDS.

[redacted]*n:* Upon the subject of your letter, I have to say that it [redacted]y province to interfere with New York city politics; that [redacted]ateful to General Dix for the zealous and able military [redacted] support he has given the government during the [redacted]if the people of New York should tender him the [redacted]e accept it, nothing on that subject could be more [redacted]e. In this I must not be understood as saying [redacted] one, or as attempting the least degree of dicta-

To state it in another way, if General Dix's present relation to the General Government lays any restraint upon him in this matter, I wish to remove that restraint. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 9, 1863.—LETTER TO B. F. FLANDERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., November 9, 1863.

HON. B. F. FLANDERS.

My dear Sir: In a conversation with General Butler, he made a suggestion which impressed me a good deal at the time. It was that, as a preliminary step, a vote be taken, yea or nay, whether there shall be a State convention to repeal the ordinance of secession and remodel the State constitution. I send it merely as a suggestion for your consideration, not having considered it maturely myself.

The point which impressed me was, not so much the questions to be voted on, as the effect of crystallizing, so to speak, in taking such popular vote on any proper question.

In fact, I have always thought the act of secession is legally nothing, and needs no repealing. Turn the thought over in your mind, and see if in your own judgment you can make anything of it.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

November 9, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, November 9, 1863. 4 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Knoxville, Tennessee:

Have seen despatch from General Grant about your loss at Rogersville. *Per contra*, about the same time, Averell and Duffie got considerable advantage of the enemy at and about Lewisburg, Virginia; and on Saturday, the seventh, Meade drove the enemy from Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford, capturing eight battle flags, four guns, and over 1800 prisoners, with very little loss to himself. Let me hear from you.

A. LIN[illegible]

November 9, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. [illegible]

WASHINGTON, November 9, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

I have seen your despatches about operations on the Rappahannock on Saturday, and I wish to say, "Well done! [illegible] prisoners reported by General Sedgwick include those of General French, or do the whole amount to 1900?

November 11, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 11, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Dear Sir: I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, to be appointed colonel for a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Cæsar's hair.

Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN.

November 11, 1863.—LETTER TO POSTMASTER-GENERAL BLAIR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., November 11, 1863.

HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

My dear Sir: Mr. Crisfield's letter, which you inclose, is received. Let Mr. S—— procure the sworn statement of the election judges at any voting place as to what may be deemed the misconduct of any military officer, and present it to me, and I will call any such officer to account who shall by such statement appear to have violated or transcended his orders. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 14, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, November 14, 1863. 12.15 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Cincinnati, Ohio:

I have received and considered your despatch of yesterday. Of
he reports you mention, I have not the means of seeing any except
ur own. Besides this, the publication might be improper in view
the court of inquiry which has been ordered. With every dis-
tion, not merely to do justice, but to oblige you, I feel constrained
y I think the publications better not be made now.

A. LINCOLN.

ovember 17, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

XECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 17, 1863.

ARY OF THE TREASURY.

I expected to see you here at Cabinet meeting, and
g about going to Gettysburg. There will be a train
rn us. The time for starting is not yet fixed, but
will notify you. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 17, 1863.—Indorsement on Note of Secretary Stanton.

War Department, Washington City, November 17, 1863.

Mr. President: It is proposed by the Baltimore and Ohio road —

First, To leave Washington Thursday morning at 6 A. M.; and

Second, To leave Baltimore at 8 A. M., arriving at Gettysburg at 12 noon, thus giving two hours to view the ground before the dedication ceremonies commence.

Third, To leave Gettysburg at 6 P. M., and arrive at Washington, midnight; thus doing all in one day.

Mr. Smith says the Northern Central road agrees to this arrangement.

Please consider it, and if any change is desired, let me know, so that it can be made. Yours truly,

Edwin M. Stanton.

[*Indorsement.*]

I do not like this arrangement. I do not wish to so go that by the slightest accident we fail entirely, and, at the best, the whole to be a mere breathless running of the gauntlet. But, any way.

A. Lincoln.

November 17, 1863.

November 19, 1863. — Address at the Dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogeth fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consec —we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor to add or detract. The world will little note nor long rem what we say here, but it can never forget what they did h is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the u work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task before us—that from these honored dead we take incr tion to that cause for which they gave the last full devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall ha of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, shall not perish from the earth.

November 20, 1863.—LETTER TO EDWARD EVERETT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 20, 1863.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

My dear Sir: Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure. Of course I knew Mr. Everett would not fail, and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency whose principals are the States, was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.

Our sick boy, for whom you kindly inquire, we hope is past the worst. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

November 20, 1863.—LETTER TO Z. CHANDLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 20, 1863.

HON. ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 15th, marked "private," was received to-day. I have seen Governor Morgan and Thurlow Weed, separately, but not together, within the last ten days; but neither of them mentioned the forthcoming message, or said anything, so far as I can remember, which brought the thought of the message to my mind. I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably, and that I have not, by native depravity or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to "stand firm" enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

November 23, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., November 23, 1863.

Sir: Two despatches since I saw you; one not quite so encouraging as we had before, but giving the points that Burnside can hold the place, that he is not closely invested, and has forces across the river. The other brings the firing up to yesterday, being twenty-three hours later than we had

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 24, 1863.—NOTE TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 24, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE.

My dear Sir: A despatch from Foster, at Cincinnati, received half an hour ago, contains one from Wilcox at Cumberland Gap, without date, saying: "Fighting going on at Knoxville to-day." The want of date makes the time of fighting uncertain, but I rather think it means yesterday, the 23d. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 25, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL GRANT.

WASHINGTON, November 25, 1863. 8.40 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. GRANT:

Your despatches as to fighting on Monday and Tuesday are here. Well done! Many thanks to all. Remember Burnside.

A. LINCOLN.

December 1, 1863.—LETTER FROM JOHN HAY TO GENERAL DIX.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 1, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX, President of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, New York:

I have not been permitted until to-day to present to the President your communication of November 23. He directs me to express his deep regret that his illness will prevent him from giving on this occasion expression to the profound interest he feels in the success of a work so vast and so beneficent as that which you are about to inaugurate. Respectfully your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY, Assistant Private Secretary.

December 2, 1863.—LETTER TO GEORGE OPDYKE AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 2, 1863.

MESSRS. GEORGE OPDYKE, JOSEPH SUTHERLAND, BENJAMIN F. MANIERRE, PROSPER M. WETMORE, AND SPENCER KIRBY, Committee:

Yours of the 28th ultimo, inviting me to be present at a meeting to be held at the Cooper Institute on the 3d instant, to promote the raising of volunteers, is received. Nothing would be more grateful to my feelings, or better accord with my judgment, than to contribute, if I could, by my presence or otherwise, to that eminently patriotic object. Nevertheless, the now early meeting of Congress, together with a temporary illness, render my attendance impossible.

You propose also to celebrate our Western victories. Freed from the apprehension of wounding the just sensibilities of brave soldiers fighting elsewhere, it would be exceedingly agreeable to me to join in a suitable acknowledgment to those of the great West, with whom I was born and have passed my life. And it is exceedingly gratifying that a portion, lately of the Army of the Potomac, but now serving with the great Army of the West, has borne so conspicuous a part in the late brilliant triumphs in Georgia.

Honor to the soldier and sailor everywhere who bravely bears his country's cause. Honor also to the citizen who cares for his brother in the field, and serves, as he best can, the same cause—honor to him, only less than to him who braves, for the common good, the storms of heaven and the storms of battle.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 7, 1863.—ANNOUNCEMENT OF UNION SUCCESS IN EAST TENNESSEE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., December 7, 1863.

Reliable information being received that the insurgent force is retreating from East Tennessee, under circumstances rendering it probable that the Union forces cannot hereafter be dislodged from that important position, and esteeming this to be of high national consequence, I recommend that all loyal people do, on receipt of this information, assemble at their places of worship and render special homage and gratitude to almighty God for this great advancement of the national cause.

A. LINCOLN.

December 8, 1863.—PROCLAMATION OF AMNESTY AND RECONSTRUCTION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, in and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the President "shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment"; and

Whereas a rebellion now exists whereby the loyal State governments of several States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed, and are now guilty of, treason against the United States; and

Whereas, with reference to said rebellion and treason, laws have been enacted by Congress, declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions therein stated, and also declaring that the President was thereby authorized at any time thereafter, by proclamation, to extend to

persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such times and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare; and

Whereas the congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with well-established judicial exposition of the pardoning power; and

Whereas, with reference to said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations, with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and

Whereas it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State governments within and for their respective States; therefore

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

I, ———, do solemnly swear, in presence of almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God.

The persons exempted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are, or shall have been, civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are or shall have been military or naval officers of said so-called Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in the army or of lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the army or navy of the United States and afterward aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and

North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall reëstablish a State government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that "the United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence."

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent as a temporary arrangement with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the national executive.

And it is suggested as not improper that, in constructing a loyal State government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws, as before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new State government.

To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to State governments, has no reference to States wherein loyal State governments have all the while been maintained.

And, for the same reason, it may be proper to further say, that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective houses, and not to any extent with the executive. And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be reëstablished within said States, or in any of them; and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.

Given under my hand at the city of Washington, the [L. S.] eighth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

December 8, 1863.—ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Another year of health, and of sufficiently abundant harvests, has passed. For these, and especially for the improved condition of our national affairs, our renewed and profoundest gratitude to God is due.

We remain in peace and friendship with foreign powers.

The efforts of disloyal citizens of the United States to involve us in foreign wars, to aid an inexcusable insurrection, have been unavailing. Her Britannic Majesty's government, as was justly expected, have exercised their authority to prevent the departure of new hostile expeditions from British ports. The Emperor of France has, by a like proceeding, promptly vindicated the neutrality which he proclaimed at the beginning of the contest. Questions of great intricacy and importance have arisen out of the blockade, and other belligerent operations, between the government and several of the maritime powers, but they have been discussed, and, as far as was possible, accommodated, in a spirit of frankness, justice, and mutual good-will. It is especially gratifying that our prize courts, by the impartiality of their adjudications, have commanded the respect and confidence of maritime powers.

The supplemental treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave-trade, made on the 17th day of February last, has been duly ratified and carried into execution. It is believed that, so far as American ports and American citizens are concerned, that inhuman and odious traffic has been brought to an end.

I shall submit, for the consideration of the Senate, a convention for the adjustment of possessory claims in Washington Territory, arising out of the treaty of the 15th of June, 1846, between the United States and Great Britain, and which have been the source of some disquiet among the citizens of that now rapidly improving part of the country.

A novel and important question, involving the extent of the maritime jurisdiction of Spain in the waters which surround the island of Cuba, has been debated without reaching an agreement, and it is proposed, in an amicable spirit, to refer it to the arbitrament of a friendly power. A convention for that purpose will be submitted to the Senate.

I have thought it proper, subject to the approval of the Senate, to concur with the interested commercial powers in an arrangement for the liquidation of the Scheldt dues upon the principles which have been heretofore adopted in regard to the imposts upon navigation in the waters of Denmark.

The long-pending controversy between this government and that of Chile, touching the seizure at Sitana, in Peru, by Chilian officers, of a large amount in treasure belonging to citizens of the United States, has been brought to a close by the award of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, to whose arbitration the question was referred by the parties. The subject was thoroughly and patiently examined

by that justly respected magistrate, and although the sum awarded to the claimants may not have been as large as they expected, there is no reason to distrust the wisdom of his Majesty's decision. That decision was promptly complied with by Chile, when intelligence in regard to it reached that country.

The joint commission, under the act of the last session, for carrying into effect the convention with Peru, on the subject of claims, has been organized at Lima, and is engaged in the business intrusted to it.

Difficulties concerning inter-oceanic transit through Nicaragua are in course of amicable adjustment.

In conformity with principles set forth in my last annual message, I have received a representative from the United States of Colombia, and have accredited a minister to that republic.

Incidents occurring in the progress of our civil war have forced upon my attention the uncertain state of international questions touching the rights of foreigners in this country and of United States citizens abroad. In regard to some governments, these rights are at least partially defined by treaties. In no instance, however, is it expressly stipulated that, in the event of civil war, a foreigner residing in this country, within the lines of the insurgents, is to be exempted from the rule which classes him as a belligerent, in whose behalf the government of his country cannot expect any privileges or immunities distinct from that character. I regret to say, however, that such claims have been put forward, and, in some instances, in behalf of foreigners who have lived in the United States the greater part of their lives.

There is reason to believe that many persons born in foreign countries, who have declared their intention to become citizens, or who have been fully naturalized, have evaded the military duty required of them by denying the fact, and thereby throwing upon the government the burden of proof. It has been found difficult or impracticable to obtain this proof, from the want of guides to the proper sources of information. These might be supplied by requiring clerks of courts, where declarations of intention may be made, or naturalizations effected, to send, periodically, lists of the names of the persons naturalized, or declaring their intention to become citizens, to the Secretary of the Interior, in whose department those names might be arranged and printed for general information.

There is also reason to believe that foreigners frequently become citizens of the United States for the sole purpose of evading duties imposed by the laws of their native countries, to which, on becoming naturalized here, they at once repair, and, though never returning to the United States, they still claim the interposition of this government as citizens. Many altercations and great prejudices have heretofore arisen out of this abuse. It is, therefore, submitted to your serious consideration. It might be advisable to fix a limit, beyond which no citizen of the United States residing abroad may claim the interposition of his government.

The right of suffrage has often been assumed and exercised by

aliens, under pretenses of naturalization, which they have disavowed when drafted into the military service. I submit the expediency of such an amendment of the law as will make the fact of voting an estoppel against any plea of exemption from military service, or other civil obligation, on the ground of alienage.

In common with other Western powers, our relations with Japan have been brought into serious jeopardy, through the perverse opposition of the hereditary aristocracy of the empire to the enlightened and liberal policy of the Tycoon, designed to bring the country into the society of nations. It is hoped, although not with entire confidence, that these difficulties may be peacefully overcome. I ask your attention to the claim of the minister residing there for the damages he sustained in the destruction by fire of the residence of the legation at Yeddo.

Satisfactory arrangements have been made with the Emperor of Russia, which, it is believed, will result in effecting a continuous line of telegraph through that empire from our Pacific coast.

I recommend to your favorable consideration the subject of an international telegraph across the Atlantic Ocean; and also of a telegraph between this capital and the national forts along the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico. Such communications, established with any reasonable outlay, would be economical as well as effective aids to the diplomatic, military, and naval service.

The consular system of the United States, under the enactments of the last Congress, begins to be self-sustaining; and there is reason to hope that it may become entirely so, with the increase of trade which will ensue whenever peace is restored. Our ministers abroad have been faithful in defending American rights. In protecting commercial interests, our consuls have necessarily had to encounter increased labors and responsibilities, growing out of the war. These they have, for the most part, met and discharged with zeal and efficiency. This acknowledgment justly includes those consuls who, residing in Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Japan, China, and other Oriental countries, are charged with complex functions and extraordinary powers.

The condition of the several organized Territories is generally satisfactory, although Indian disturbances in New Mexico have not been entirely suppressed. The mineral resources of Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, New Mexico, and Arizona are proving far richer than has been heretofore understood. I lay before you a communication on this subject from the governor of New Mexico. I ag[ain] submit to your consideration the expediency of establishing a [sys]tem for the encouragement of immigration. Although this s[ource] of national wealth and strength is again flowing with greate[r] dom than for several years before the insurrection occurred, [there] still a great deficiency of laborers in every field of indust[ry] cially in agriculture, and in our mines, as well of iron and [coal] the precious metals. While the demand for labor is thus [great] here, tens of thousands of persons, destitute of remune[rative] pation, are thronging our foreign consulates, and offe[ring] grate to the United States if essential, but very ch[eerfully]

can be afforded them. It is easy to see that, under the sharp discipline of civil war, the nation is beginning a new life. This noble effort demands the aid, and ought to receive the attention and support of the government.

Injuries, unforeseen by the government and unintended, may, in some cases, have been inflicted on the subjects or citizens of foreign countries, both at sea and on land, by persons in the service of the United States. As this government expects redress from other powers when similar injuries are inflicted by persons in their service upon citizens of the United States, we must be prepared to do justice to foreigners. If the existing judicial tribunals are inadequate to this purpose, a special court may be authorized, with power to hear and decide such claims of the character referred to as may have arisen under treaties and the public law. Conventions for adjusting the claims by joint commission have been proposed to some governments, but no definitive answer to the proposition has yet been received from any.

In the course of the session I shall probably have occasion to request you to provide indemnification to claimants where decrees of restitution have been rendered, and damages awarded by admiralty courts; and in other cases, where this government may be acknowledged to be liable in principle, and where the amount of that liability has been ascertained by an informal arbitration.

The proper officers of the treasury have deemed themselves required by the law of the United States upon the subject to demand a tax upon the incomes of foreign consuls in this country. While such a demand may not, in strictness, be in derogation of public law, or perhaps of any existing treaty between the United States and a foreign country, the expediency of so far modifying the act as to exempt from tax the income of such consuls as are not citizens of the United States, derived from the emoluments of their office, or from property not situated in the United States, is submitted to your serious consideration. I make this suggestion upon the ground that a comity which ought to be reciprocated exempts our consuls, in all other countries, from taxation to the extent thus indicated. The United States, I think, ought not to be exceptionally illiberal to international trade and commerce.

The operations of the treasury during the last year have been successfully conducted. The enactment by Congress of a national banking law has proved a valuable support of the public credit; and the general legislation in relation to loans has fully answered the expectations of its favorers. Some amendments may be required to correct existing laws, but no change in their principles or general [illegible] is believed to be needed.

[illegible] these measures have been in operation, all demands on the [illegible] including the pay of the army and navy, have been [illegible] met and fully satisfied. No considerable body of troops, [illegible]ed, were ever more amply provided, and more liberally [illegible]ly paid; and it may be added, that by no people were [illegible]ncident to a great war ever more cheerfully borne.

[illegible] during the year from all sources, including loans and

the balance in the treasury at its commencement, were $901,125,674.86, and the aggregate disbursements $895,796,630.65, leaving a balance on the 1st of July, 1863, of $5,329,044.21. Of the receipts there were derived from customs $69,059,642.40; from internal revenue, $37,640,787.95; from direct tax, $1,485,103.61; from lands, $167,617.17; from miscellaneous sources, $3,046,615.35; and from loans, $776,682,361.57; making the aggregate, $901,125,674.86. Of the disbursements there were for the civil service, $23,253,922.08; for pensions and Indians, $4,216,520.79; for interest on public debt, $24,729,846.51; for the War Department, $599,298,600.83; for the Navy Department, $63,211,105.27; for payment of funded and temporary debt, $181,086,635.07; making the aggregate, $895,796,630.65, and leaving the balance of $5,329,044.21. But the payments of funded and temporary debt, having been made from moneys borrowed during the year, must be regarded as merely nominal payments, and the moneys borrowed to make them as merely nominal receipts; and their amount, $181,086,635.07, should therefore be deducted both from receipts and disbursements. This being done, there remain as actual receipts, $720,039,039.79, and the actual disbursements, $714,709,995.58, leaving the balance as already stated.

The actual receipts and disbursements for the first quarter, and the estimated receipts and disbursements for the remaining three quarters, of the current fiscal year, 1864, will be shown in detail by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, to which I invite your attention. It is sufficient to say here that it is not believed that actual results will exhibit a state of the finances less favorable to the country than the estimates of that officer heretofore submitted; while it is confidently expected that at the close of the year both disbursements and debt will be found very considerably less than has been anticipated.

The report of the Secretary of War is a document of great interest. It consists of —

1. The military operations of the year, detailed in the report of the General-in-Chief.
2. The organization of colored persons into the war service.
3. The exchange of prisoners, fully set forth in the letter of General Hitchcock.
4. The operations under the act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, detailed in the report of the Provost-Marshal-General.
5. The organization of the invalid corps; and
6. The operation of the several departments of the Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, Paymaster-General, Chief of Engineers, Chief of Ordnance, and Surgeon-General.

It has appeared impossible to make a valuable summary of this report except such as would be too extended for this place, and hence I content myself by asking your careful attention to the report itself.

The duties devolving on the naval branch of the service during the year, and throughout the whole of this unhappy contest, have been discharged with fidelity and eminent success. The extens[illegible]

blockade has been constantly increasing in efficiency, as the navy has expanded; yet on so long a line it has so far been impossible to entirely suppress illicit trade. From returns received at the Navy Department, it appears that more than one thousand vessels have been captured since the blockade was instituted, and that the value of prizes already sent in for adjudication amounts to over thirteen millions of dollars.

The naval force of the United States consists at this time of five hundred and eighty-eight vessels, completed and in the course of completion, and of these, seventy-five are iron-clad or armored steamers. The events of the war give an increased interest and importance to the navy which will probably extend beyond the war itself.

The armored vessels in our navy, completed and in service, or which are under contract and approaching completion, are believed to exceed in number those of any other power. But while these may be relied upon for harbor defense and coast service, others of greater strength and capacity will be necessary for cruising purposes, and to maintain our rightful position on the ocean.

The change that has taken place in naval vessels and naval warfare since the introduction of steam as a motive power for ships of war demands either a corresponding change in some of our existing navy-yards, or the establishment of new ones, for the construction and necessary repair of modern naval vessels. No inconsiderable embarrassment, delay, and public injury have been experienced from the want of such governmental establishments. The necessity of such a navy-yard, so furnished, at some suitable place upon the Atlantic seaboard, has on repeated occasions been brought to the attention of Congress by the Navy Department, and is again presented in the report of the Secretary which accompanies this communication. I think it my duty to invite your special attention to this subject, and also to that of establishing a yard and depot for naval purposes upon one of the western rivers. A naval force has been created on those interior waters, and under many disadvantages, within little more than two years, exceeding in numbers the whole naval force of the country at the commencement of the present administration. Satisfactory and important as have been the performances of the heroic men of the navy at this interesting period, they are scarcely more wonderful than the success of our mechanics and artisans in the production of war vessels which has created a new form of naval power.

Our country has advantages superior to any other nation in our resources of iron and timber, with inexhaustible quantities of fuel in the immediate vicinity of both, all available, and in close proximity to navigable waters. Without the advantage of public works the resources of the nation have been developed, and its power displayed, in the construction of a navy of such magnitude, which has, at the very period of its creation, rendered signal service to the Union.

The increase of the number of seamen in the public service, from [illegible]en thousand five hundred men, in the spring of 1861, to about [illegible]ty-four thousand at the present time, has been accomplished

without special legislation, or extraordinary bounties to promote that increase. It has been found, however, that the operation of the draft, with the high bounties paid for army recruits, is beginning to affect injuriously the naval service, and will, if not corrected, be likely to impair its efficiency, by detaching seamen from their proper vocation and inducing them to enter the army. I therefore respectfully suggest that Congress might aid both the army and naval services by a definite provision on this subject, which would at the same time be equitable to the communities more especially interested.

I commend to your consideration the suggestions of the Secretary of the Navy in regard to the policy of fostering and training seamen, and also the education of officers and engineers for the naval service. The Naval Academy is rendering signal service in preparing midshipmen for the highly responsible duties which in after life they will be required to perform. In order that the country should not be deprived of the proper quota of educated officers, for which legal provision has been made at the naval school, the vacancies caused by the neglect or omission to make nominations from the States in insurrection have been filled by the Secretary of the Navy. The school is now more full and complete than at any former period, and in every respect entitled to the favorable consideration of Congress.

During the past fiscal year the financial condition of the Post Office Department has been one of increasing prosperity, and I am gratified in being able to state that the actual postal revenue has nearly equaled the entire expenditures; the latter amounting to $11,314,206.84, and the former to $11,163,789.59, leaving a deficiency of but $150,417.25. In 1860, the year immediately preceding the rebellion, the deficiency amounted to $5,656,705.49, the postal receipts of that year being $2,645,722.19 less than those of 1863. The decrease since 1860 in the annual amount of transportation has been only about 25 per cent., but the annual expenditure on account of the same has been reduced 35 per cent. It is manifest, therefore, that the Post Office Department may become self-sustaining in a few years even with the restoration of the whole service.

The international conference of postal delegates from the principal countries of Europe and America, which was called at the suggestion of the Postmaster-General, met at Paris on the 11th of May last, and concluded its deliberations on the 8th of June. The principles established by the conference as best adapted to facilitate postal intercourse between nations, and as the basis of future postal conventions, inaugurate a general system of uniform international charges, at reduced rates of postage, and cannot fail to produce beneficial results.

I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Interior, which is herewith laid before you, for useful and varied information in relation to the public lands, Indian affairs, patents, pensions, and other matters of public concern pertaining to his department.

The quantity of land disposed of during the last and the fir quarter of the present fiscal years was three million eight hund and forty-one thousand five hundred and forty-nine acres, of w

one hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and eleven acres were sold for cash, one million four hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred and fourteen acres were taken up under the homestead law, and the residue disposed of under laws granting lands for military bounties, for railroad and other purposes. It also appears that the sale of the public lands is largely on the increase.

It has long been a cherished opinion of some of our wisest statesmen that the people of the United States had a higher and more enduring interest in the early settlement and substantial cultivation of the public lands than in the amount of direct revenue to be derived from the sale of them. This opinion has had a controlling influence in shaping legislation upon the subject of our national domain. I may cite, as evidence of this, the liberal measures adopted in reference to actual settlers; the grant to the States of the overflowed lands within their limits in order to their being reclaimed and rendered fit for cultivation; the grants to railway companies of alternate sections of land upon the contemplated lines of their roads, which, when completed, will so largely multiply the facilities for reaching our distant possessions. This policy has received its most signal and beneficent illustration in the recent enactment granting homesteads to actual settlers. Since the first day of January last the before-mentioned quantity of one million four hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred and fourteen acres of land have been taken up under its provisions. This fact, and the amount of sales, furnish gratifying evidence of increasing settlement upon the public lands notwithstanding the great struggle in which the energies of the nation have been engaged, and which has required so large a withdrawal of our citizens from their accustomed pursuits. I cordially concur in the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, suggesting a modification of the act in favor of those engaged in the military and naval service of the United States. I doubt not that Congress will cheerfully adopt such measures as will, without essentially changing the general features of the system, secure, to the greatest practicable extent, its benefits to those who have left their homes in defense of the country in this arduous crisis.

I invite your attention to the views of the Secretary as to the propriety of raising, by appropriate legislation, a revenue from the mineral lands of the United States.

The measures provided at your last session for the removal of certain Indian tribes have been carried into effect. Sundry treaties have been negotiated, which will, in due time, be submitted for the constitutional action of the Senate. They contain stipulations for extinguishing the possessory rights of the Indians to large and valuable tracts of land. It is hoped that the effect of these treaties will result in the establishment of permanent friendly relations with such of these tribes as have been brought into frequent and bloody collision with our outlying settlements and emigrants. Sound policy, and our imperative duty to these wards of the government, demand our anxious and constant attention to their material well-being, to their progress in the arts of civilization, and, above all, to that moral training which, under the blessing of Divine Provi-

dence, will confer upon them the elevated and sanctifying influences, the hopes and consolations, of the Christian faith.

I suggested in my last annual message the propriety of remodeling our Indian system. Subsequent events have satisfied me of its necessity. The details set forth in the report of the Secretary evince the urgent need for immediate legislative action.

I commend the benevolent institutions established or patronized by the government in this District to your generous and fostering care.

The attention of Congress, during the last session, was engaged to some extent with a proposition for enlarging the water communication between the Mississippi River and the northeastern seaboard, which proposition, however, failed for the time. Since then, upon a call of the greatest respectability, a convention has been held at Chicago upon the same subject, a summary of whose views is contained in a memorial addressed to the President and Congress, and which I now have the honor to lay before you. That this interest is one which, ere long, will force its own way, I do not entertain a doubt, while it is submitted entirely to your wisdom as to what can be done now. Augmented interest is given to this subject by the actual commencement of work upon the Pacific railroad, under auspices so favorable to rapid progress and completion. The enlarged navigation becomes a palpable need to the great road.

I transmit the second annual report of the Commissioner of the Department of Agriculture, asking your attention to the developments in that vital interest of the nation.

When Congress assembled a year ago the war had already lasted nearly twenty months, and there had been many conflicts on both land and sea with varying results. The rebellion had been pressed back into reduced limits; yet the tone of public feeling and opinion, at home and abroad, was not satisfactory. With other signs, the popular elections, then just past, indicated uneasiness among ourselves, while, amid much that was cold and menacing, the kindest words coming from Europe were uttered in accents of pity that we were too blind to surrender a hopeless cause. Our commerce was suffering greatly by a few armed vessels built upon, and furnished from, foreign shores, and we were threatened with such additions from the same quarter as would sweep our trade from the sea and raise our blockade. We had failed to elicit from European governments anything hopeful upon this subject. The preliminary emancipation proclamation, issued in September, was running its assigned period to the beginning of the new year. A month later the final proclamation came, including the announcement that colored men of suitable condition would be received into the war service. The policy of emancipation, and of employing black soldiers, gave to the future a new aspect, about which hope, and fear, and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the General Government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while de-

possible that the necessity for it might come, and that if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented. It came, and, as was anticipated, it was followed by dark and doubtful days. Eleven months having now passed, we are permitted to take another review. The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and, by the complete opening of the Mississippi, the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts, with no practical communication between them. Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens in each, owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion, now declare openly for emancipation in their respective States. Of those States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which three years ago would tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new Territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits.

Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks; thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection, or tendency to violence or cruelty, has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks. These measures have been much discussed in foreign countries, and contemporary with such discussion the tone of public sentiment there is much improved. At home the same measures have been fully discussed, supported, criticized, and denounced, and the annual elections following are highly encouraging to those whose official duty it is to bear the country through this great trial. Thus we have the new reckoning. The crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past.

Looking now to the present and future, and with reference to a resumption of the national authority within the States wherein that authority has been suspended, I have thought fit to issue a proclamation, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. On examination of this proclamation it will appear, as is believed, that nothing is attempted beyond what is amply justified by the Constitution. True, the form of an oath is given, but no man is coerced to take it. The man is only promised a pardon in case he voluntarily takes the oath. The Constitution authorizes the executive to grant or withhold the pardon at his own absolute discretion; and this includes the power to grant on terms, as is fully established by judicial and other authorities.

It is also proffered that if, in any of the States named, a State government shall be, in the mode prescribed, set up, such government shall be recognized and guaranteed by the United States, and that under it the State shall, on the constitutional conditions, be protected against invasion and domestic violence. The constitutional obligation of the United States to guarantee to every State in the

Union a republican form of government, and to protect the State in the cases stated, is explicit and full. But why tender the benefits of this provision only to a State government set up in this particular way? This section of the Constitution contemplates a case wherein the element within a State favorable to republican government in the Union may be too feeble for an opposite and hostile element external to, or even within, the State; and such are precisely the cases with which we are now dealing.

An attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State government, constructed in whole, or in preponderating part, from the very element against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd. There must be a test by which to separate the opposing elements, so as to build only from the sound; and that test is a sufficiently liberal one which accepts as sound whoever will make a sworn recantation of his former unsoundness.

But if it be proper to require, as a test of admission to the political body, an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, and to the Union under it, why also to the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery? Those laws and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect, there had to be a pledge for their maintenance. In my judgment they have aided, and will further aid, the cause for which they were intended. To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and an astounding breach of faith. I may add, at this point, that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation; nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress. For these and other reasons it is thought best that support of these measures shall be included in the oath; and it is believed the executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and restoration of forfeited rights, which he has clear constitutional power to withhold altogether, or grant upon the terms which he shall deem wisest for the public interest. It should be observed, also, that this part of the oath is subject to the modifying and abrogating power of legislation and supreme judicial decision.

The proposed acquiescence of the national executive in any reasonable temporary State arrangement for the freed people is made with the view of possibly modifying the confusion and destitution which must at best attend all classes by a total revolution of labor throughout whole States. It is hoped that the already deeply afflicted people in those States may be somewhat more ready to give up the cause of their affliction, if, to this extent, this vital matter be left to themselves; while no power of the national executive to prevent an abuse is abridged by the proposition.

[redacted]e suggestion in the proclamation as to maintaining the political [redacted]ework of the States on what is called reconstruction is mad[redacted]e hope that it may do good without danger of harm. It [redacted] labor, and avoid great confusion.

[redacted]t why any proclamation now upon this subject? This

tion is beset with the conflicting views that the step might be delayed too long or be taken too soon. In some States the elements for resumption seem ready for action, but remain inactive apparently for want of a rallying-point—a plan of action. Why shall A adopt the plan of B, rather than B that of A? And if A and B should agree, how can they know but that the General Government here will reject their plan? By the proclamation a plan is presented which may be accepted by them as a rallying-point, and which they are assured in advance will not be rejected here. This may bring them to act sooner than they otherwise would.

The objection to a premature presentation of a plan by the national executive consists in the danger of committals on points which could be more safely left to further developments. Care has been taken to so shape the document as to avoid embarrassments from this source. Saying that, on certain terms, certain classes will be pardoned, with rights restored, it is not said that other classes, or other terms, will never be included. Saying that reconstruction will be accepted if presented in a specified way, it is not said it will never be accepted in any other way.

The movements, by State action, for emancipation in several of the States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, are matters of profound gratulation. And while I do not repeat in detail what I have heretofore so earnestly urged upon this subject, my general views and feelings remain unchanged; and I trust that Congress will omit no fair opportunity of aiding these important steps to a great consummation.

In the midst of other cares, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look, yet for a time, to give confidence to the people in the contested regions that the insurgent power will not again overrun them. Until that confidence shall be established, little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chiefest care must still be directed to the army and navy, who have thus far borne their harder part so nobly and well. And it may be esteemed fortunate that in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable arms, we do also honorably recognize the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom, more than to others, the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom disenthralled, regenerated, enlarged, and perpetuated.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 8, 1863.

December 8, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Captain [redacted]ogers, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from [redacted]ss for the eminent skill and gallantry exhibited by him [redacted]gement with the rebel armed iron-clad steamer *Fingal*, [redacted]*ta*, whilst in command of the United States iron-clad st[redacted]

Weehawken, which led to her capture on the 17th of June, 1863, and also for the zeal, bravery, and general good conduct shown by this officer on many occasions.

This recommendation is specially made in order to comply with the requirements of the ninth section of the aforesaid act, which is in the following words, viz.:

That any line officer of the navy or marine corps may be advanced one grade, if, upon recommendation of the President, by name, he receives the thanks of Congress for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy, or for extraordinary heroism in the line of his profession.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1863.

December 8, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT:

Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you, and all under your command, my more than thanks, my profoundest gratitude, for the skill, courage, and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all!

A. LINCOLN.

December 9, 1863.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 9, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY A. G. CURTIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

My dear Sir: I have to urge my illness, and the preparation of the message, in excuse for not having sooner transmitted you the inclosed from the Secretary of War and Provost-Marshal-General in response to yours in relation to recruiting in Pennsylvania. Though not quite as you desire, I hope the grounds taken will be reasonably satisfactory to you. Allow me to exchange congratulations with you on the organization of the House of Representatives, and especially on recent military events in Georgia and Tennessee.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 10, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: I transmit herewith a report dated the 9th instant, with the accompanying papers, received from the Secretary of State, in compliance with the requirements of the sixteenth and eighteenth sections of the act entitled: "An act to regulate the diplomatic and consular systems of the United States," approved August 18, 1856.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1863.

December 14, 1863.—AMNESTY TO MRS. E. T. HELM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 14, 1863.

Mrs. Emily T. Helm, not being excepted from the benefits of the proclamation by the President of the United States issued on the eighth day of December, 1863, and having on this day taken and subscribed the oath according to said proclamation, she is fully relieved of all penalties and forfeitures, and remitted to all her rights — all according to said proclamation, and not otherwise; and, in regard to said restored rights of person and property, she is to be protected and afforded facilities as a loyal person.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

P. S. Mrs. Helm claims to own some cotton at Jackson, Mississippi, and also some in Georgia; and I shall be glad, upon either place being brought within our lines, for her to be afforded the proper facilities to show her ownership, and take her property.

A. LINCOLN.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, }
Washington County, } ss.:

I, Emily T. Helm, do solemnly swear in presence of Almighty God that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decisions of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President, made during the existing rebellion, having reference to slaves so long and so far as not modified or declared void by the Supreme Court. So help me God.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 14, 1863.

Whom it may concern: It is my wish that Mrs. Emily T. Helm (widow of the late General B. H. Helm, who fell in the Confederate service), now returning to Kentucky, may have protection of person and property, except as to slaves, of which I say nothing.

A. LINCOLN.

December 15, 1863.—LETTER TO T. COTTMAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 15, 1863.

DR. THOMAS COTTMAN.

My dear Sir: You were so kind as to say this morning that you desire to return to Louisiana, and to be guided by my wishes, to some extent, in the part you may take in bringing that State to resume her rightful relation to the General Government.

My wishes are in a general way expressed, as well as I can express them, in the proclamation issued on the 8th of the present month, and in that part of the annual message which relates to that procla-

mation. It there appears that I deem the sustaining of the Emancipation Proclamation, where it applies, as indispensable; and I add here that I would esteem it fortunate if the people of Louisiana should themselves place the remainder of the State upon the same footing, and then, if in their discretion it should appear best, make some temporary provision for the whole of the freed people, substantially as suggested in the last proclamation.

I have not put forth the plan in that proclamation as a Procrustean bed, to which exact conformity is to be indispensable; and, in Louisiana particularly, I wish that labor already done, which varies from that plan in no important particular, may not be thrown away.

The strongest wish I have, not already publicly expressed, is that in Louisiana and elsewhere all sincere Union men would stoutly eschew cliquism, and, each yielding something in minor matters, all work together. Nothing is likely to be so baleful in the great work before us as stepping aside from the main object to consider who will get the offices if a small matter shall go thus, and who else will get them if it shall go otherwise. It is a time now for real patriots to rise above all this. As to the particulars of what I may think best to be done in any State, I have publicly stated certain points which I have thought indispensable to the reëstablishment and maintenance of the national authority; and I go no further than this because I wish to avoid both the substance and the appearance of dictation.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 15, 1863.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 11th of March last, requesting certain information touching persons in the service of this government, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 15, 1863.

December 15, 1863.—LETTER TO JUDGE HOFFMAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 15, 1863.

HON. OGDEN HOFFMAN, U. S. District Judge, San Francisco, Cal.:

The oath in the proclamation of December 8 is intended for those who may voluntarily take it, and not for those who may be constrained to take it in order to escape actual imprisonment or punishment. It is intended that the latter class shall abide the granting or withholding of the pardoning power in the ordinary way.

A. LINCOLN.

December 16, 1863.— PROCLAMATION CONCERNING DISCRIMINATING DUTIES.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by an act of the Congress of the United States of the twenty-fourth of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, entitled "An act in addition to an act entitled 'An act concerning discriminating duties of tonnage and impost,' and to equalize the duties on Prussian vessels and their cargoes," it is provided that, upon satisfactory evidence being given to the President of the United States, by the government of any foreign nation, that no discriminating duties of tonnage or impost are imposed or levied in the ports of said nation upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States, or upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in the same from the United States, or from any foreign country, the President is thereby authorized to issue his proclamation declaring that the foreign discriminating duties of tonnage and impost within the United States are and shall be suspended and discontinued so far as respects the vessels of the said foreign nation, and the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported into the United States in the same from the said foreign nation, or from any other foreign country; the said suspension to take effect from the time of such notification being given to the President of the United States, and to continue so long as the reciprocal exemption of vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, and their cargoes, as aforesaid, shall be continued, and no longer;

And whereas, satisfactory evidence has lately been received by me, through an official communication of Señor Don Luis Molina, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Nicaragua, under date of the 28th of November, 1863, that no other or higher duties of tonnage and impost have been imposed or levied since the second day of August, 1838, in the ports of Nicaragua, upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States, and upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in the same from the United States, and from any foreign country whatever, than are levied on Nicaraguan ships and their cargoes in the same ports under like circumstances:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and proclaim that so much of the several acts imposing discriminating duties of tonnage and impost within the United States are, and shall be, suspended and discontinued so far as respects the vessels of Nicaragua, and the produce, manufactures, and merchandise imported into the United States in the same from the dominions of Nicaragua, and from any other foreign country whatever; the said suspension to take effect from the day above mentioned, and to continue thenceforward so long as the reciprocal exemption of the vessels of the United States, and the produce, manufactures, and merchandise imported into the

dominions of Nicaragua in the same, as aforesaid, shall be continued on the part of the government of Nicaragua.

Given under my hand at the city of Washington, the sixteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand [L. S.] eight hundred and sixty-three, and the eighty-eighth of the independence of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

December 17, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: Herewith I lay before you a letter addressed to myself by a committee of gentlemen representing the Freedmen's Aid Societies in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati.

The subject of the letter, as indicated above, is one of great magnitude and importance, and one which these gentlemen of known ability and high character seem to have considered with great attention and care. Not having the time to form a mature judgment of my own as to whether the plan they suggest is the best, I submit the whole subject to Congress, deeming that their attention thereto is almost imperatively demanded.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1863.

December 18, 1863.—NOTE TO E. B. WASHBURNE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 18, 1863.

HON. E. B. WASHBURNE.

My dear Sir: The joint resolution of thanks to General Grant and those under his command has been before me, and is approved. If agreeable to you, I shall be glad for you to superintend the getting up of the medal, and the making of the copy to be engrossed on parchment, which I am to transmit to the general.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 18, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 18, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I believe General Schofield must be relieved from command of the department of Missouri; otherwise a question of veracity, in relation to his declarations as to his interfering, or not, with the Missouri legislature, will be made with him, which will create an additional amount of trouble, not to be overcome by even a correct decision of the question. The question itself must b[e] avoided. Now for the mode. Senator Henderson, his friend, think[s] he can be induced to ask to be relieved, if he shall understand

will be generously treated; and, on this latter point, Gratz Brown will help his nomination as a major-general through the Senate. In no other way can he be confirmed; and upon his rejection alone it would be difficult for me to sustain him as commander of the department. Besides, his being relieved from command of the department, and at the same time confirmed as a major-general, will be the means of Henderson and Brown leading off together as friends, and will go far to heal the Missouri difficulty. Another point. I find it is scarcely less than indispensable for me to do something for General Rosecrans; and I find Henderson and Brown will agree to him for the commander of their department.

Again, I have received such evidence and explanations, in regard to the supposed cotton transactions of General Curtis, as fully restore in my mind the fair presumption of his innocence; and, as he is my friend, and what is more, as I think, the country's friend, I would be glad to relieve him from the impression that I think him dishonest by giving him a command. Most of the Iowa and Kansas delegations, a large part of that of Missouri, and the delegates from Nebraska and Colorado, ask this in behalf of General C., and suggest Kansas and other contiguous territory west of Missouri as a department for him. In a purely military point of view it may be that none of these things are indispensable, or perhaps advantageous; but in another aspect, scarcely less important, they would give great relief; while, at the worst, I think they could not injure the military service much. I therefore shall be greatly obliged if yourself and General Halleck can give me your hearty coöperation in making the arrangement. Perhaps the first thing would be to send General Schofield's nomination to me. Let me hear from you before you take any actual step in the matter.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 19, 1863.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, December 19, 1863.

GENERAL GRANT, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

The Indiana delegation in Congress, or at least a large part of them, are very anxious that General Milroy shall enter active service again, and I share in this feeling. He is not a difficult man to satisfy—sincerity and courage being his strong traits. Believing in our cause, and wanting to fight for it, is the whole matter with him. Could you, without embarrassment, assign him a place, if directed to report to you?

A. LINCOLN.

December 20, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY WELLES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 20, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

My dear Sir: General Gillmore, believing that a joint movement of the army and navy is not likely to be made against Charleston

very soon, has written asking leave to operate independently of the navy for a time. As this application comes to me, I will thank you to inform me how long, according to any plan or reasonable calculation of the navy, it will be before it will need the actual co-operation of the army before Charleston.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 21, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., December 21, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: Sending a note to the Secretary of the Navy, as I promised, he called over and said that the strikes in the ship-yards had thrown the completion of vessels back so much that he thought General Gillmore's proposition entirely proper. He only wishes (and in which I concur) that General Gillmore will courteously confer with, and explain to, Admiral Dahlgren.

In regard to the Western matter, I believe the program will have to stand substantially as I first put it. Henderson, and especially Brown, believe that the social influence of St. Louis would inevitably tell injuriously upon General Pope in the particular difficulty existing there, and I think there is some force in that view.

As to retaining General Schofield temporarily, if this should be done, I believe I should scarcely be able to get his nomination through the Senate. Send me over his nomination, which, however, I am not quite ready to send to the Senate.

Yours as ever, A. LINCOLN.

December 21, 1863.—PERMIT TO MR. AND MRS. CRAIG.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 21, 1863.

Mr. and Mrs. Craig, of Arkansas, whose plantation, situated upon the Mississippi River a few miles below Helena, has been desolated during the present war, propose returning to reoccupy and cultivate said plantation; and it is my wish that they be permitted to do so, and that the United States military forces in that vicinity will not molest them or allow them to be molested, so long as the said Mr. and Mrs. Craig shall demean themselves as peaceful loyal citizens of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 22, 1863.—LETTER TO O. D. FILLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 22, 1863.

O. D. FILLEY, St. Louis, Missouri:

I have just looked over a petition signed by some three dozen citizens of St. Louis, and three accompanying letters, one by yours

one by a Mr. Nathan Ranney, and one by a Mr. John D. Coalter, the whole relating to the Rev. Dr. McPheeters. The petition prays, in the name of justice and mercy, that I will restore Dr. McPheeters to all his ecclesiastical rights. This gives no intimation as to what ecclesiastical rights are withheld.

Your letter states that Provost-Marshal Dick, about a year ago, ordered the arrest of Dr. McPheeters, pastor of the Vine Street Church, prohibited him from officiating, and placed the management of the affairs of the church out of the control of its chosen trustees; and near the close you state that a certain course "would insure his release." Mr. Ranney's letter says: "Dr. Samuel S. McPheeters is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, but cannot preach the Gospel!!!" Mr. Coalter, in his letter, asks: "Is it not a strange illustration of the condition of things, that the question of who shall be allowed to preach in a church in St. Louis shall be decided by the President of the United States?"

Now, all this sounds very strangely; and, withal, a little as if you gentlemen making the application do not understand the case alike; one affirming that the doctor is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, and another pointing out to me what will secure his *release!* On the second day of January last, I wrote to General Curtis in relation to Mr. Dick's order upon Dr. McPheeters; and, as I suppose the doctor is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, I only quote that part of my letter which relates to the church. It is as follows: "But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual, in a church or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

This letter going to General Curtis, then in command there, I supposed, of course, it was obeyed, especially as I heard no further complaint from Dr. McPheeters or his friends for nearly an entire year. I have never interfered, nor thought of interfering, as to who shall or shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me.

If, after all, what is now sought is to have me put Dr. McPheeters back over the heads of a majority of his own congregation, that, too, will be declined. I will not have control of any church on any side.

Yours respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

December 22, 1863.—INDORSEMENT ON PETITION CONCERNING DR. MCPHEETERS.

The assumptions of this paper, so far as I know, or believe, are tirely false. I have never deprived Doctor McPheeters of any lesiastical right, or authorized or excused its being done by any

one deriving authority from me. On the contrary, in regard to this very case, I directed a long time ago that Doctor McPheeters was to be arrested, or remain at large, upon the same rule as any one else; and that in no event was any one to interfere, by my authority, as to who should or should not preach in any church. This was done, I think, in a letter, in the nature of an order, to Mr. Dick. The assumption that I am keeping Dr. McPheeters from preaching in his church is monstrous. If any one is doing this, by pretense of my authority, I will thank any one who can to make out and present me a specific case against him. If, after all, the doctor is kept out by the majority of his own parishioners, and my official power is sought to force him in over their heads, I decline that also.

A. LINCOLN.

December 22, 1863.

December 23, 1863.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of the report to the Secretary of State of the commissioners on the part of the United States under the convention with Peru, of the 12th of January last, on the subject of claims.

It will be noticed that two claims of Peruvian citizens on this government have been allowed. An appropriation for the discharge of the obligations of the United States in these cases is requested.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 23, 1863.

December 24, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 24, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

Yours of the sixth instant has been received and fully considered. I deeply regret to have said or done anything which could give you pain or uneasiness. I have all the while intended you to be master, as well in regard to reorganizing a State government for Louisiana, as in regard to the military matters of the department; and hence my letters on reconstruction have nearly, if not quite, all been addressed to you. My error has been that it did not occur to me that Governor Shepley or any one else would set up a claim to act independently of you; and hence I said nothing expressly upon the point.

Language has not been guarded at a point where no danger was thought of. I now tell you that in every dispute with whomsoever, you are master.

Governor Shepley was appointed to assist the commander of the department, and not to thwart him or act independently of him. Instructions have been given directly to him merely to spare you detail labor, and not to supersede your authority. This, in its liability to be misconstrued, it now seems was an error in us. But is past. I now distinctly tell you that you are master of all,

that I wish you to take the case as you find it, and give us a free State reorganization of Louisiana in the shortest possible time. What I say here is to have a reasonable construction. I do not mean that you are to withdraw from Texas, or abandon any other military measure which you may deem important. Nor do I mean that you are to throw away available work already done for reconstruction; nor that war is to be made upon Governor Shepley, or upon any one else, unless it be found that they will not coöperate with you, in which case, and in all cases, you are master while you remain in command of the department.

My thanks for your successful and valuable operations in Texas.

Yours as ever, A. LINCOLN.

December 29, 1863.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

Yours of the sixteenth is received, and I send you, as covering the ground of it, a copy of my answer to yours of the sixth, it being possible the original may not reach you. I intend you to be master in every controversy made with you.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

December 31, 1863.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 31, 1863.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: Please fix up the department to which Curtis is to go, without waiting to wind up the Missouri matter. Lane is very anxious to have Fort Smith in it, and I am willing, unless there be decided military reasons to the contrary, in which case of course, I am not for it. It will oblige me to have the Curtis department fixed at once.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 5, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: By a joint resolution of your honorable bodies, approved December 23, 1863, the paying of bounties to veteran volunteers, as now practised by the War Department, is, to the extent of three hundred dollars in each case, prohibited after this fifth day of the present month. I transmit, for your consideration, a communication from the Secretary of War, accompanied by one from the Provost-Marshal-General to him, both relating to the subject above mentioned. I earnestly

recommend that the law be so modified as to allow bounties to be paid as they now are, at least until the ensuing first day of February. I am not without anxiety lest I appear to be importunate in thus recalling your attention to a subject upon which you have so recently acted, and nothing but a deep conviction that the public interest demands it could induce me to incur the hazard of being misunderstood on this point. The executive approval was given by me to the resolution mentioned; and it is now, by a closer attention and a fuller knowledge of facts, that I feel constrained to recommend a reconsideration of the subject.

WASHINGTON, January 5, 1864. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 5, 1864.— LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 5, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEELE:

I wish to afford the people of Arkansas an opportunity of taking the oath prescribed in the proclamation of December 8, 1863, preparatory to reorganizing a State government there.

Accordingly I send you by General Kimball some blank books and other blanks, the manner of using which will, in the main, be suggested by an inspection of them; and General Kimball will add some verbal explanations.

Please make a trial of the matter immediately at such points as you may think likely to give success. I suppose Helena and Little Rock are two of them. Detail any officer you may see fit to take charge of the subject at each point; and which officer, it may be assumed, will have authority to administer the oath. These books of course are intended to be permanent records. Report to me on the subject. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 6, 1864.— TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 6, 1864. 2 P. M.

GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Yours of yesterday received. Nothing is known here about General Foster's order, of which you complain, beyond the fair presumption that it comes from General Grant, and that it has an object which, if you understood, you would be loath to frustrate. True, these troops are, in strict law, only to be removed by my order; but General Grant's judgment would be the highest incentive to me to make such order. Nor can I understand how doing so is bad faith and dishonor, nor yet how it so exposes Kentucky to ruin. Military men here do not perceive how it exposes Kentucky, and I am sure Grant would not permit it if it so appeared to him.

A. LINCOLN.

January 7, 1864.—INDORSEMENT.

CINCINNATI, January 7, 1864.

TO HON. S. P. CHASE:

One Andrews is to be shot for desertion at Covington, to-morrow. The proceedings have never been submitted to the President. Is this right?

GOVERNOR HOADLEY.

[*Indorsement.*]

The case of Andrews is really a very bad one, as appears by the record already before me. Yet before receiving this I had ordered his punishment commuted to imprisonment for during the war at hard labor, and had so telegraphed. I did this, not on any merit in the case, but because I am trying to evade the butchering business lately.

A. LINCOLN.

January 7, 1864.—LETTER TO C. J. WRIGHT AND C. K. HAWKES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 7, 1864.

MESSRS. CRAFT J. WRIGHT AND C. K. HAWKES.

Gentlemen: You have presented me a plan for getting cotton and other products from within the rebel lines, from which you think the United States will derive some advantage.

Please, carefully and considerately, answer me the following questions:

First. If now, without any new order or rule, a rebel should come into our lines with cotton, and offer to take the oath of December 8, what do you understand would be done with him and his cotton?

Second. How will the physical difficulty and danger of getting cotton from within the rebel lines be lessened by your plan? Or how will the owner's motive to surmount that difficulty and danger be heightened by it?

Third. If your plan be adopted, where do you propose putting the cotton, etc., into market? how assure the government of your good faith in the business? and how be compensated for your services?

Very respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

January 7, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of the decree of the district court of the United States for the southern district of New York, awarding the sum of seventeen thousand one hundred and fifty dollars and sixty-six cents for the illegal capture of the British schooner *Glen*, and request that an appropriation of that amount may be made as an indemnification to the parties interested.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1864.

January 11, 1864.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 11, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I am receiving letters and despatches indicating an expectation that Mr. Barney is to leave the Custom House at New York. Have you anything on the subject?

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 12, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In accordance with the request of the Senate, conveyed in their resolution of the 16th of December, 1863, desiring any information in my possession relative to the alleged exceptional treatment of Kansas troops when captured by those in rebellion, I have the honor to transmit a communication from the Secretary of War, accompanied by reports from the general-in-chief of the army and the commissary-general of prisoners relative to the subject-matter of the resolution.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 12, 1864.

January 13, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

I have received two letters from you, which are duplicates each of the other, except that one bears date the 27th and the other the 30th of December. Your confidence in the practicability of constructing a free-State government speedily for Louisiana, and your zeal to accomplish it are very gratifying. It is a connection than in which the words "can" and "will" were never more precious. I am much in hope that on the authority of my letter of December 24, you have already begun the work. Whether you shall have done so or not, please, on receiving this, proceed with all possible despatch, using your own absolute discretion in all matters which may not carry you away from the conditions stated in your letters to me, nor from those of the message and proclamation of December 8. Frame orders, and fix times and places for this and that, according to your own judgment. I am much gratified to know that Mr. Dennison, the Collector at New Orleans, and who bears you this, understands your views and will give you his full and zealous coöperation. It is my wish and purpose that all others holding authority from me shall do the like; and, to spare me writing, I will thank you to make this known to them. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 13, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL Q. A. GILLMORE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL GILLMORE:

I understand an effort is being made by some worthy gentlemen to reconstruct a loyal State government in Florida. Florida is in your department, and it is not unlikely that you may be there in person. I have given Mr. Hay a commission of major, and sent him to you, with some blank-books and other blanks, to aid in the reconstruction. He will explain as to the manner of using the blanks, and also my general views on the subject. It is desirable for all to coöperate, but if irreconcilable differences of opinion shall arise, you are master. I wish the thing done in the most speedy way possible, so that when done, it lie within the range of the late proclamation on the subject. The detail labor, of course, will have to be done by others; but I shall be greatly obliged if you will give it such general supervision as you can find consistent with your more strictly military duties. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 16, 1864.—LETTER TO CROSBY AND NICHOLS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 16, 1864.

MESSRS. CROSBY AND NICHOLS.

Gentlemen: The number for this month and year of the "North American Review" was duly received, and for which please accept my thanks. Of course, I am not the most impartial judge; yet, with due allowance for this, I venture to hope that the article entitled "The President's Policy" will be of value to the country. I fear I am not quite worthy of all which is therein kindly said of me personally.

The sentence of twelve lines, commencing at the top of page 252, I could wish to be not exactly as it is. In what is there expressed, the writer has not correctly understood me. I have never had a theory that secession could absolve States or people from their obligations. Precisely the contrary is asserted in the inaugural address; and it was because of my belief in the continuation of these *obligations* that I was puzzled, for a time, as to denying the legal *rights* of those citizens who remained individually innocent of treason or rebellion. But I mean no more now than to merely call attention to this point. Yours respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

January 17, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 17, 1864.

GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Your letter of the eighth is just received. To your question, "May I not add *q. e. d.?*" I answer "No," because you omit the

"premise" in the law, that the President may in his discretion send these troops out of Kentucky; and I take it that if he shall do so, on the judgment of General Grant as to its propriety, it will be neither cruelty, bad faith, nor dishonor. When I telegraphed you I knew, though I did not say so to you, that General Grant was about that time with General Foster at Knoxville, and could not be ignorant of, or averse to, the order which alarmed you. I see he has since passed through Kentucky, and I hope you have had a conference with him.

A. LINCOLN.

January 18, 1864.—LETTER TO T. B. BRYAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 18, 1864.

THOMAS B. BRYAN, Esq., Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Sir: I have received the two copies of the lithographed facsimile of the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, which you have had the kindness to send me, and in answer to your question, I have to say that although I have not examined it in detail, yet it impresses me favorably as being a faithful and correct copy.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 20, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL J. J. REYNOLDS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL REYNOLDS:

It would appear by the accompanying papers that Mrs. Mary E. Morton is the owner, independently of her husband, of a certain building, premises, and furniture, which she, with her children, has been occupying and using peaceably during the war until recently, when the Provost-Marshal has, in the name of the United States Government, seized the whole of said property, and ejected her from it. It also appears by her statement to me that her husband went off in the rebellion at the beginning, wherein he still remains.

It would seem that this seizure has not been made for any military object, as for a place of storage, a hospital, or the like, because this would not have required the seizure of the furniture, and especially not the return of furniture previously taken away.

The seizure must have been on some claim of confiscation, a matter of which the courts, and not the provost-marshals or other military officers, are to judge. In this very case would probably be the questions, "Is either the husband or wife a traitor?" "Does the property belong to the husband or to the wife?" "Is the property of the wife confiscable for the treason of the husband?" and other similar questions, all which it is ridiculous for a provost-marshal to assume to decide.

The true rule for the military is to seize such property as is needed for military uses and reasons, and let the rest alone. C[illegible]

ton and other staple articles of commerce are seizable for military reasons. Dwelling-houses and furniture are seldom so. If Mrs. Morton is playing traitor to the extent of practical injury, seize her, but leave her house to the courts. Please revise and adjust this case upon these principles. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

January 20, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEELE:

Sundry citizens of the State of Arkansas petition me that an election may be held in that State, at which to elect a governor thereof; . . . that it be assumed at said election and thenceforward that the constitution and laws of the State, as before the rebellion, are in full force, except that the constitution is so modified as to declare that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; but the General Assembly may make such provision for the freed people as shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class"; and also except that all now existing laws in relation to slaves are inoperative and void; that said election be held on the twenty-eighth day of March next at all the usual voting places of the State, or all such as voters may attend for that purpose; that the voters attending at each place, at eight o'clock in the morning of said day, may choose judges and clerks of election for that place; that all persons qualified by said constitution and laws, and taking the oath prescribed in the President's proclamation of December the 8th, 1863, either before or at the election, and none others, may be voters, provided that persons having the qualifications aforesaid, and being in the volunteer military service of the United States, may vote once wherever they may be at voting places; that each set of judges and clerks may make return directly to you on or before the eleventh day of April next; that in all other respects said election may be conducted according to said modified constitution and laws; that on receipt of said returns, you count said votes, and that if the number shall reach or exceed five thousand four hundred and six, you canvass said votes and ascertain who shall thereby appear to have been elected governor; and that on the eighteenth day of April next, the person so appearing to have been elected, and appearing before you at Little Rock to have, by you, administered to him an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and said modified constitution of the State of Arkansas, and actually taking said oath, be, by you, declared qualified, and be enjoined to immediately enter upon the duties of the office of governor of said State; and that you thereupon declare the constitution of the State of Arkan-

sas to have been modified and amended as aforesaid by the action of the people as aforesaid.

You will please order an election immediately, and perform the other parts assigned you, with necessary incidentals, all according to the foregoing.

A. LINCOLN.

January 20, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: In accordance with a letter addressed by the Secretary of State, with my approval, to the Hon. Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, that patriotic and distinguished gentleman repaired to Europe and attended the international agricultural exhibition held at Hamburg last year, and has, since his return, made a report to me which, it is believed, cannot fail to be of general interest, and especially so to the agricultural community. I transmit for your consideration copies of the letter and report. While it appears by the letter that no reimbursement of expenses or compensation was promised him, I submit whether reasonable allowance should not be made him for them.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1864.

January 21, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of yesterday, respecting the recent destruction by fire of the Church of the Compañia, at Santiago, Chili, and the efforts of citizens of the United States to rescue the victims of the conflagration, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, with the papers accompanying it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 21, 1864.

January 23, 1864.—LETTER TO A. LEWIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 23, 1864.

ALPHEUS LEWIS, Esq.

My dear Sir: You have inquired how the government would regard and treat cases wherein the owners of plantations, in Arkansas, for instance, might fully recognize the freedom of those formerly slaves, and by fair contracts of hire with them, recommence the cultivation of their plantations. I answer, I should regard such cases with great favor, and should as a principle treat them precisely as I would treat the same number of free white people in the same relation and condition. Whether white or black, reasonable effort should be made to give government protection. In neither case should the giving of aid and comfort to the rebellion, or other practices injurious to the government, be allowed on such plantations; and in eith[redacted]

the government would claim the right to take, if necessary, those of proper ages and conditions into the military service. Such plan must not be used to break up existing leases or arrangements of abandoned plantations which the government may have made to give employment and sustenance to the idle and destitute people. With the foregoing qualifications, and explanations, and in view of its tendency to advance freedom, and restore peace and prosperity, such hiring and employment of the freed people, would be regarded by me with rather especial favor.

To be more specific, I add that all the military, and others acting by authority of the United States, are to favor and facilitate the introduction and carrying forward, in good faith, the free-labor system as above indicated, by allowing the necessary supplies therefor to be procured and taken to the proper points, and by doing and forbearing whatever will advance it, providing that existing military and trade regulations be not transcended thereby. I shall be glad to learn that planters adopting this system shall have employed one so zealous and active as yourself to act as an agent in relation thereto. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, ———, 1864.

Confiding in the representations and assurances made and given by Hon. Brutus J. Clay, of Kentucky, that if permitted and afforded reasonable protection and facilities by the government, his brother-in-law, Christopher F. Field, and his son, Christopher F. Clay, having, prior to the rebellion, had ownership and lawful control of several plantations in Mississippi and Arkansas would put said plantations into cultivation, upon the system of free hired labor, recognizing and acknowledging the freedom of the laborers, and totally excluding from said plantations the slave system of labor, and all actual slavery, and would neither do nor permit anything on said plantations which would aid the rebellion, it is hereby ordered that said Christopher F. Field, and Christopher F. Clay, or either of them, be permitted to so put said plantations, or any of them, into cultivation; and that the military, and all others acting by the authority of the United States, are to favor and facilitate said Field and Clay in the carrying forward said business in good faith, by giving them protection, and allowing them to procure and take to the proper points, the necessary supplies of all kinds, and by doing and forbearing in whatever way will advance the object aforesaid; provided that no existing military or trade regulations, nor any military necessity be transcended or overridden thereby.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 25, 1864.— NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 25, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Not intending to hurry you, may I ask if the new provisions about trade in cotton and sugar are nearly ready to go into effect? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 26, 1864.—Order Approving Trade Regulations.

Executive Mansion, Washington, January 26, 1864.

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, having seen and considered the additional regulations of trade prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and numbered LI, LII, LIII, LIV, LV, and LVI, do hereby approve the same; and I further declare and order that all property brought in for sale in good faith, and actually sold in pursuance of said Regulations LII, LIII, LIV, LV, and LVI, after the same shall have taken effect and come in force as provided in Regulation LVI, shall be exempt from confiscation or forfeiture to the United States.

Abraham Lincoln.

January 27, 1864.—Letter to General F. Steele.

Washington, January 27, 1864.

Major-General Steele:

I have addressed a letter to you, and put it in the hands of Mr. Gantt and other Arkansas gentlemen, containing a program for an election in that State. This letter will be handed you by some of these gentlemen. Since writing it, I see that a convention in Arkansas having the same general object, has taken some action, which I am afraid may clash somewhat with my program. I therefore can do no better than to ask you to see Mr. Gantt immediately on his return, and with him do what you and he may deem necessary to harmonize the two plans into one, and then put it through with all possible vigor. Be sure to retain the free-State constitutional provision in some unquestionable form, and you and he can fix the rest. The points I have made in the program have been well considered. Take hold with an honest heart and a strong hand. Do not let any questionable man control or influence you.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

January 28, 1864.—Letter to General H. W. Halleck.

Executive Mansion, Washington, January 28, 1864.

Major-General Halleck:

Some citizens of Missouri, vicinity of Kansas City, are apprehensive that there is special danger of renewed troubles in that neighborhood, and thence on the route toward New Mexico. I am not impressed that the danger is very great or imminent, but I will thank you to give Generals Rosecrans and Curtis, respectively, such orders as may turn their attention thereto and prevent as far as possible the apprehended disturbance.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

January 28, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 28, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Herewith I return this proof-sheet of the new rules. I suggest two points, but do not urge them. First, that as the trust and emoluments of the agents are to be increased, should not their bonds be increased? Secondly, might it not be well to fix a maximum, as is sometimes done in acts of Congress, beyond which the one per cent. compensation shall not go in a year?

If the increase of business should necessitate the appointment of an additional agent, I would be glad for Charles K. Hawkes to be appointed. He is one of the three so favorably mentioned by the treasury and other officers at New Orleans, in the letter I read in your hearing twice or thrice, I believe. I have some reason to believe it would please General Banks, though he has not said so, that I have heard. I *have* heard that he and General Banks are old acquaintances and friends. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 29, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, in answer to the resolution of the Senate, respecting the correspondence with the authorities of Great Britain in relation to the proposed pursuit of hostile bands of the Sioux Indians into the Hudson Bay Territories.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 29, 1864.

January 30, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 30, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEELE:

Since writing mine of the 27th, seeing still further accounts of the action of the convention in Arkansas, induces me to write you yet again. They seem to be doing so well, that possibly the best you can do would be to help them on their own plan; but of this you must confer with them and be the judge. Of all things, avoid, if possible, a dividing into cliques among the friends of the common object. Be firm and resolute against such as you can perceive would make confusion and division. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 31, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

Yours of the 22d instant is just received. In the proclamation December 8, which contains the oath that you say some loyal

people wish to avoid taking, I said: "And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be reëstablished within said States, or in any of them; and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."

And speaking of this in the message [of December 8, 1863] I said: "Saying that reconstruction will be accepted if presented in a specified way, it is not said it will never be accepted in any other way."

These things were put into these documents on purpose that some conformity to circumstances should be admissible; and when I have, more than once, said to you in my letters that available labor already done should not be thrown away, I had in my mind the very class of cases you now mention. So you see it is not even a modification of anything I have heretofore said, when I tell you that you are at liberty to adopt any rule which shall admit to vote any unquestionably loyal free-State men and none others.

And yet I do wish they would all take the oath.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

February 1, 1864.—ORDER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 1, 1864.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

Sir: You are directed to have a transport (either a steam or sailing vessel, as may be deemed proper by the Quartermaster-General) sent to the colored colony established by the United States at the Island of Vache, on the coast of San Domingo, to bring back to this country such of the colonists there as desire to return. You will have the transport furnished with suitable supplies for that purpose, and detail an officer of the Quartermaster's department, who, under special instructions to be given, shall have charge of the business. The colonists will be brought to Washington unless otherwise hereafter directed, and be employed and provided for at the camps for colored persons around that city.

Those only will be brought from the island who desire to return, and their effects will be brought with them.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 1, 1864.—ORDER FOR A DRAFT OF 500,000 MEN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 1, 1864.

Ordered, That a draft for five hundred thousand (500,000) men, to serve for three years or during the war, be made on the tenth (10th) day of March next, for the military service of the United Sta

crediting and deducting therefrom so many as may have been enlisted or drafted into the service prior to the first (1st) day of March, and not before credited.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 4, 1864.—LETTER TO EDWARD EVERETT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 4, 1864.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

My dear Sir: Yours of January 30 was received four days ago, and since then the address mentioned has arrived. Thank you for it.

I send herewith the manuscript of my remarks at Gettysburg, which, with my note to you of November 20, you are at liberty to use for the benefit of our soldiers, as you have requested.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 4, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the twenty-sixth ultimo, requesting "a copy of all the correspondence between the authorities of the United States and the rebel authorities on the exchange of prisoners, and the different propositions connected with that subject," I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of War and the papers with which it is accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1864.

February 5, 1864.—INDORSEMENT.

Submitted to the Secretary of War. On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has not done wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong hereafter.

A. LINCOLN.

February 5, 1864.

February 5, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of yesterday on the subject of a reciprocity treaty with the Sandwich Islands, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 5, 1864.

February 6, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY.

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1864.

GOVERNOR J. MURPHY:

My order to General Steele about an election was made in ignorance of the action your convention had taken or would take. A subsequent letter directs General Steele to aid you on your own plan, and not to thwart or hinder you. Show this to him.

A. LINCOLN.

February 6, 1864.—ACCOUNT OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION RELATED VERBALLY BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE ARTIST F. B. CARPENTER.

"It had got to be," said Mr. Lincoln, "midsummer, 1862. Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy; and without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. This was the last of July or the first part of the month of August, 1862. [The exact date was July 22, 1862.] . . . All were present excepting Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion, but came in subsequently. I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them, suggestions as to which would be in order after they had heard it read. Mr. Lovejoy was in error when he informed you that it excited no comment excepting on the part of Secretary Seward. Various suggestions were offered. Secretary Chase wished the language stronger in reference to the arming of the blacks.

"Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy on the ground that it would cost the administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance, 'Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.' His idea," said the President, "was that it would be considered our last *shriek* on the retreat. [This was his precise expression.] 'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country

supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.'" Mr. Lincoln continued: "The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory.

"From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. Well, the next news we had was of Pope's disaster at Bull Run. Things looked darker than ever. Finally came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think, on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldier's Home [three miles out of Washington]. Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation; came up on Saturday; called the Cabinet together to hear it, and it was published on the following Monday."

February 8, 1864.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 8, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I saw Doolittle and made your views known to him. He is altogether tractable on the question and thinks there is no danger of precipitate action. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

February 11, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 11, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: In January, 1863, the Provost-Marshal at St. Louis, having taken the control of a certain church from one set of men and given it to another, I wrote General Curtis on the subject as follows:

"The United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

Some trouble remaining in this same case, I, on the twenty-second of December, 1863, in a letter to Mr. O. D. Filley, repeated the above language, and among other things added, "I have never interfered nor thought of interfering as to who shall or shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically

made known to me. . . . I will not have control of any church on any side."

After having made these declarations in good faith, and in writing, you can conceive of my embarrassment at now having brought to me what purports to be a formal order of the War Department, bearing date November 30, 1863, giving Bishop Ames control and possession of all the Methodist churches in certain Southern military departments, whose pastors have not been appointed by a loyal bishop or bishops, and ordering the military to aid him against any resistance which may be made to his taking such possession and control. What is to be done about it? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

February 12, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 12, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I have felt considerable anxiety concerning the Custom House at New York. Mr. Barney has suffered no abatement of my confidence in his honor and integrity; and yet I am convinced that he has ceased to be master of his position. A man by the name of Bailey, whom I am unconscious of ever having seen, or even having heard of except in this connection, expects to be, and even now assumes to be, collector *de facto*, while Mr. Barney remains nominally so. This Mr. Bailey, as I understand, having been summoned as a witness to testify before a committee of the House of Representatives which purposed investigating the affairs of the New York Custom House, took occasion to call on the chairman in advance, and to endeavor to smother the investigation, saying among other things, that whatever might be developed, the President would take no action, and the committee would thereby be placed unpleasantly. The public interest cannot fail to suffer in the hands of this unresponsible and unscrupulous man. I propose sending Mr. Barney minister to Portugal, as evidence of my continued confidence in him; and I further propose appointing —— collector of the customs at New York. I wrote the draft of this letter two weeks ago, but delayed sending it for a reason which I will state when I see you.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 13, 1864.—INDORSEMENT ON THE MODIFYING ORDER RELATING TO METHODIST CHURCHES IN REBEL STATES.

As you see within, the Secretary of War modifies his order so as to exempt Missouri from it. Kentucky was never within it; nor, as I learn from the Secretary, was it ever intended for any more than a means of rallying the Methodist people in favor of the Union, in localities where the rebellion had disorganized and scattered them. Even in that view, I fear it is liable to some abuses, but it is not quite easy to withdraw it entirely and at once.

A. LINCOLN.

February 13, 1864.

February 13, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO HORACE MAYNARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 13, 1864.

HON. HORACE MAYNARD, Nashville, Tennessee:

Your letter of [the] second received. Of course Governor Johnson will proceed with reorganization as the exigencies of the case appear to him to require. I do not apprehend he will think it necessary to deviate from my views to any ruinous extent. On one hasty reading I see no such deviation in his program, which you send.

A. LINCOLN.

February 15, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. THAYER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 15, 1864.

GENERAL THAYER, Fort Smith, Arkansas:

Yours received. Whatever of conflict there is between the convention and me is accidental, not designed, I having acted in ignorance that the convention would act. I yield to the convention, and have so notified General Steele, who is master, and is to cut any knots which cannot be untied. Correspond with him. A. LINCOLN.

February 15, 1864.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, February 15, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I have just called here to see you on the matter mentioned Saturday, and am pained to learn you are suffering too much to be out. I hope you will soon be relieved; meanwhile have no uneasiness as to the thing to which I am alluding, as I shall do nothing in it until I shall [have] fully conferred with you.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 15, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL D. E. SICKLES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 15, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SICKLES:

I wish you to make a tour for me (principally for observation and information) by way of Cairo and New Orleans, and returning by the gulf and ocean.

All military and naval officers are to facilitate you with suitable transportation, and by conferring with you, and imparting, so far as they can, the information herein indicated; but you are not to command any of them. You will call at Memphis, Helena, Vicksburg, New Orleans, Pensacola, Key West, Charleston Harbor, and such intermediate points as you may think important.

Please ascertain at each place what is being done, if anything, for reconstruction; how the amnesty proclamation works — if at all; what practical hitches, if any, there are about it; whether deserters come in from the enemy, what number has come in at each point since the amnesty, and whether the ratio of their arrival is any greater since than before the amnesty; what deserters report generally, and particularly whether, and to what extent, the amnesty is known within the rebel lines. Also learn what you can as to the colored people; how they get along as soldiers, as laborers in our service, on leased plantations, and as hired laborers with their old masters, if there be such cases. Also learn what you can as to the colored people within the rebel lines. Also get any other information you may consider interesting, and from time to time, send me what you may deem important to be known here at once, and be ready to make a general report on your return.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 16, 1864.— MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the eighth instant, requesting information touching the arrest of the United States Consul-General to the British North American Provinces, and certain official communications respecting Canadian commerce, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 16, 1864.

February 16, 1864.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a report from the Secretary of State with the accompanying papers relative to the claim on this government of the owners of the French ship *La Manche*, and recommend an appropriation for the satisfaction of the claim pursuant to the award of the arbitrators.

WASHINGTON, February 16, 1864. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 17, 1864.— LETTER TO W. M. FISHBACK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, February 17, 1864.

WILLIAM M. FISHBACK, Little Rock, Arkansas:

When I fixed a plan for an election in Arkansas I did it in ignorance that your convention was doing the same work. Since I learned the latter fact I have been constantly trying to yield my plan to them. I have sent two letters to General Steele, and three or fo

despatches to you and others, saying that he, General Steele, must be master, but that it will probably be best for him to merely help the convention on its own plan. Some single mind must be master, else there will be no agreement in anything, and General Steele, commanding the military and being on the ground, is the best man to be that master. Even now citizens are telegraphing me to postpone the election to a later day than either that fixed by the convention or by me. This discord must be silenced.

A. LINCOLN.

February 18, 1864.—DRAFT OF LETTER TO GOVERNOR ANDREW.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 18, 1864.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts:

Yours of the 12th was received yesterday. If I were to judge from the letter, without any external knowledge, I should suppose that all the colored people south of Washington were struggling to get to Massachusetts; that Massachusetts was anxious to receive and retain the whole of them as permanent citizens, and that the United States Government here was interposing and preventing this. But I suppose these are neither really the facts nor meant to be asserted as true by you. Coming down to what I suppose to be the real facts, you are engaged in trying to raise colored troops for the United States, and wish to take recruits from Virginia through Washington to Massachusetts for that object, and the loyal governor of Virginia, also trying to raise troops for us, objects to your taking his material away, while we, having to care for all and being responsible alike to all, have to do as much for him as we would have to do for you if he was by our authority taking men from Massachusetts to fill up Virginia regiments. No more than this has been intended by me, nor, as I think, by the Secretary of War. There may have been some abuses of this, as a rule, which, if known, should be prevented in future. If, however, it be really true that Massachusetts wishes to afford a permanent home within her borders for all or even a large number of colored persons who will come to her, I shall be only too glad to know it. It would give relief in a very difficult point, and I would not for a moment hinder from going any person who is free by the terms of the proclamation or any of the acts of Congress.

February 18, 1864.—PROCLAMATION CONCERNING BLOCKADE.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS, by my proclamation of the nineteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, the ports of the States

South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas were, for reasons therein set forth, placed under blockade; and whereas, the port of Brownsville, in the district of Brazos Santiago, in the State of Texas, has since been blockaded, but as the blockade of said port may now be safely relaxed with advantage to the interests of commerce:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority in me vested by the fifth section of the act of Congress approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," do hereby declare that the blockade of the said port of Brownsville shall so far cease and determine from and after this date, that commercial intercourse with said port, except as to persons, things, and information hereinafter specified, may, from this date, be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, to the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and, until the rebellion shall have been suppressed, to such orders as may be promulgated by the general commanding the department, or by an officer duly authorized by him and commanding at said port. This proclamation does not authorize or allow the shipment or conveyance of persons in, or intending to enter, the service of the insurgents, or of things or information intended for their use, or for their aid or comfort, nor, except upon the permission of the Secretary of War, or of some officer duly authorized by him, of the following prohibited articles, namely: cannon, mortars, firearms, pistols, bombs, grenades, powder, saltpeter, sulphur, balls, bullets, pikes, swords, boarding-caps (always excepting the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defense of the ship and those who compose the crew), saddles, bridles, cartridge-bag material, percussion and other caps, clothing adapted for uniforms, sail-cloth of all kinds, hemp and cordage, intoxicating drinks other than beer and light native wines.

To vessels clearing from foreign ports and destined to the port of Brownsville, opened by this proclamation, licenses will be granted by consuls of the United States upon satisfactory evidence that the vessel so licensed will convey no persons, property, or information xcepted or prohibited above, either to or from the said port; which licenses shall be exhibited to the collector of said port immediately n arrival, and, if required, to any officer in charge of the blockade, nd on leaving said port every vessel will be required to have a learance from the collector of the customs, according to law, showng no violation of the conditions of the license. Any violations of aid conditions will involve the forfeiture and condemnation of the essel and cargo, and the exclusion of all parties concerned from any urther privilege of entering the United States during the war for ny purpose whatever.

In all respects, except as herein specified, the existing blockade emains in full force and effect as hitherto established and maintained, nor is it relaxed by this proclamation except in regard to the port to which relaxation is or has been expressly applied.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of [L. S.] February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

February 20, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO WARREN JORDAN.

NASHVILLE, February 20, 1864.

HON. W. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.:

In county and State elections, must citizens of Tennessee take the oath prescribed by Governor Johnson, or will the President's oath of amnesty entitle them to vote? I have been appointed to hold the March election in Cheatham County, and wish to act understandingly.

WARREN JORDAN.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1864.

WARREN JORDAN, Nashville:

In county elections you had better stand by Governor Johnson's plan; otherwise you will have conflict and confusion. I have seen his plan.

A. LINCOLN.

February 20, 1864.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 20, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Herewith I return the affidavit you handed me. In glancing over it once, I do not perceive anything necessarily inconsistent with the practice of detectives and others engaged in the business of "rascal catching"; but a closer examination might show it. It seems to me that August, the month within which the affiant fixes his first interview with Hanscomb, was really before Hanscomb left Boston and came to New York.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 22, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I submit to Congress the copy of a correspondence which has recently taken place between her Britannic Majesty's minister accredited to this government and the Secretary of State, in order that the expediency of sanctioning the acceptance, by the master of the American schooner *Highlander* of a present of a watch which the lords of the committee of he

Majesty's privy council for trade propose to present to him, in recognition of services rendered by him to the crew of the British vessel *Pearl*, may be taken into consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1864.

February 23, 1864.—NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 23, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Yours of yesterday in relation to the paper issued by Senator Pomeroy was duly received; and I write this note merely to say I will answer a little more fully when I can find time to do so.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

February 25, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, February 25, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEELE, Little Rock, Arkansas:

General Sickles is not going to Arkansas. He probably will make a tour down the Mississippi and home by the gulf and ocean, but he will not meddle in your affairs.

At one time I did intend to have him call on you and explain more fully than I could do by letter or telegraph, so as to avoid a difficulty coming of my having made a plan here, while the convention made one there, for reorganizing Arkansas; but even his doing that has been given up for more than two weeks. Please show this to Governor Murphy to save me telegraphing him.

A. LINCOLN.

February 27, 1864.—LETTER TO E. H. EAST.

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1864.

HON. E. H. EAST, Secretary of State, Nashville, Tennessee:

Your telegram of the twenty-sixth instant asking for a copy of my despatch to Warren Jordan, Esq., at "Nashville Press" office, has just been referred to me by Governor Johnson. In my reply to Mr. Jordan, which was brief and hurried, I intended to say that in the county and State elections of Tennessee, the oath prescribed in the proclamation of Governor Johnson on the twenty-sixth of January, 1864, ordering an election in Tennessee on the first Saturday in March next, is entirely satisfactory to me as a test of loyalty of all persons proposing or offering to vote in said elections; and coming from him would better be observed and followed. There is no conflict between the oath of amnesty in my proclamation of eighth December, 1863, and that prescribed by Governor Johnson in his proclamation of the twenty-sixth ultimo.

No person who has taken the oath of amnesty of eighth December, 1863, and obtained a pardon thereby, and who intends to observe the same in good faith, should have any objection to taking that prescribed by Governor Johnson as a test of loyalty. I have seen and examined Governor Johnson's proclamation, and am entirely satisfied with his plan, which is to restore the State government and place it under the control of citizens truly loyal to the Government of the United States.

A. LINCOLN.

Please send above to Governor Johnson.

A. L.

February 27, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 27, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: You ask some instructions from me in relation to the Report of Special Commission constituted by an order of the War Department, dated December 5, 1863, "to revise the enrolment and quotas of the City and State of New York, and report whether there be any, and what, errors or irregularities therein, and what corrections, if any, should be made."

In the correspondence between the governor of New York and myself last summer, I understood him to complain that the enrolments in several of the districts of that State had been neither accurately nor honestly made; and in view of this, I, for the draft then immediately ensuing, ordered an arbitrary reduction of the quotas in several of the districts wherein they seemed too large, and said: "After this drawing, these four districts, and also the seventeenth and twenty-ninth, shall be carefully reënrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process." In a subsequent letter I believe some additional districts were put into the list of those to be reënrolled. My idea was to do the work over according to the law, in presence of the complaining party, and thereby to correct anything which might be found amiss. The commission, whose work I am considering, seem to have proceeded upon a totally different idea. Not going forth to find men at all, they have proceeded altogether upon paper examinations and mental processes. One of their conclusions, as I understand, is that, as the law stands and attempting to follow it, the enrolling officers could not have made the enrolments much more accurately than they did. The report on this point might be useful to Congress. The commission conclude that the quotas for the draft should be based upon entire population, and they proceed upon this basis to give a table for the State of New York, in which some districts are reduced and some increased. For the now ensuing draft, let the quotas stand as made by the enrolling officers, in the districts wherein this table requires them to be increased; and let them be reduced according to the table in the others: this to be no precedent for subsequent action. But, as I think, this report may, on full consideration, be shown to have much tha

is valuable in it, I suggest that such consideration be given it, and that it be especially considered whether its suggestions can be conformed to without an alteration of the law.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 27, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. W. DAVIDSON.

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1864.

TO GENERAL DAVIDSON, Cairo:

Whether you shall come to Washington I must submit to the general-in-chief.

A. LINCOLN.

February 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL THOMAS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, February 28, 1864.

GENERAL L. THOMAS, Louisville, Kentucky:

I see your despatch of yesterday to the Secretary of War.

I wish you would go to the Mississippi River at once, and take hold of and be master in the contraband and leasing business. You understand it better than any other man does. Mr. Miller's system doubtless is well intended, but from what I hear I fear that, if persisted in, it would fall dead within its own entangling details. Go there and be the judge. A Mr. Lewis will probably follow you with something from me on this subject, but do not wait for him. Nor is [illegible] is to induce you to violate or neglect any military order from the [illegible]neral-in-chief or Secretary of War.

A. LINCOLN.

February 29, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 29, 1864.

[illegible]ON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: I would have taken time to answer yours of the 22d [illegible]ner, only that I did not suppose any evil could result from the [illegible]lay, especially as, by a note, I promptly acknowledged the receipt yours, and promised a fuller answer. Now, on consideration, I [illegible]d there is really very little to say. My knowledge of Mr. Pome[illegible]y's letter having been made public came to me only the day you [illegible]ote, but I had, in spite of myself, known of its existence several [illegible]ys before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was [illegible] shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I [illegible]d had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues [illegible]ich I supposed came from it, and of secret agents who I supposed [illegible]re sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little [illegible]these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they [illegible]k fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more. I fully concur wit[illegible]

you that neither of us can be justly held responsible for what our respective friends may do without our instigation or countenance; and I assure you, as you have assured me, that no assault has been made upon you by my instigation or with my countenance. Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service, and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 29, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 26th instant, I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of War relative to the reënlistment of veteran volunteers.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 29, 1864.

March 1, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL THOMAS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 1, 1864.

GENERAL L. THOMAS:

This introduces Mr. Lewis, mentioned in my despatch sent you at Louisville some days ago. I have but little personal acquaintanc with him; but he has the confidence of several members of Co gress here who seem to know him well. He hopes to be usef without charge to the government, in facilitating the introducti of the free-labor system on the Mississippi plantations. He is quainted with, and has access to, many of the planters who wish adopt the system. He will show you two letters of mine on t subject, one somewhat general, and the other relating to nam persons. They are not different in principle. He will also sh you some suggestions coming from some of the planters themselv I desire that all I promise in these letters, so far as practicable, m be in good faith carried out, and that suggestions from the plant may be heard and adopted, so far as they may not contravene t principles stated, nor justice, nor fairness, to laborers. I do n herein intend to overrule your own mature judgment on any poi

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN

March 1, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 1, 1864

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: A poor widow, by the name of Baird, has a so he army, that for some offense has been sentenced to serve a l

time without pay, or at most with very little pay. I do not like this punishment of withholding pay—it falls so very hard upon poor families. After he had been serving in this way for several months, at the tearful appeal of the poor mother, I made a direction that he be allowed to enlist for a new term, on the same conditions as others. She now comes, and says she cannot get it acted upon. Please do it. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 2, 1864.—LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECRETARY TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 2, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Dear Sir: The President has received the telegram of the governor of Illinois to the Secretary of War giving notice of an insurrection in Edgar County, in that State, and which you have referred to him for instructions. He directs me to request that you will please consult the general-in-chief, and comply with the request of Governor Yates, if that shall be the most expeditious and feasible plan. Your obedient servant,

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

March 4, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 4, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: In consequence of a call Mr. Villard makes on me, having a note from you to him, I am induced to say I have no wish for the publication of the correspondence between yourself and me in relation to the Pomeroy circular—in fact rather prefer to avoid an unnecessary exhibition—yet you are at liberty, without in the least offending me, to allow the publication if you choose.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 4, 1864.—MEMORANDUM ABOUT CHURCHES.

I have written before, and now repeat, the United States Government must not undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest he must be checked, but the churches as such must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches. I add if the military have military need of the church building, let them keep it; otherwise let them get out of it, and leave it and its owners alone except for causes that justify the arrest of any one.

A. LINCOLN.

March 4, 1864.

March 7, 1864.—LETTER TO J. A. J. CRESWELL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 7, 1864.

HON. JOHN A. J. CRESWELL.

My dear Sir: I am very anxious for emancipation to be effected in Maryland in some substantial form. I think it probable that my expressions of a preference for gradual over immediate emancipation, are misunderstood. I had thought the gradual would produce less confusion and destitution, and therefore would be more satisfactory; but if those who are better acquainted with the subject, and are more deeply interested in it, prefer the immediate, most certainly I have no objection to their judgment prevailing. My wish is that all who are for emancipation in any form, shall cooperate, all treating all respectfully, and all adopting and acting upon the major opinion when fairly ascertained. What I have dreaded is the danger that by jealousies, rivalries, and consequent ill-blood—driving one another out of meetings and conventions—perchance from the polls—the friends of emancipation themselves may divide, and lose the measure altogether. I wish this letter to not be made public; but no man representing me as I herein represent myself will be in any danger of contradiction by me.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 7, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 7, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe:

General Meade has Richmond "Sentinel," saying that Colonel Dahlgren was killed and ninety of his men captured at King and Queen Court House. When did Kilpatrick's informant last see Colonel Dahlgren?

A. LINCOLN.

March 7, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 7, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: It is represented to me that General David B. Birney, who is nominated for a major-general to take rank from June 22, 1863, is really entitled, if at all, to take rank from May 3, 1863, for meritorious conduct at Chancellorsville. It is also represented that to make the desired change will not give General Birney rank over any one who now ranks him. I shall be glad to withdraw his present nomination and make the change, if the above is a true and a full statement of the facts. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 9, 1864.— MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate, of the first instant, respecting the points of commencement of the Union Pacific Railroad on the one hundredth degree of west longitude, and of the branch road from the western boundary of Iowa to the said one hundredth degree of longitude, I transmit the accompanying report from the Secretary of the Interior, containing the information called for.

I deem it proper to add, that on the seventeenth day of November last an executive order was made upon this subject and delivered to the vice-president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which fixed the point on the western boundary of the State of Iowa, from which the company should construct their branch road to the one hundredth degree of west longitude, and declared it to be within the limits of the township, in Iowa, opposite the town of Omaha, in Nebraska. Since then the company has represented to me that, upon actual surveys made, it has determined upon the precise point of departure of their said branch road from the Missouri River, and located the same as described in the accompanying report of the Secretary of the Interior, which point is within the limits designated in the order of November last; and in as much as that order is not of record in any of the executive departments, and the company having desired a more definite one, I have made the order of which a copy is herewith [transmitted] and caused the same to be filed in the Department of the Interior.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1864.

March 9, 1864.—ADDRESS TO GENERAL GRANT.

GENERAL GRANT:

The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to do, in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you lieutenant-general in the Army of the United States.

With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence.

GENERAL GRANT'S RESPONSE.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I accept this commission, with gratitude for the high honor conferred.

With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations.

I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men.

March 10, 1864.—ORDER ASSIGNING U. S. GRANT TO THE COMMAND OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., March 10, 1864.

Under the authority of an act of Congress to revive the grade of lieutenant-general in the United States Army, approved February 29, 1864, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, United States Army, is assigned to the command of the Armies of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 10, 1864.—MEMORANDUM.

I think the Absterdam projectile is too good a thing to be lost to the service, and if offered at the Hotchkiss prices, and not in excessive quantities, nor unreasonable terms in other respects, by either or both parties to the patent controversy, take it, so that the test be fully made. I am for the government having the best articles in spite of patent controversies.

A. LINCOLN.

March 10, 1864.

March 10, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., March 10, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS:

Please carefully examine and consider the question whether, on the whole, it would be advantageous to our military operations for the United States to furnish iron for completing the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, all or any part of the way from Rolla to Springfield, Missouri, so fast as the company shall do all the other work for the completion, and to receive pay for said iron in transportation upon said newly made part of said road; and if your opinion shall be in the affirmative, make a contract with the company to that effect, subject to my approval or rejection. In any event, report the main facts, together with your reasoning, to me.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 10, 1864.—NOTE TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 10, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Army of the Potomac:

Mrs. Lincoln invites yourself and General Meade to dine with us Saturday evening. Please notify him, and answer whether you can be with us at that time.

A. LINCOLN.

March 12, 1864.— MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States : In obedience to the resolution of the Senate of the 28th of January last, I communicate herewith a report, with accompanying papers from the Secretary of the Interior, showing what portion of the appropriations for the colonization of persons of African descent has been expended, and the several steps which have been taken for the execution of the acts of Congress on that subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1864.

March 12, 1864.— NOTE TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

If Miss Gaston and Miss Manly still refuse to take the oath let them return South.

A. LINCOLN.

March 12, 1864.— TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

GOVERNOR MURPHY, Little Rock, Arkansas:

I am not appointing officers for Arkansas now, and I will try to remember your request. Do your best to get out the largest vote possible, and of course as much of it as possible on the right side.

A. LINCOLN.

March 12, 1864.— TELEGRAM TO W. M. FISHBACK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

WILLIAM FISHBACK, Fort Smith, Arkansas:

I know not that any change of departmental lines is likely to be made in Arkansas; but if done, it will be for purely military reasons, to which the good people there can have no just cause of objection. Get out the largest vote you can, and the largest part of it on the right side that is possible.

A. LINCOLN.

March 13, 1864.— LETTER TO M. P. GENTRY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.

HON. M. P. GENTRY.

My dear Sir: Yours by the hand of General Grant is received. Of course I have not forgotten you. General Grant is hereby authorized,

in his discretion, to send you South; and it is rather my wish that he may find it not inconsistent with his view of the public interest to oblige you. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 13, 1864.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR HAHN.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.

HON. MICHAEL HAHN.

My dear Sir: I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first free-State governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 13, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL C. SCHURZ.

(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHURZ.

My dear Sir: Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence, because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 14, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the final settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, concluded on the first of July

last, the ratifications of which were exchanged in this city on the fifth instant, and recommend an appropriation to carry into effect the first, second, and third articles thereof.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1864.

March 14, 1864.— MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: On the twenty-fifth day of November, 1862, a convention for the mutual adjustment of claims pending between the United States and Ecuador was signed at Quito by the plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties. A copy is herewith inclosed. This convention, already ratified by this government, has been sent to Quito for the customary exchange of ratifications, which it is not doubted will be promptly effected. As the stipulations of the instrument require that the commissioners, who are to be appointed pursuant to its provisions, shall meet at Guayaquil within ninety days after such exchange, it is desirable that the legislation necessary to give effect to the convention on the part of the United States should anticipate the usual course of proceeding. I therefore invite the early attention of Congress to the subject.

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1864. A. LINCOLN.

March 15, 1864.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., March 15, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Nashville, Tenn.:

General McPherson having been assigned to the command of a department, could not General Frank Blair, without difficulty or detriment to the service, be assigned to command the corps he commanded a while last autumn?

A. LINCOLN.

March 15, 1864.— PASS FOR GENERAL D. E. SICKLES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 15, 1864.

Whom it may concern: Major-General Sickles is making a tour for me from here by way of Cairo, New Orleans, and returning by the gulf and ocean, and all land and naval officers and employees are directed to furnish reasonable transportation and other reasonable facilities to himself and personal staff not inconsistent with the public service.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 15, 1864.—INDORSEMENT.

While I leave this case to the discretion of General Banks, my view is that the United States should not appoint trustees for, or in any way take charge of, any church as such. If the building is needed for military purposes, take it; if it is not so needed, let its church people have it, dealing with any disloyal people among them as you deal with other disloyal people.

A. LINCOLN.

March 15, 1864.

March 15, 1864.—ORDER TO GOVERNOR HAHN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 15, 1864.

HIS EXCELLENCY MICHAEL HAHN, Governor of Louisiana:

Until further order, you are hereby invested with the powers exercised hitherto by the military governor of Louisiana.

Yours truly, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 16, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 16, 1864.

GOVERNOR ISAAC MURPHY, Little Rock, Arkansas:

What of your election on the fourteenth?

A. LINCOLN.

March 17, 1864.—LETTER TO J. A. J. CRESWELL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 17, 1864.

HON. JOHN A. J. CRESWELL.

My dear Sir: It needs not to be a secret that I wish success to emancipation in Maryland. It would aid much to end the rebellion. Hence it is a matter of national consequence, in which every national man may rightfully feel a deep interest. I sincerely hope the friends of the measure will allow no minor considerations to divide and distract them. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 17, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 17, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

If you obtain the remains of Colonel Dahlgren, please notify me instantly, so that I can let his afflicted relatives know.

A. LINCOLN.

March 18, 1864.—Draft of Letter to Secretary Stanton, only the first paragraph of which was signed and sent.

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., March 18, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I am so pressed in regard to prisoners of war in our custody, whose homes are within our lines, and who wish to not be exchanged, but to take the oath and be discharged, that I hope you will pardon me for again calling up the subject. My impression is that we will not ever force the exchange of any of this class; that, taking the oath and being discharged, none of them will again go to the rebellion; but the rebellion again coming to them, a considerable percentage of them, probably not a majority, would rejoin it; that, by a cautious discrimination, the number so discharged would not be large enough to do any considerable mischief in any event, will relieve distress in at least some meritorious cases, and would give me some relief from an intolerable pressure. I shall be glad, therefore, to have your cheerful assent to the discharge of those whose names I may send, which I will only do with circumspection.

In using the strong hand, as now compelled to do, the government has a difficult duty to perform. At the very best it will by turns do both too little and too much. It can properly have no motive of revenge, no purpose to punish merely for punishment's sake. While we must by all available means prevent the overthrow of the government, we should avoid planting and cultivating too many thorns in the bosom of society. These general remarks apply to several classes of cases, on each of which I wish to say a word.

First. The dismissal of officers when neither incompetency, nor intentional wrong, nor real injury to the service, is imputed. In such cases it is both cruel and impolitic to crush the man and make him and his friends permanent enemies to the administration if not to the government itself. I think of two instances: one wherein a surgeon, for the benefit of patients in his charge, needed some lumber, and could only get it by making a false certificate wherein the lumber was denominated "butter and eggs," and he was dismissed for the false certificate; the other a surgeon by the name of Owen, who served from the beginning of the war till recently with two servants, and without objection, when upon discovery that the servants were his own sons he was dismissed.

Another class consists of those who are known or strongly suspected to be in sympathy with the rebellion. An instance of this is the family of Southern, who killed a recruiting officer last autumn in Maryland. He fled, and his family are driven from their home without a shelter or crumb, except when got by burdening our friends more than our enemies. Southern had no justification to kill the officer, and yet he would not have been killed if he had proceeded in the temper and manner agreed upon by yourself and Governor Bradford; but this is past. What is to be done with the family? Why can they not occupy the old home and excite much less opposition to the government than the manifestation of their

distress is now doing? If the house is really needed for the public service, or if it has been regularly confiscated and the title transferred, the case is different.

Again, the cases of persons, mostly women, wishing to pass our lines one way or the other. We have in some cases been apparently, if not really, inconsistent upon this subject—that is, we have forced some to go who wished to stay, and forced others to stay who wished to go. Suppose we allow all females with ungrown children of either sex to go South, if they desire, upon absolute prohibition against returning during the war; and all to come North upon the same condition of not returning during the war, and the additional condition of taking the oath.

I wish to mention two special cases, both of which you well remember. The first is that of Yocum. He was unquestionably guilty. No one asking for his pardon pretends the contrary. What he did, however, was perfectly lawful only a short while before, and the change making it unlawful had not, even then, been fully accepted in the public mind. It is doubtful whether Yocum did not suppose it was really lawful to return a slave to a loyal owner, though it is certain he did the thing secretly, in the belief that his superiors would not allow it if known to them. But the great point with me is that the severe punishment of five years at hard labor in the penitentiary is not at all necessary to prevent the repetition of the crime by himself or by others. If the offense was one of frequent recurrence, the case would be different; but the case of Yocum is the single instance which has come to my knowledge. I think that for all public purposes, and for all proper purposes, he has suffered enough.

The case of Smithson is troublesome. His wife and children are quartered mostly on our friends, and exciting a great deal of sympathy, which will soon tell against us. What think you of sending him and his family South, holding the sentence over him to be reenforced if he return during the war?

March 18, 1864.—Remarks on closing a Sanitary Fair in Washington.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I appear to say but a word. This extraordinary war in which we are engaged falls heavily upon all classes of people, but the most heavily upon the soldier. For it has been said, all that a man hath will he give for his life; and while all contribute of their substance, the soldier puts his life at stake, and often yields it up in his country's cause. The highest merit, then, is due to the soldier.

In this extraordinary war, extraordinary developments have manifested themselves, such as have not been seen in former wars; and amongst these manifestations nothing has been more remarkable than these fairs for the relief of suffering soldiers and their families. And the chief agents in these fairs are the women of America.

I am not accustomed to the use of language of eulogy; I have

never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America.

March 18, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 18, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe:

Edward P. Brooks, first lieutenant, Sixth Wisconsin, is a prisoner of war at Richmond. I desire that, if practicable, his special release be effected for a rebel prisoner of same rank. Have you one to send, and can you arrange for it at once?

A. LINCOLN.

March 18, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 18, 1864.

GOVERNOR MURPHY, Little Rock, Arkansas:

Yours of yesterday received and thanks for it. Send further returns when you receive them. Will do my best to protect people and new State government, but can act with no better intentions than have always done. Tell General Steele I have Randolph's pardon, and will send by mail if he says so.

A. LINCOLN.

March 19, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 19, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

Please find a captain among the rebel prisoners in your charge, and exchange for Captain T. Ten Eyck, of Eighteenth United States Infantry, now a prisoner at Richmond.

A. LINCOLN.

March 21, 1864.—REPLY TO A COMMITTEE FROM THE WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

Gentlemen of the Committee: The honorary membership in your association, as generously tendered, is gratefully accepted.

You comprehend, as your address shows, that the existing rebellion means more, and tends to more, than the perpetuation of African slavery—that it is, in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people. Partly to show that this view has not escaped my atte

tion, and partly that I cannot better express myself, I read a passage from the message to Congress in December, 1861:

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government — the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed, nor fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor*, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *hire* laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or *buy* them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either *hired* laborers, or what we call slaves. And, further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer, is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and, with their capital, hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class — neither work for others, nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States, a majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern, a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families — wives, sons, and daughters — work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them, but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself,

then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress, and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

The views then expressed remain unchanged, nor have I much to add. None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudice, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

March 23, 1864.—Correspondence with General C. Schurz.

(*Private.*)

Washington, March 13, 1864.

Major-General Schurz.

My dear Sir: Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence, because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, Washington, March 23, 1864.

Major-General Schurz.

My dear Sir: The letter, of which the above is a copy, was sent to you before Mr. Willman saw me, and now yours of the 19th tells me

you did not receive it. I do not wish to be more specific about the difficulty of your coming to Washington. I think you can easily conjecture it.

I perceive no objection to your making a political speech when you are where one is to be made; but quite surely speaking in the North and fighting in the South at the same time are not possible; nor could I be justified to detail any officer to the political campaign during its continuance and then return him to the army.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 25, 1864.—LETTER TO THURLOW WEED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 25, 1864.

HON. THURLOW WEED.

My dear Sir: I have been both pained and surprised recently at learning that you are wounded because a suggestion of yours as to the mode of conducting our national difficulty has not been followed —pained because I very much wish you to have no unpleasant feeling proceeding from me, and surprised, because my impression is that I have seen you since the last message issued, apparently feeling very cheerful and happy. How is this?

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 25, 1864.—LETTER TO B. B. FRENCH.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 25, 1864.

HON. B. B. FRENCH.

My dear Sir: I understand a bill is before Congress by your instigation, for taking your office from the control of the Department of the Interior, and considerably enlarging the powers and patronage of your office. The proposed change may be right for aught I know, and it certainly is right for Congress to do as it thinks proper in the case. What I wish to say is, that if the change is made, I do not think I can allow you to retain the office; because that would be encouraging officers to be constantly intriguing, to the detriment of the public interest, in order to profit themselves.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 26, 1864.—PROCLAMATION ABOUT AMNESTY.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas it has become necessary to define the cases in which insurgent enemies are entitled to the benefits of the proclamation of the President of the United States, which was made on the eighth

day of December, 1863, and the manner in which they shall proceed to avail themselves of those benefits;

And whereas the objects of that proclamation were to suppress the insurrection and to restore the authority of the United States; and whereas the amnesty therein proposed by the President was offered with reference to these objects alone:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that the said proclamation does not apply to the cases of persons who, at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits thereof by taking the oath thereby prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement or custody, or under bonds, or on parole of the civil, military, or naval authorities, or agents of the United States, as prisoners of war, or persons detained for offenses of any kind, either before or after conviction; and that, on the contrary, it does apply only to those persons who, being yet at large and free from any arrest, confinement, or duress, shall voluntarily come forward and take the said oath, with the purpose of restoring peace and establishing the national authority. Prisoners excluded from the amnesty offered in the said proclamation may apply to the President for clemency, like all other offenders, and their applications will receive due consideration.

I do further declare and proclaim that the oath presented in the aforesaid proclamation of the eighth of December, 1863, may be taken and subscribed before any commissioned officer, civil, military, or naval, in the service of the United States, or any civil or military officer of a State or Territory not in insurrection, who, by the laws thereof, may be qualified for administering oaths. All officers who receive such oaths are hereby authorized to give certificates thereon to the persons respectively by whom they are made, and such officers are hereby required to transmit the original records of such oaths at as early a day as may be convenient, to the Department of State, where they will be deposited and remain in the archives of the government. The Secretary of State will keep a register thereof, and will, on application, in proper cases, issue certificates of such records in the customary form of official certificates.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

[L. S.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

March 28, 1864.— LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 28, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: The governor of Kentucky is here, and desires to have the following points definitely fixed:

First. That the quotas of troops furnished, and to be furnished, by Kentucky may be adjusted upon the basis as actually reduced by able-bodied men of hers having gone into the rebel service; and that she be required to furnish no more than her just quotas upon fair adjustment upon such basis.

Second. To whatever extent the enlistment and drafting, one or both, of colored troops may be found necessary within the State, it may be conducted within the law of Congress; and, so far as practicable, free from collateral embarrassments, disorders, and provocations.

I think these requests of the governor are reasonable; and I shall be obliged if you will give him a full hearing, and do the best you can to effect these objects.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 29, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 29, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE.

My dear Sir: Your letter to Colonel Townsend, inclosing a slip from the "Herald," and asking a court of inquiry, has been laid before me by the Secretary of War, with the request that I would consider it. It is quite natural that you should feel some sensibility on the subject; yet I am not impressed, nor do I think the country is impressed, with the belief that your honor demands, or the public interest demands, such an inquiry. The country knows that at all events you have done good service; and I believe it agrees with me that it is much better for you to be engaged in trying to do more, than to be diverted, as you necessarily would be, by a court of inquiry. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 29, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: Mr. Charles B. Stuart, consulting engineer, appointed such by me upon invitation of the governor of New York, according to a law of that State, has made a report upon the proposed improvements to pass gunboats from tide-water to the northern and northwestern lakes, which report is herewith respectfully submitted for your consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1864.

March 29, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 29, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Army of the Potomac:

Captain Kinney, of whom I spoke to you as desiring to go on your staff, is now in your camp, in company with Mrs. Senator Dixon.

Mrs. Grant and I, and some others, agreed last night that I should, by this despatch, kindly call your attention to Captain Kinney.

A. LINCOLN.

March 29, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 29, 1864.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

Judge Catron is asking for the discharge of W. M. Bell, now at Rock Island, and whom he thinks was arrested as a hostage by you or by your authority. What say you?

A. LINCOLN.

April 4, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 4, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS.

My dear Sir: This is rather more social than official; containing suggestions rather than orders. I somewhat dread the effect of your Special Order No. 61, dated March 7, 1864. I have found that men who have not even been suspected of disloyalty are very averse to taking an oath of any sort as a condition to exercising an ordinary right of citizenship. The point will probably be made that while men may, without an oath, assemble in a noisy political meeting, they must take the oath to assemble in a religious meeting. It is said, I know not whether truly, that in some parts of Missouri assassinations are systematically committed upon returned rebels who wish to ground arms and behave themselves. This should not be. Of course I have not heard that you give countenance to or wink at such assassinations. Again, it is complained that the enlistment of negroes is not conducted in as orderly a manner and with as little collateral provocation as it might be. So far you have got along in the Department of the Missouri rather better than I dared to hope, and I congratulate you and myself upon it.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

April 4, 1864.—LETTER TO A. W. THOMPSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 4, 1864.

AMBROSE W. THOMPSON:

Yours of yesterday is just received. The financial scheme you suggest I shall consider further, but I have not time to form a conclusion which would reach you by the 6th.

I shall be glad to hear from you in Europe as you suggest.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

April 4, 1864.— Letter to A. G. Hodges.

Executive Mansion, Washington, April 4, 1864.

A. G. Hodges, Esq., Frankfort, Kentucky.

My dear Sir: You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:

"I am naturally antislavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government — that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution all together. When, early in the war, General Frémont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely con-

fident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force — no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

"And now let any Union man who complains of the measure test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms; and in the next, that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth."

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 5, 1864.— LETTER TO MRS. HORACE MANN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 5, 1864.

MRS. HORACE MANN.

Madam: The petition of persons under eighteen, praying that I would free all slave children, and the heading of which petition it appears you wrote, was handed me a few days since by Senator Sumner. Please tell these little people I am very glad their young hearts are so full of just and generous sympathy, and that, while I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has, and that, as it seems, he wills to do it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

April 5, 1864.— UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 5, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

I have received a letter from General Charles P. Stone, indorsed by yourself, asking that "some act, some word, some order may issue from the executive which shall place my name clear of reproach,"

etc. Nothing more definite than this is indicated as to what General Stone desires me to do, or supposes I can do in the case. I can only state the facts of the case from memory, and of course not with great minuteness or accuracy. General Stone was arrested, as I now think, early in February, 1862. Owing to sickness in my family, the Secretary of War made the arrest without notifying me that he had it in contemplation. General McClellan was then general-in-chief, with headquarters at Washington, and General Stone was commanding a division twenty-five or thirty miles above on the Potomac. Learning of the arrest I inquired for the cause, and found it or the evidence constituting it to consist of three classes: First, the evidence taken in writing by the Committee of Congress on the Conduct of the War. The point supposed to be made by this against General Stone was that when before the committee at one time and excusing himself for not having sent a force from one point to another during the battle in which Colonel Baker was killed, he stated that the enemy had a redoubt or dirt fort on the route which could not be passed. Afterward, the committee conceiving that General Stone could have prevented the erection of that fort, and ought to have done so, called him before them again to inquire why he did not, and he then denied that there ever had been a fort at that place. I did not think the evidence, as read to me, made the point conclusively against the general; but that evidence, whatever it is, I suppose is still accessible.

Secondly, evidence taken and put in the form of a report by a detective of General McClellan.

April 5, 1864.—TELEGRAM FROM JOHN HAY TO GOVERNOR BROUGH.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 5, 1864.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BROUGH, Columbus, Ohio:

The President has ordered the pardon of the soldiers of the 12th Ohio, in accordance with your request.

JOHN HAY.

April 7, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 7, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER:

Mrs. Lincoln and I think we will visit Fort Monroe some time next week. Meanwhile, whatever is to be done on the business subject will be conducted through the War Department. Please do not make public our probable visit.

A. LINCOLN.

April 7, 1864.— TELEGRAM FROM THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR DENNISON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 7, 1864.

HON. WM. DENNISON, Columbus, Ohio:

The President thinks he cannot safely write that class of letters.

JNO. G. NICOLAY.

[In answer to a request to give a cotton-trader a letter of recommendation to military and naval authorities, etc.]

April 11, 1864.— MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. HUNT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 11, 1864.

Whom it may concern: I know nothing on the subject of the attached letter except as therein stated. Neither do I personally know Mrs. Hunt. She has, however, from the beginning of the war been constantly represented to me as an open, and somewhat influential, friend of the Union. It has been said to me (I know not whether truly) that her husband is in the rebel army; that she avows her purpose to not live with him again; and that she refused to see him when she had an opportunity during one of John Morgan's raids into Kentucky. I would not offer her, nor any wife, a temptation to a permanent separation from her husband; but if she shall avow that her mind is already independently and fully made up to such separation, I shall be glad for the property sought by her letter to be delivered to her upon her taking the oath of December 8, 1863.

A. LINCOLN.

April 11, 1864.— MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. KEENAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 11, 1864.

If Judge John C. Underwood will say in writing on this sheet that he personally knows Mrs. Keenan, and that he desires her and her little nephew to pass our lines and go to her father in Rockingham, Virginia, I will direct a pass to be given her accordingly.

A. LINCOLN.

April 11, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

Mrs. Lincoln is so unwell that I now think we will not make the contemplated trip this week. Will notify you in time. Will probably get a boat here, but will accept yours if necessary. Thanks for your kind interest in the case.

A. LINCOLN.

April 12, 1864.—TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

I am appealed to in behalf of Charles Crumblin [Crumpton] said to be under sentence of death, to be executed at Norfolk to-morrow. Please ascertain whether there is any ground for a pardon, or even a respite, and answer me.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

Yours in regard to Charles Crumpton received. I have no more to say in the case.

A. LINCOLN.

April 13, 1864.—LETTER FROM JOHN HAY TO GENERAL L. THOMAS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 13, 1864.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS.

General: The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the thirtieth March, and to state in reply that Mr. Lewis has no authorization from him for any such purpose as you mention. He gave to Mr. Lewis a letter introducing him to you, at the request of some very respectable gentlemen from Kentucky, and here his responsibility for Mr. Lewis terminated.

The President does not wish you to be hampered in the execution of your duties by any consideration of the letter given by himself to Mr. Lewis.

I have the honor to be, General, your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY, Major and A. A. G.

April 18, 1864.—ADDRESS AT SANITARY FAIR IN BALTIMORE.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Calling to mind that we are in Baltimore, we cannot fail to note that the world moves. Looking upon these many people assembled here to serve, as they best may, the soldiers of the Union, it occurs at once that three years ago the same soldiers could not so much as pass through Baltimore. The change from then till now is both great and gratifying. Blessings on the brave men who have wrought the change, and the fair women who strive to reward them for it!

But Baltimore suggests more than could happen within Baltimore. The change within Baltimore is part only of a far wider change. When the war began, three years ago, neither party, nor any man, expected it would last till now. Each looked for the end,

in some way, long ere to-day. Neither did any anticipate that domestic slavery would be much affected by the war. But here we are; the war has not ended, and slavery has been much affected—how much needs not now to be recounted. So true is it that man proposes and God disposes.

But we can see the past, though we may not claim to have directed it; and seeing it, in this case, we feel more hopeful and confident for the future.

The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails to-day among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty. Recently, as it seems, the people of Maryland have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated.

It is not very becoming for one in my position to make speeches at great length; but there is another subject upon which I feel that I ought to say a word.

A painful rumor—true, I fear—has reached us of the massacre by the rebel forces at Fort Pillow, in the west end of Tennessee, on the Mississippi River, of some three hundred colored soldiers and white officers, who had just been overpowered by their assailants. There seems to be some anxiety in the public mind whether the government is doing its duty to the colored soldier, and to the service, at this point. At the beginning of the war, and for some time, the use of colored troops was not contemplated; and how the change of purpose was wrought I will not now take time to explain. Upon a clear conviction of duty I resolved to turn that element of strength to account; and I am responsible for it to the American people, to the Christian world, to history, and in my final account to God. Having determined to use the negro as a soldier, there is no way but to give him all the protection given to any other soldier. The difficulty is not in stating the principle, but in practically applying it. It is a mistake to suppose the government is indifferent to this matter, or

is not doing the best it can in regard to it. We do not to-day know that a colored soldier, or white officer commanding colored soldiers, has been massacred by the rebels when made a prisoner. We fear it,—believe it, I may say,—but we do not know it. To take the life of one of their prisoners on the assumption that they murder ours, when it is short of certainty that they do murder ours, might be too serious, too cruel, a mistake. We are having the Fort Pillow affair thoroughly investigated; and such investigation will probably show conclusively how the truth is. If after all that has been said it shall turn out that there has been no massacre at Fort Pillow, it will be almost safe to say there has been none, and will be none, elsewhere. If there has been the massacre of three hundred there, or even the tenth part of three hundred, it will be conclusively proved; and being so proved, the retribution shall as surely come. It will be matter of grave consideration in what exact course to apply the retribution; but in the supposed case it must come.

April 23, 1864.—Message to Congress.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a note of the nineteenth instant, from Lord Lyons to the Secretary of State, on the subject of two British naval officers who recently received medical treatment at the naval hospital at Norfolk. The expediency of authorizing Surgeon Solomon Sharp to accept the piece of plate to which the note refers, as an acknowledgment of his services, is submitted to your consideration.

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1864. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 23, 1864.—Telegram to General W. S. Rosecrans.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 23, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, St. Louis, Missouri:

A lady, Mrs. Ward, sister of the late John M. Weimer, is here, saying she is banished from St. Louis, her home, and asking to be allowed to return, on taking the oath and giving bond. It is exclusively with you to decide; but I will thank you to examine the case, and shall be glad if you find it consistent with your views to oblige her.

A. LINCOLN.

April 23, 1864.—Indorsement on Offer of Troops.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

I. The governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin offer to the President infantry troops for the approaching campaign as follows:

Ohio	30,000
Indiana	20,000
Illinois	20,000
Iowa	10,000
Wisconsin	5,000

II. The term of service to be one hundred days, reckoned from the date of muster into the service of the United States, unless sooner discharged.

III. The troops to be mustered into the service of the United States by regiments, when the regiments are filled up, according to regulations, to the minimum strength — the regiments to be organized according to the regulations of the War Department. The whole number to be furnished within twenty days from date of notice of the acceptance of this proposition.

IV. The troops to be clothed, armed, equipped, subsisted, transported, and paid as other United States infantry volunteers, and to serve in fortifications, or wherever their services may be required, within or without their respective States.

V. No bounty to be paid the troops, nor the service charged or credited on any draft.

VI. The draft for three years' service to go on in any State or district where the quota is not filled up; but if any officer or soldier in this special service should be drafted, he shall be credited for the service rendered.

JOHN BROUGH, Governor of Ohio.
O. P. MORTON, Governor of Indiana.
RICHARD YATES, Governor of Illinois.
WILLIAM M. STONE, Governor of Iowa.
JAMES T. LEWIS, Governor of Wisconsin.

[*Indorsement.*]

The foregoing proposition of the governors is accepted, and the Secretary of War is directed to carry it into execution.

A. LINCOLN.

April 23, 1864.

April 23, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 23, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: According to our understanding with Major-General Frank P. Blair at the time he took his seat in Congress last winter, he now asks to withdraw his resignation as major-general, then tendered, and be sent to the field. Let this be done. Let the order sending him be such as shown me to-day by the adjutant-general, only dropping from it the names of Maguire and Tompkins. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

April 27, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1864.

GOVERNOR MURPHY, Little Rock, Arkansas:

I am much gratified to learn that you got out so large a vote, so nearly all the right way, at the late election; and not less so that your State government, including the legislature, is organized and in good working order. Whatever I can I will do to protect you; meanwhile you must do your utmost to protect yourselves. Present my greeting to all.

A. LINCOLN.

April 28, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives: I have the honor to transmit herewith an address to the President of the United States, and, through him, to both Houses of Congress, on the condition and wants of the people of East Tennessee, and asking their attention to the necessity of some action on the part of the government for their relief, and which address is presented by a committee of an organization called "The East Tennessee Relief Association." Deeply commiserating the condition of these most loyal and suffering people, I am unprepared to make any specific recommendation for their relief. The military is doing, and will continue to do, the best for them within its power. Their address represents that the construction of direct railroad communication between Knoxville and Cincinnati, by way of central Kentucky, would be of great consequence in the present emergency. It may be remembered that in the annual message of December, 1861, such railroad construction was recommended. I now add that, with the hearty concurrence of Congress, I would yet be pleased to construct the road, both for the relief of these people and for its continuing military importance.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1864.

April 28, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives: In obedience to the resolution of your honorable body, a copy of which is herewith returned, I have the honor to make the following brief statement, which is believed to contain the information sought:

Prior to and at the meeting of the present Congress, Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio, and Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, members elect thereto, by and with the consent of the Senate held commissions from the executive as major-generals in the volunteer army. General Schenck tendered the resignation of his said commission, and took his seat in the House of Representatives, at the assembling thereof, upon the distinct verbal understanding with the Secretary of War and the executive that he might, at any time during the session, at his own pleasure, withdraw said resignation and return to the field.

General Blair was, by temporary assignment of General Sherman, in command of a corps through the battles in front of Chattanooga, and in the march to the relief of Knoxville, which occurred in the latter days of November and early days of December last, and of course was not present at the assembling of Congress. When he subsequently arrived here, he sought, and was allowed by the Secretary of War and the executive, the same conditions and promise as allowed and made to General Schenck.

General Schenck has not applied to withdraw his resignation; but when General Grant was made lieutenant-general, producing some

change of commanders, General Blair sought to be assigned to the command of a corps. This was made known to Generals Grant and Sherman, and assented to by them, and the particular corps for him designated. This was all arranged and understood, as now remembered, so much as a month ago; but the formal withdrawal of General Blair's resignation, and making the order assigning him to the command of the corps, were not consummated at the War Department until last week, perhaps on the 23d of April instant. As a summary of the whole, it may be stated that General Blair holds no military commission or appointment other than as herein stated, and that it is believed he is now acting as major-general upon the assumed validity of the commission herein stated, in connection with the facts herein stated, and not otherwise.

There are some letters, notes, telegrams, orders, entries, and perhaps other documents, in connection with this subject, which it is believed would throw no additional light upon it, but which will be cheerfully furnished if desired.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1864.

April 28, 1864.— TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 28, 1864.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Metropolitan Hotel, New York:

The draft will go to you. Tell Tad the goats and father are very well, especially the goats.

A. LINCOLN.

April 30, 1864.— LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 30, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

April 30, 1864.— LETTER TO J. R. FRY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 30, 1864.

My dear Sir: I thank you heartily for the kind invitation conveyed in your letter of the twenty-sixth, and sincerely regret that I

cannot make a positive engagement to avail myself of it. My time is subject to such constant and unexpected requisitions that I cannot unreservedly accept any such pleasure as that you offer me, at this distance of time.

I shall be most happy to be present at an entertainment which promises so much, especially as it is in aid of so beneficent a charity as that in which you are interested, if my engagements next week will allow it.

But I must beg that you will make no special arrangements in view of my presence, as I may be disappointed. If I can come I will notify you as early as possible. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 2, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 2, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBUT.

My dear Sir: General Farnsworth has just been reading to me from your letter to him of the 26th ultimo. I snatch a moment to say that my friendship and confidence for you remain unabated, but that Generals Grant and Thomas cannot be held to their just responsibilities if they are not allowed to control in the class of cases to which yours belongs.

From one standpoint a court of inquiry is most just, but if your case were my own I would not allow Generals Grant and Sherman [to] be diverted by it just now. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 2, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the Honorable the House of Representatives: In compliance with the request contained in your resolution of the 29th ultimo, a copy of which resolution is herewith returned, I have the honor to transmit the following:

. . . . . .

[Correspondence and orders relating to the resignation and reinstatement of Major-General Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri.]

. . . . . .

The foregoing constitutes all sought by the resolution so far as is remembered or has been found upon diligent search.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 2, 1864.

May 3, 1864.—LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 3, 1864.

Sir: It is now quite certain that a large number of our colored soldiers, with their white officers, were by the rebel force massacred

after they had surrendered, at the recent capture of Fort Pillow. So much is known, though the evidence is not yet quite ready to be laid before me. Meanwhile I will thank you to prepare, and give me in writing, your opinion as to what course the government should take in the case. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

May 4, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

I have an imploring appeal in behalf of the citizens, who say your Order No. 8 will compel them to go north of Nashville. This is in no sense an order, nor is it even a request that you will do anything which in the least shall be a drawback upon your military operations, but anything you can do consistently with those operations for those suffering people I shall be glad of.

A. LINCOLN.

May 7, 1864.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the request contained in a resolution of the Senate, dated April 30, 1864, I herewith transmit to your honorable body a copy of the opinion by the Attorney-General on the rights of colored persons in the army or volunteer service of the United States, together with the accompanying papers.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 7, 1864.

May 9, 1864.—RECOMMENDATION OF THANKSGIVING.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 9, 1864.

To the Friends of Union and Liberty: Enough is known of army operations within the last five days to claim an especial gratitude to God, while what remains undone demands our most sincere prayers to, and reliance upon, him without whom all human effort is vain. I recommend that all patriots, at their homes, in their places of public worship, and wherever they may be, unite in common thanksgiving and prayer to almighty God.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

May 9, 1864.—RESPONSE TO A SERENADE.

Fellow-citizens: I am very much obliged to you for the compliment of this call, though I apprehend it is owing more to the good news received to-day from the army, than to a desire to see me. I am indeed very grateful to the brave men who have been struggling with the enemy in the field, to their noble commanders who have

directed them, and especially to our Maker. Our commanders are following up their victories resolutely and successfully. I think, without knowing the particulars of the plans of General Grant, that what has been accomplished is of more importance than at first appears. I believe, I know—and am especially grateful to know—that General Grant has not been jostled in his purposes, that he has made all his points, and to-day he is on his line as he purposed before he moved his armies. I will volunteer to say that I am very glad at what has happened, but there is a great deal still to be done. While we are grateful to all the brave men and officers for the events of the past few days, we should, above all, be very grateful to almighty God, who gives us victory.

There is enough yet before us requiring all loyal men and patriots to perform their share of the labor and follow the example of the modest general at the head of our armies, and sink all personal consideration for the sake of the country. I commend you to keep yourselves in the same tranquil mood that is characteristic of that brave and loyal man. I have said more than I expected when I came before you. Repeating my thanks for this call, I bid you good-by.

May 11, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 11, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, St. Louis, Missouri:

Complaints are coming to me of disturbances in Carroll, Platte, and Buchanan counties. Please ascertain the truth, correct what is found wrong, and telegraph me.

A. LINCOLN.

May 12, 1864.—LETTER TO S. C. POMEROY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 12, 1864.

HON. SENATOR POMEROY.

Sir: I did not doubt yesterday that you desired to see me about the appointment of assessor in Kansas. I wish you and Lane would make a sincere effort to get out of the mood you are in. It does neither of you any good. It gives you the means of tormenting my life out of me, and nothing else. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

May 12, 1864.—LETTER TO F. B. LOOMIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 12, 1864.

F. B. LOOMIS, Esq.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 28th April, in which you offer to replace the present garrison at Fort Trumbull with volunteers, which you propose to raise at your own expense. While it seems inexpedient at

this time to accept this proposition on account of the special duties now devolving upon the garrison mentioned, I cannot pass unnoticed such a meritorious instance of individual patriotism. Permit me, for the government, to express my cordial thanks to you for this generous and public-spirited offer, which is worthy of note among the many called forth in these times of national trial.

I am very truly, your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

May 13, 1864.—INDORSEMENT ABOUT A CHURCH AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE.

I believe it is true that with reference to the church within named [at Memphis], I wrote as follows:

If the military have military need of the church building, let them keep it; otherwise, let them get out of it, and leave it and its owners alone, except for causes that justify the arrest of any one.

A. LINCOLN.

March 4, 1864.

I am now told that the military were not in possession of the building, and yet that in pretended execution of the above they, the military, put one set of men out of and another set into the building. This, if true, is most extraordinary. I say again, if there be no military need for the building, leave it alone, neither putting any one in nor out of it, except on finding some one preaching or practising treason, in which case lay hands upon him just as if he were doing the same thing in any other building or in the streets or highways.

A. LINCOLN.

May 13, 1864.

May 13, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL LEW WALLACE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Maryland:

I was very anxious to avoid new excitement at places where quiet seemed to be restored; but, after reading and considering your letter and inclosure, I have to say I leave you to act your careful discretion in the matter. The good news this morning, I hope, will have a good effect all round.

A. LINCOLN.

May 14, 1864.—INDORSEMENT OF LETTER OF GOVERNOR CARNEY DATED MAY 13, 1864.

The within letter is, to my mind, so obviously intended as a page for a political record, as to be difficult to answer in a straightfor-

ward, businesslike way. The merits of the Kansas people need not to be argued to me. They are just as good as any other loyal and patriotic people, and as such, to the best of my ability I have always treated them, and intend to treat them. It is not my recollection that I said to you Senator Lane would probably oppose raising troops in Kansas because it would confer patronage upon you. What I did say was, that he would probably oppose it because he and you were in a mood of each opposing whatever the other should propose. I did argue generally, too, that in my opinion there is not a more foolish or demoralizing way of conducting a political rivalry than these fierce and bitter struggles for patronage.

As to your demand that I will accept or reject your proposition to furnish troops, made to me yesterday, I have to say I took the proposition under advisement, in good faith, as I believe you know; that you can withdraw it if you wish; but while it remains before me, I shall neither accept nor reject it until, with reference to the public interest, I shall feel that I am ready.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

May 14, 1864.—REPLY TO A METHODIST DELEGATION.

Gentlemen: In response to your address, allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical statements, indorse the sentiments it expresses, and thank you in the nation's name for the sure promise it gives.

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is by its greater numbers the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church. Bless all the churches, and blessed be God, who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches.

[May 14, 1864?].—REPLY TO A BAPTIST DELEGATION.

In the present very responsible position in which I am engaged, I have had great cause of gratitude for the support so unanimously given by all Christian denominations of the country. I have had occasion so frequently to respond to something like this assemblage, that I have said all I had to say. This particular body is, in all respects, as respectable as any that have been presented to me. The resolutions I have merely heard read, and I therefore beg to be allowed an opportunity to make a short response in writing.

May 18, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 18, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Evening before last two gentlemen called on me and talked so earnestly about financial matters as to set me thinking of them a little more particularly since. And yet only one idea has occurred, which I think worth while even to suggest to you. It is this:

Suppose you change your five per cent. loan to six, allowing the holders of the fives already out to convert them into sixes, upon taking each an equal additional amount at six. You will understand better than I all the reasons *pro* and *con*, among which probably will be the rise of the rate of interest in Europe.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

May 18, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 18, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Army of the Potomac:

An elderly gentleman, Dr. Winston, is here, saying he is well acquainted with the ground you are on, and trying to get on, and having letters from Governor Morton, Senator Lane, and one from your father, and asking to be allowed to go to you. Shall we allow him to go to you?

A. LINCOLN.

May 18, 1864.—ORDER TO GENERAL J. A. DIX.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Commanding at New York.

Whereas there has been wickedly and traitorously printed and published this morning in the New York "World" and New York "Journal of Commerce," newspapers printed and published in the city of New York, a false and spurious proclamation, purporting to be signed by the President and to be countersigned by the Secretary of State, which publication is of a treasonable nature designed to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and to the rebels now at war against the government, and their aiders and abettors: you are therefore hereby commanded forthwith to arrest and imprison, in any fort or military prison in your command, the editors, proprietors, and publishers of the aforesaid newspapers, and all such persons as, after public notice has been given of the falsehood of said publication, print and publish the same with intent to give aid and comfort to the enemy; and you will hold the persons so arrested in close custody until they can be brought to trial before a military commission for their offense. You will also take posses-

sion, by military force, of the printing establishments of the New York "World" and "Journal of Commerce," and hold the same until further orders, and prevent any further publication therefrom.

A. LINCOLN, President of the United States.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

May 18, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

(*Cipher.*)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia:

Until receiving your despatch of yesterday, the idea of commissions in the volunteers expiring at the end of three years had not occurred to me. I think no trouble will come of it; and, at all events, I shall take care of it so far as in me lies. As to the major-generalships in the regular army, I think I shall not dispose of another, at least until the combined operations now in progress, under direction of General Grant, and within which yourself and command are included, shall be terminated.

Meanwhile, on behalf of yourself, officers, and men, please accept my hearty thanks for what you and they have so far done.

A. LINCOLN.

May 20, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO A. MACKAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 20, 1864.

ALFRED MACKAY, Secretary of Fair, St. Louis, Missouri:

Your despatch received. Thanks for your greeting, and congratulations for the successful opening of your fair. Our soldiers are doing well, and must and will be done well by.

A. LINCOLN.

May 21, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MORTON AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 21, 1864.

GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON:

The getting forward of hundred-day troops to sustain General Sherman's lengthening lines promises much good. Please put your best efforts into the work.

A. LINCOLN.

Same to Governor Yates, Springfield, Illinois; Governor Stone, Davenport, Iowa; Governor Lewis, Madison, Wisconsin.

May 24, 1864.—INDORSEMENT.

E. A. PAUL:

The [N. Y.] "Times," I believe, is always true to the Union, and therefore should be treated at least as well as any.

A. LINCOLN.

May 24, 1864.

May 24, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BROUGH.

WASHINGTON CITY, May 24, 1864.

GOVERNOR BROUGH, Columbus, Ohio:

Yours to Secretary of War [received] asking for something cheering. We have nothing bad from anywhere. I have just seen a despatch of Grant, of 11 P. M., May 23, on the North Anna and partly across it, which ends as follows: "Everything looks exceedingly favorable for us." We have nothing later from him.

A. LINCOLN.

May 25, 1864.—LETTER TO I. N. ARNOLD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 25, 1864.

HON. I. N. ARNOLD.

My dear Sir: In regard to the order of General Burnside suspending the Chicago "Times," now nearly a year ago, I can only say I was embarrassed with the question between what was due to the military service on the one hand, and the liberty of the press on the other, and I believe it was the despatch of Senator Trumbull and yourself, added to the proceedings of the meeting which it brought me, that turned the scale in favor of my revoking the order.

I am far from certain to-day that the revocation was not right; and I am very sure the small part you took in it is no just ground to disparage your judgment, much less to impugn your motives. I take it that your devotion to the Union and the administration cannot be questioned by any sincere man.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

May 27, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO R. W. THOMPSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 27, 1864.

HON. R. W. THOMPSON, Terre Haute, Indiana:

Your letter in relation to General Hunter and your son, just received. If General Hunter should ask to have your son on his staff, the request would be granted; but the general is now actively moving in the field, and is beyond telegraph. I doubt whether the promotion you think of is legally possible.

A. LINCOLN.

May 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO C. A. WALBORN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 28, 1864.

HON. C. A. WALBORN, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:

Yours received. I have felt constrained to answer repeated invitations to attend the great fair at your city, that I cannot be present at its opening, and that whether I can during its continuance must depend on circumstances.

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1864.—LETTER TO DR. IDE AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 30, 1864.

REV. DR. IDE, HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE, AND HON. A. HUBBELL, Committee.

In response to the preamble and resolutions of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which you did me the honor to present, I can only thank you for thus adding to the effective and almost unanimous support which the Christian communities are so zealously giving to the country and to liberty. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how it could be otherwise with any one professing Christianity, or even having ordinary perceptions of right and wrong. To read in the Bible, as the word of God himself, that "In the sweat of *thy* face shalt thou eat bread," and to preach therefrom that, "In the sweat of *other men's* faces shalt thou eat bread," to my mind can scarcely be reconciled with honest sincerity. When brought to my final reckoning, may I have to answer for robbing no man of his goods; yet more tolerable even this, than for robbing one of himself and all that was his. When, a year or two ago, those professedly holy men of the South met in the semblance of prayer and devotion, and, in the name of him who said, "As ye would all men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," appealed to the Christian world to aid them in doing to a whole race of men as they would have no man do unto themselves, to my thinking they contemned and insulted God and his church far more than did Satan when he tempted the Saviour with the kingdoms of the earth. The devil's attempt was no more false, and far less hypocritical. But let me forbear, remembering it is also written, "Judge not lest ye be judged."

A. LINCOLN.

May 30, 1864.—LETTER TO J. H. BRYANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 30, 1864.

HON. JOHN H. BRYANT.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 14th instant inclosing a card of invitation to a preliminary meeting contemplating the erection of a monument to the memory of Hon. Owen Lovejoy was duly received. As you anticipate, it will be out of my power to attend.

Many of you have known Mr. Lovejoy longer than I have, and are better able than I to do his memory complete justice. My personal acquaintance with him commenced only about ten years ago, since when it has been quite intimate, and every step in it has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending, with his life, in no less than affection on my part. It can truly be said of him that while he was personally ambitious he bravely endured the obscurity which the unpopularity of his principles imposed, and never accepted official honors until those honors were ready to admit his principles with him. Throughout very heavy and perplexing responsibilities here to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say he was my most generous friend.

Let him have the marble monument along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty unselfishly for all men. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 3, 1864.—LETTER TO F. A. CONKLING AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 3, 1864.

HON. F. A. CONKLING AND OTHERS.

Gentlemen: Your letter inviting me to be present at a mass-meeting of loyal citizens to be held at New York on the fourth instant, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lieutenant-General Grant for his signal services, was received yesterday. It is impossible for me to attend.

I approve, nevertheless, whatever may tend to strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble armies now under his direction. My previous high estimate of General Grant has been maintained and heightened by what has occurred in the remarkable campaign he is now conducting, while the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him do not prove less than I expected. He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns, moving to his and their support.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 6, 1864.—INDORSEMENT ON LETTER OF PRIVATE SECRETARY J. G. NICOLAY TO ASSISTANT PRIVATE SECRETARY MAJOR JOHN HAY.

EUTAW HOUSE, BALTIMORE, June 5, 1864.

My dear Major: Arrived here safely—find quite a number of delegates already in, but have not yet talked much with them.

One of the first men I met was B. C. Cook, who stands at the head of our Illinois delegation, and had quite a long and confidential talk with him. He told me he had thought of going to Washington to-morrow, but seeing me he concluded he could sufficiently post himself.

He premised by telling me that the milk-and-water Lincoln resolution, which was first reported to the Illinois State Convention, was cooked up by a few plotters, to the utter surprise and astonishment of nine-tenths of the

Convention, and by only a part of the Committee, and was with the others reported to the Convention when there was but a small attendance, it being late at night, but that the Convention very handsomely repudiated them, and referred them to a new Committee, which introduced and passed others of the right stripe. Cook does not seem to know thoroughly who were at the bottom of the matter. He thinks T—— was the chief manager. M—— is understood to have declared himself opposed to the resolution in Committee, but seems to have contented himself with the mere expression of his dissent, after which he went away without further active opposition. Strangely enough one or two men have told me that W——, either of his own volition or under the influence of others, was in the scheme. J——, on the contrary, Cook told me, was open and hearty for Lincoln.

Cook says there will be three or four disaffected members in the delegation from Illinois, but that nevertheless the delegation will vote and act as a unit, under the instructions of the Convention and also the will of the large majority of the delegation. He says the delegation will in good faith do everything they can for Lincoln, that is, in arranging the Vice-President, the Committee, Platform, etc., taking his own nomination of course as beyond question.

What transpired at home, and what he has heard from several sources, have made Cook suspicious that Swett may be untrue to Lincoln. One of the straws which led him to this belief is that Swett has telegraphed here urging the Illinois delegation to go for Holt for Vice-President.

I told Cook that I thought Lincoln would not wish even to indicate a preference for Vice-President, as the rival candidates were all friendly to him.

There will be some little trouble in arranging the matter of the contested seats from Missouri. The Radicals seem to have the technical right to be admitted. They threaten to withdraw from the Convention if the Conservatives are also admitted, but promise to abide the action of the Convention if they (the Radicals) obtain the seats. Cook says they intimated to him that they would even promise to vote for Lincoln in the Convention for the promise of an admission to seats.

Whitelaw Reid is here, and told me this evening that the Radicals conceded Lincoln's renomination, but their present game was to make a very radical platform.

Cook wants to know confidentially whether Swett is all right; whether in urging Holt for Vice-President he reflects the President's wishes; whether the President has any preference, either personally or on the score of policy, or whether he wishes not even to interfere by a confidential indication. Also whether he thinks it would be good policy to give the Radical delegates from Missouri the seats on their promising to vote for him.

Please get this information for me if possible. Write and send your letter by express so that it will reach me by the earliest practicable hour to-morrow (Monday). This will go to you by express by the 7 A. M. train to-morrow, so that you ought to have it by 10 A. M. Address me at Eutaw House.

N.

[*Indorsement.*]

Swett is unquestionably all right. Mr. Holt is a good man, but I had not heard or thought of him for Vice-President. Wish not to interfere about Vice-President. Cannot interfere about platform. Convention must judge for itself.

[A. LINCOLN.]

June 8, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I have the honor to submit for the consideration of Congress a letter and inclosure from the Secretary of War, with my concurrence in the recommendation therein made.

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1864. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

June 8, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, St. Louis, Missouri:

Yours of to-day received. I am unable to conceive how a message can be less safe by the express than by a staff-officer. If you send a verbal message, the messenger is one additional person let into the secret.

A. LINCOLN.

June 9, 1864.—REPLY TO THE COMMITTEE NOTIFYING PRESIDENT LINCOLN OF HIS RENOMINATION.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I will neither conceal my gratification nor restrain the expression of my gratitude that the Union people, through their convention, in their continued effort to save and advance the nation, have deemed me not unworthy to remain in my present position. I know no reason to doubt that I shall accept the nomination tendered; and yet perhaps I should not declare definitely before reading and considering what is called the platform. I will say now, however, I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation. When the people in revolt, with a hundred days of explicit notice that they could within those days resume their allegiance without the overthrow of their institution, and that they could not so resume it afterward, elected to stand out, such amendment of the Constitution as now proposed became a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause. Such alone can meet and cover all cavils. Now the unconditional Union men, North and South, perceive its importance and embrace it. In the joint names of Liberty and Union, let us labor to give it legal form and practical effect.

PLATFORM OF THE UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, JUNE 7 AND 8, 1864.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge our-

selves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to

this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation: and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

June 9, 1864.— Reply to an Ohio Delegation.

Gentlemen: I am very much obliged to you for this compliment. I have just been saying, and will repeat it, that the hardest of all speeches I have to answer is a serenade. I never know what to say on these occasions. I suppose that you have done me this kindness in connection with the action of the Baltimore convention, which has recently taken place, and with which, of course, I am very well satisfied. What we want, still more than Baltimore conventions or presidential elections, is success under General Grant. I propose that you constantly bear in mind that the support you owe to the brave officers and soldiers in the field is of the very first importance, and we should therefore bend all our energies to that point.

Now, without detaining you any longer, I propose that you help me to close up what I am now saying with three rousing cheers for General Grant and the officers and soldiers under his command.

June 9, 1864.— Reply to a Delegation from the National Union League.

Gentlemen: I can only say in response to the kind remarks of your chairman, as I suppose, that I am very grateful for the renewed confidence which has been accorded to me both by the convention and by the National League. I am not insensible at all to the personal compliment there is in this, and yet I do not allow myself to believe that any but a small portion of it is to be appropriated as a personal compliment. That really the convention and the Union League assembled with a higher view — that of taking care of the interests of the country for the present and the great future — and that the part I am entitled to appropriate as a compliment is only that part which I may lay hold of as being the opinion of the convention and of the League, that I am not entirely unworthy to be intrusted with the place which I have occupied for the last three

years. But I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap.

June 10, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 10, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS:

Major John Hay, the bearer, is one of my private secretaries, to whom please communicate, in writing, or verbally, anything you would think proper to say to me.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

June 11, 1864.—REMARKS TO AN OHIO REGIMENT.

Soldiers! I understand you have just come from Ohio—come to help us in this, the nation's day of trial, and also of its hopes. I thank you for your promptness in responding to the call for troops. Your services were never needed more than now. I know not where you are going. You may stay here and take the places of those who will be sent to the front, or you may go there yourselves. Wherever you go, I know you will do your best. Again I thank you. Good-by.

June 13, 1864.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 13, 1864. 3 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, St. Louis, Missouri:

The President directs that the archives and papers of the Belgian consulate, alleged to have been taken from the possession of Mr. Hunt, late Belgian consul, by your provost-marshal, be returned to him, and that no proceedings be had against him without orders from this department; that you release him if he be imprisoned, and that you report by telegraph what proceedings, if any, have been had by your provost-marshal, or any other officer under your command, in reference to Mr. Hunt, or the papers and archives of his consulate, and the grounds or causes of such proceedings.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

June 13, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL L. THOMAS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, Louisville, Kentucky:

Complaint is made to me that in the vicinity of Henderson, our militia are seizing negroes and carrying them off without their own

consent, and according to no rules whatever, except those of absolute violence. I wish you would look into this and inform me, and see that the making soldiers of negroes is done according to the rules you are acting upon, so that unnecessary provocation and irritation be avoided.

A. LINCOLN.

June 14, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. G. BURBRIDGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14, 1864.

GENERAL BURBRIDGE, Lexington, Kentucky:

Have just read your despatch of action at Cynthiana. Please accept my congratulation and thanks for yourself and command.

A. LINCOLN.

June 15, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1864. 7 A. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Headquarters Army of the Potomac:

I have just received your despatch of 1 P. M. yesterday. I begin to see it: you will succeed. God bless you all.

A. LINCOLN.

June 15, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1864.

HON. S. P. CHASE.

My dear Sir: The governor of Iowa and some of the members of Congress have [given me] a little embarrassment about the removal of a Mr. Atkinson, in your department, and the appointment to the place of a Mr. Sill, I think. They claim a promise, which I know I never made, except upon the condition that you desired the removal of Atkinson. Please help me a little. If you will write me a note that you do not wish Atkinson removed, that will end the matter. On the contrary, if you do wish him removed, or even are indifferent about it, say so to me, accompanying your note with a nomination for Sill. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 16, 1864.—SPEECH AT A SANITARY FAIR IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

I suppose that this toast was intended to open the way for me to say something.

War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has deranged business, totally in many localities, and partially in all localities. It has destroyed property and ruined homes; it has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country; it

has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that the "heavens are hung in black."

Yet the war continues, and several relieving coincidents have accompanied it from the very beginning which have not been known, as I understand, or have any knowledge of, in any former wars in the history of the world. The Sanitary Commission, with all its benevolent labors; the Christian Commission, with all its Christian and benevolent labors; and the various places, arrangements, so to speak, and institutions, have contributed to the comfort and relief of the soldiers. You have two of these places in this city — the Cooper Shop and Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloons. And lastly, these fairs, which, I believe, began only last August, if I mistake not, in Chicago, then at Boston, at Cincinnati, Brooklyn, New York, and Baltimore, and those at present held at St. Louis, Pittsburg, and Philadelphia. The motive and object that lie at the bottom of all these are most worthy; for, say what you will, after all, the most is due to the soldier who takes his life in his hands and goes to fight the battles of his country. In what is contributed to his comfort when he passes to and fro, and in what is contributed to him when he is sick and wounded, in whatever shape it comes, whether from the fair and tender hand of woman, or from any other source, it is much, very much. But I think that there is still that which is of as much value to him in the continual reminders he sees in the newspapers that while he is absent he is yet remembered by the loved ones at home. Another view of these various institutions, if I may so call them, is worthy of consideration, I think. They are voluntary contributions, given zealously and earnestly, on top of all the disturbances of business, of all the disorders, of all the taxation, and of all the burdens that the war has imposed upon us, giving proof that the national resources are not at all exhausted, and that the national spirit of patriotism is even firmer and stronger than at the commencement of the war.

It is a pertinent question, often asked in the mind privately, and from one to the other, when is the war to end? Surely I feel as deep an interest in this question as any other can; but I do not wish to name a day, a month, or a year, when it is to end. I do not wish to run any risk of seeing the time come without our being ready for the end, for fear of disappointment because the time had come and not the end. We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it never will end until that time. Speaking of the present campaign, General Grant is reported to have said, "I am going through on this line if it takes all summer." This war has taken three years; it was begun or accepted upon the line of restoring the national authority over the whole national domain, and for the American people, as far as my knowledge enables me to speak, I say we are going through on this line if it takes three years more.

My friends, I did not know but that I might be called upon to say a few words before I got away from here, but I did not know it was coming just here. I have never been in the habit of making predictions in regard to the war, but I am almost tempted to make one. If

I were to hazard it, it is this: That Grant is this evening, with General Meade and General Hancock, and the brave officers and soldiers with him, in a position from whence he will never be dislodged until Richmond is taken; and I have but one single proposition to put now, and perhaps I can best put it in the form of an interrogative. If I shall discover that General Grant and the noble officers and men under him can be greatly facilitated in their work by a sudden pouring forward of men and assistance, will you give them to me? Are you ready to march? [Cries of "Yes."] Then I say, Stand ready, for I am watching for the chance. I thank you, gentlemen.

June 17, 1864.—Letter to Lyman Trumbull.

Executive Mansion, Washington, June 17, 1864.

Hon. Lyman Trumbull.

My dear Sir: Yours relative to reorganization of a State government for Arkansas, is received. I believe none of the departments have had anything to do with it. All that has been done within the range you mention is embraced in an informal letter and telegraphic correspondence between parties there and myself, copies of which I have already furnished to Mr. Dawes of the House of Representatives for the object corresponding to yours.

It will save labor and oblige me if you will procure him to show you them. I believe you will find mentioned a proclamation of General Steele, no copy of which is with the correspondence. The reason is, I could not find it. If, after reading this, it still would be more satisfactory to you to have copies for yourself, let me know, and I will have them made out as soon as I reasonably can.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

June 20, 1864.—Draft of Letter to Governor Brough and General S. P. Heintzelman—Not sent.

Executive Mansion, Washington, June 20, 1864.

Governor Brough and General Heintzelman:

Both of you have official responsibility as to the United States military in Ohio, and generally—one in organizing and furnishing, the other in directing, commanding, and forwarding. Consult together freely, watch Vallandigham and others closely, and upon discovering any palpable injury or imminent danger to the military proceeding from him, them, or any of them, arrest all implicated; otherwise do not arrest without further order. Meanwhile report the signs to me from time to time. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

June 20, 1864.—MEMORANDUM OF AN INTERVIEW WITH THE POSTMASTER OF PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

What I said to Postmaster of Philadelphia on this day—June 20, 1864:

Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Judge Kelley's renomination to Congress.

I am well satisfied with Judge Kelley as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his.

This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part when a certain other nomination now recently made was being canvassed for.

June 24, 1864.—LETTER TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL BATES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 24, 1864.

HON. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Sir: By authority of the Constitution, and moved thereto by the fourth section of the act of Congress, entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the army for the year ending the thirtieth of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-five, and for other purposes, approved June 15, 1864," I require your opinion in writing as to what pay, bounty, and clothing are allowed by law to persons of color who were free on the nineteenth day of April, 1861, and who have been enlisted and mustered into the military service of the United States between the month of December, 1862, and the sixteenth of June, 1864.

Please answer as you would do, on my requirement, if the act of June 15, 1864, had not been passed, and I will so use your opinion as to satisfy that act. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

June 24, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 24, 1864.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Boston, Massachusetts:

All well and very warm. Tad and I have been to General Grant's army. Returned yesterday safe and sound.

A. LINCOLN.

June 24, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, St. Louis, Missouri:

Complaint is made to me that General Brown does not do his best to suppress bushwhackers. Please ascertain and report to me.

A. LINCOLN.

June 25, 1864.—LETTER TO THE PAYMASTER-GENERAL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 25, 1864.

PAYMASTER-GENERAL:

I am so frequently called on by persons in behalf of paymasters who have already served a long time in the South, for leave to come North, as to induce me to inquire whether there might not, without much inconvenience, be a rule of exchanges which would be fair to all, and keep none so long in an uncongenial climate as to much endanger health. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 27, 1864.—LETTER TO W. C. BRYANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 27, 1864.

HON. WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT:

My dear Sir: Yours of the twenty-fifth has just been handed me by the Secretary of the Navy. The tone of the letter, rather than any direct statement in it, impresses me as a complaint that Mr. Henderson should have been removed from office, and arrested; coupled with the single suggestion that he be restored if he shall establish his innocence.

I know absolutely nothing of the case except as follows: Monday last, Mr. Welles came to me with the letter of dismissal already written, saying he thought proper to show it to me before sending it. I asked him the charges, which he stated in a general way. With as much emphasis as I could, I said: "Are you entirely certain of his guilt?" He answered that he was, to which I replied: "Then send the letter."

Whether Mr. Henderson was a supporter of my second nomination, I neither knew nor inquired, nor even thought of. I shall be very glad indeed if he shall, as you anticipate, establish his innocence; or, to state it more strongly and properly, "if the government shall fail to establish his guilt." I believe, however, the man who made the affidavit was of as spotless reputation as Mr. Henderson, until he was arrested on what his friends insist was outrageously insufficient evidence. I know the entire city government of Washington, with many other respectable citizens, appealed to me in his behalf as a greatly injured gentleman.

While the subject is up, may I ask whether the "Evening Post" has not assailed me for supposed too lenient dealing with persons charged with fraud and crime? And that in cases of which the "Post" could know but little of the facts? I shall certainly deal as leniently with Mr. Henderson as I have felt it my duty to deal with others, notwithstanding any newspaper assaults.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

June 27, 1864.—LETTER ACCEPTING THE RENOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 27, 1864.

HON. WILLIAM DENNISON AND OTHERS, A COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 14th instant formally notifying me that I have been nominated by the convention you represent for the Presidency of the United States for four years from the fourth of March next has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the resolutions of the convention, called the platform, are heartily approved. While the resolution in regard to the supplanting of republican government upon the western continent is fully concurred in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the government in relation to the action of France in Mexico, as assumed through the State Department and approved and indorsed by the convention among the measures and acts of the executive, will be faithfully maintained so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable. I am especially gratified that the soldier and the seaman were not forgotten by the convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by the grateful country for whose salvation they devote their lives.

Thanking you for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have communicated the nomination and other proceedings of the convention, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

June 28, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 28, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: Yours, inclosing a blank nomination for Maunsell B. Field to be assistant treasurer at New York, was received yesterday. I cannot, without much embarrassment, make this appointment, principally because of Senator Morgan's very firm opposition to it. Senator Harris has not spoken to me on the subject, though I understand he is not averse to the appointment of Mr. Field, nor yet to any one of the three named by Senator Morgan, rather preferring of them, however, Mr. Hillhouse. Governor Morgan tells

me he has mentioned the three names to you, to wit: R. M. Blatchford, Dudley S. Gregory, and Thomas Hillhouse. It will really oblige me if you will make choice among these three, or any other man that Senators Morgan and Harris will be satisfied with, and send me a nomination for him. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 28, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

My dear Sir: When I received your note this forenoon suggesting a verbal conversation in relation to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Cisco, I hesitated, because the difficulty does not, in the main part, lie within the range of a conversation between you and me. As the proverb goes, no man knows so well where the shoe pinches as he who wears it. I do not think Mr. Field a very proper man for the place, but I would trust your judgment and forego this were the greater difficulty out of the way. Much as I personally like Mr. Barney, it has been a great burden to me to retain him in his place when nearly all our friends in New York were directly or indirectly urging his removal. Then the appointment of Judge Hogeboom to be general appraiser brought me to, and has ever since kept me at, the verge of open revolt. Now the appointment of Mr. Field would precipitate me in it unless Senator Morgan and those feeling as he does, could be brought to concur in it. Strained as I already am at this point, I do not think I can make this appointment in the direction of still greater strain.

The testimonials of Mr. Field, with your accompanying notes, were duly received, and I am now waiting to see your answer from Mr. Cisco. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 29, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 29, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEELE:

I understand that Congress declines to admit to seats the persons sent as senators and representatives from Arkansas. These persons apprehend that, in consequence, you may not support the new State government there as you otherwise would. My wish is that you give that government and the people there the same support and protection that you would if the members had been admitted, because in no event, nor in any view of the case, can this do any harm, while it will be the best you can do toward suppressing the rebellion. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

June 29, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1864.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, New York:

All well. Tom is moving things out.

A. LINCOLN.

June 30, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 30, 1864.

HON. SALMON P. CHASE.

My dear Sir: Your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury sent me yesterday is accepted. Of all I have said in commendation of your ability and fidelity I have nothing to unsay; and yet you and I have reached a point of mutual embarrassment in our official relations which it seems cannot be overcome or longer sustained consistently with the public service.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

June 30, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO DAVID TOD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 30, 1864.

HON. DAVID TOD, Youngstown, Ohio:

I have nominated you to be Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Governor Chase, who has resigned. Please come without a moment's delay.

A. LINCOLN.

July 2, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO JUDGE S. H. TREAT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1864.

HON. S. H. TREAT, Springfield, Illinois:

Please give me a summary of the evidence with your impressions, on the Coles County riot cases. I send the same request to Judge Davis.

A. LINCOLN.

July 4, 1864.—LETTER TO J. L. SCRIPPS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 4, 1864.

TO JOHN L. SCRIPPS, Esq.

Dear Sir: Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Mr. Arnold's nomination to Congress. I am well satisfied with Mr. Arnold as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfac-

tory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to [do] other than [as] he thinks fit with his. This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part, when a certain other nomination, now recently made, was being canvassed for.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 5, 1864.— TELEGRAM TO J. W. GARRETT.

[WASHINGTON,] July 5, 1864.

J. W. GARRETT, President [B. & O. R. R.], Camden Station:

You say telegraphic communication is reëstablished with Sandy Hook. Well, what does Sandy Hook say about operations of enemy and of Sigel during to-day?

A. LINCOLN.

July 5, 1864.— LETTER FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, July 5, 1864.

HIS EXCELLENCY HORATIO SEYMOUR,

Governor of New York, Albany:

The President directs me to inform you that a rebel force, variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand men, have invaded the State of Maryland, and have taken Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry, and are threatening other points; that the public safety requires him to call upon the State executives for a militia force to repel this invasion. He therefore directs me to call on you for a militia force of 12,000 men from your State to serve not more than one hundred days, and to request that you will with the utmost despatch forward the troops to Washington by rail or steamboat as may be most expeditious.

Please favor me with an answer at your earliest convenience.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

July 5, 1864.— PROCLAMATION SUSPENDING WRIT OF *Habeas Corpus*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by a proclamation which was issued on the fifteenth day of April, 1861, the President of the United States announced and declared that the laws of the United States had been for some time past, and then were, opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed,

in certain States therein mentioned, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law;

And whereas, immediately after the issuing of the said proclamation, the land and naval forces of the United States were put into activity to suppress the said insurrection and rebellion;

And whereas the Congress of the United States, by an act approved on the third day of March, 1863, did enact that during the said rebellion the President of the United States, whenever in his judgment the public safety may require it, is authorized to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any case throughout the United States, or in any part thereof;

And whereas the said insurrection and rebellion still continue, endangering the existence of the Constitution and government of the United States;

And whereas the military forces of the United States are now actively engaged in suppressing the said insurrection and rebellion in various parts of the States where the said rebellion has been successful in obstructing the laws and public authorities, especially in the States of Virginia and Georgia;

And whereas, on the fifteenth day of September last, the President of the United States duly issued his proclamation, wherein he declared that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* should be suspended throughout the United States in the cases where, by the authority of the President of the United States, military, naval, and civil officers of the United States, or any of them, hold persons under their command or in their custody, either as prisoners of war, spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen, enrolled or drafted or mustered or enlisted in, or belonging to, the land or naval forces of the United States, or as deserters therefrom, or otherwise amenable to military law or the rules and articles of war, or the rules or regulations prescribed for the military or naval services by authority of the President of the United States, or for resisting a draft, or for any other offense against the military or naval services;

And whereas many citizens of the State of Kentucky have joined the forces of the insurgents, and such insurgents have, on several occasions, entered the State of Kentucky in large force, and, not without aid and comfort furnished by disaffected and disloyal citizens of the United States residing therein, have not only disturbed the public peace, but have overborne the civil authorities and made flagrant civil war, destroying property and life in various parts of that State;

And whereas it has been made known to the President of the United States by the officers commanding the national armies, that combinations have been formed in the said State of Kentucky with a purpose of inciting rebel forces to renew the said operations of civil war within the said State, and thereby to embarrass the United States armies now operating in the said States of Virginia and Georgia, and even to endanger their safety:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United

States, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws, do hereby declare that, in my judgment, the public safety especially requires that the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, so proclaimed in the said proclamation of the fifteenth of September, 1863, be made effectual and be duly enforced in and throughout the said State of Kentucky, and that martial law be for the present established therein. I do, therefore, hereby require of the military officers in the said State that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* be effectually suspended within the said State according to the aforesaid proclamation, and that martial law be established therein, to take effect from the date of this proclamation, the said suspension and establishment of martial law to continue until this proclamation shall be revoked or modified, but not beyond the period when the said rebellion shall have been suppressed or come to an end. And I do hereby require and command, as well all military officers as all civil officers and authorities existing or found within the said State of Kentucky, to take notice of this proclamation, and to give full effect to the same.

The martial law herein proclaimed, and the things in that respect herein ordered, will not be deemed or taken to interfere with the holding of lawful elections, or with the proceedings of the constitutional legislature of Kentucky, or with the administration of justice in the courts of law existing therein between the citizens of the United States in suits or proceedings which do not affect the military operations or the constituted authorities of the government of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this fifth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

July 5, 1864.—INDORSEMENT ABOUT MEMPHIS CHURCH.

The President declines making any further order in the case of the Presbyterian Church in Memphis.

July 7, 1864.—PROCLAMATION FOR A DAY OF PRAYER.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the Senate and House of Representatives, at their last session, adopted a concurrent resolution, which was approved on the second day of July instant, and which was in the words following, namely:

That the President of the United States be requested to appoint a day for humiliation and prayer by the people of the United States; that he request his constitutional advisers at the head of the executive departments to unite with him as chief magistrate of the nation, at the city of Washington, and the members of Congress, and all magistrates, all civil, military, and naval officers, all soldiers, sailors, and marines, with all loyal and law-abiding people, to convene at their usual places of worship, or wherever they may be, to confess and to repent of their manifold sins; to implore the compassion and forgiveness of the Almighty, that, if consistent with his will, the existing rebellion may be speedily suppressed, and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States may be established throughout all the States; to implore him, as the supreme ruler of the world, not to destroy us as a people, nor suffer us to be destroyed by the hostility or the connivance of other nations, or by obstinate adhesion to our own counsels which may be in conflict with his eternal purposes, and to implore him to enlighten the mind of the nation to know and do his will, humbly believing that it is in accordance with his will that our place should be maintained as a united people among the family of nations; to implore him to grant to our armed defenders and the masses of the people that courage, power of resistance, and endurance necessary to secure that result; to implore him in his infinite goodness to soften the hearts, enlighten the minds, and quicken the consciences of those in rebellion, that they may lay down their arms and speedily return to their allegiance to the United States, that they may not be utterly destroyed, that the effusion of blood may be stayed, and that unity and fraternity may be restored, and peace established throughout all our borders:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, cordially concurring with the Congress of the United States in the penitential and pious sentiments expressed in the aforesaid resolutions, and heartily approving of the devotional design and purpose thereof, do hereby appoint the first Thursday of August next to be observed by the people of the United States as a day of national humiliation and prayer.

I do hereby further invite and request the heads of the executive departments of this government, together with all legislators, all judges and magistrates, and all other persons exercising authority in the land, whether civil, military, or naval, and all soldiers, seamen, and marines in the national service, and all the other loyal and law-abiding people of the United States, to assemble in their preferred places of public worship on that day, and there and then to render to the almighty and merciful Ruler of the universe such homages and such confessions, and to offer to him such supplications, as the Congress of the United States have, in their aforesaid resolution, so solemnly, so earnestly, and so reverently recommended.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this seventh day of
[L. S.] July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President, WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

July 8, 1864.—PROCLAMATION CONCERNING A BILL "TO GUARANTEE TO CERTAIN STATES, WHOSE GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN USURPED OR OVERTHROWN, A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT," AND CONCERNING RECONSTRUCTION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, at the late session, Congress passed a bill to "guarantee to certain States, whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government," a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

And whereas the said bill was presented to the President of the United States for his approval less than one hour before the *sine die* adjournment of said session, and was not signed by him;

And whereas the said bill contains, among other things, a plan for restoring the States in rebellion to their proper practical relation in the Union, which plan expresses the sense of Congress upon that subject, and which plan it is now thought fit to lay before the people for their consideration:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known, that, while I am (as I was in December last, when by proclamation I propounded a plan for restoration) unprepared, by a formal approval of this bill, to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration; and, while I am also unprepared to declare that the free-State constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana shall be set aside and held for nought, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens who have set up the same as to further effort, or to declare a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in States, but am at the same time sincerely hoping and expecting that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation may be adopted, nevertheless I am fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill as one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it, and that I am, and at all times shall be, prepared to give the executive aid and assistance to any such people, so soon as the military resistance to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such State, and the people thereof shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, in which cases military governors will be appointed, with directions to proceed according to the bill.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighth day of July,
[L. S.] in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

July 9, 1864.—LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 9, 1864.

HON. HORACE GREELEY.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 7th, with inclosures, received.

If you can find any person, anywhere, professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you; and that if he really brings such proposition, he shall at the least have safe conduct with the paper (and without publicity, if he chooses) to the point where you shall have met him. The same if there be two or more persons. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 9, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO J. W. GARRETT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 9, 1864.

J. W. GARRETT, Camden Station:

What have you heard about a battle at Monocacy to-day? We have nothing about it here except what you say.

A. LINCOLN.

July 9, 1864.—TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO GENERAL WALLACE.

WASHINGTON, July 9, 1864. 11.57 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL L. WALLACE, Commanding Middle Department:

I am directed by the President to say that you will rally your forces and make every possible effort to retard the enemy's march on Baltimore.

H. W. HALLECK, Major-General and Chief of Staff.

July 10, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO T. SWAN AND OTHERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1864. 9.20 A. M.

THOMAS SWAN AND OTHERS, Baltimore, Maryland:

Yours of last night received. I have not a single soldier but whom is being disposed by the military for the best protection of all. By latest accounts the enemy is moving on Washington. They cannot fly to either place. Let us be vigilant, but keep cool. I hope neither Baltimore nor Washington will be sacked.

A. LINCOLN.

July 10, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 10, 1864. 2 P. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Your despatch to General Halleck, referring to what I may think in the present emergency, is shown me. General Halleck says we have absolutely no force here fit to go to the field. He thinks that with the hundred-day men and invalids we have here we can defend Washington, and, scarcely, Baltimore. Besides these there are about 8000, not very reliable, under Howe, at Harper's Ferry, with Hunter approaching that point very slowly, with what number I suppose you know better than I. Wallace, with some odds and ends, and part of what came up with Ricketts, was so badly beaten yesterday at Monocacy, that what is left can attempt no more than to defend Baltimore. What we shall get in from Pennsylvania and New York will scarcely be worth counting, I fear. Now, what I think is, that you should provide to retain your hold where you are, *certainly*, and bring the rest with you personally, and make a vigorous effort to destroy the enemy's forces in this vicinity. I think there is really a fair chance to do this, if the movement is prompt. This is what I think upon your suggestion, and is not an order.

A. LINCOLN.

July 11, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1864. 8 A. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Yours of 10.30 P. M. yesterday received, and very satisfactory. The enemy will learn of Wright's arrival, and then the difficulty will be to unite Wright and Hunter south of the enemy before he will recross the Potomac. Some firing between Rockville and here now.

A. LINCOLN.

July 12, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 12, 1864. 11.30 A. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Vague rumors have been reaching us for two or three days that Longstreet's corps is also on its way [to] this vicinity. Look out for its absence from your front.

A. LINCOLN.

July 14, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 14, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: Your note of to-day inclosing General Halleck's letter of yesterday relative to offensive remarks supposed to have been made by

the Postmaster-General concerning the military officers on duty about Washington is received. The general's letter in substance demands of me that if I approve the remarks I shall strike the names of those officers from the rolls; and that if I do not approve them the Postmaster-General shall be dismissed from the Cabinet.

Whether the remarks were really made I do not know, nor do I suppose such knowledge is necessary to a correct response. If they were made, I do not approve them; and yet, under the circumstances, I would not dismiss a member of the Cabinet therefor. I do not consider what may have been hastily said in a moment of vexation at so severe a loss is sufficient ground for so grave a step. Besides this, truth is generally the best vindication against slander. I propose continuing to be myself the judge as to when a member of the Cabinet shall be dismissed. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July [14?], 1864.—MEMORANDUM READ TO THE CABINET.

I must myself be the judge how long to retain in and when to remove any of you from his position. It would greatly pain me to discover any of you endeavoring to procure another's removal, or in any way to prejudice him before the public. Such endeavor would be a wrong to me, and, much worse, a wrong to the country. My wish is that on this subject no remark be made nor question asked by any of you, here or elsewhere, now or hereafter.

July 15, 1864.—TELEGRAM AND LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 15, 1864.

HON. HORACE GREELEY, New York:

I suppose you received my letter of the 9th. I have just received yours of the 13th, and am disappointed by it. I was not expecting you to send me a letter, but to bring me a man, or men. Mr. Hay goes to you with my answer to yours of the 13th.

A. LINCOLN.

[*Carried by Major John Hay.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 15, 1864.

HON. HORACE GREELEY.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th is just received, and I am disappointed that you have not already reached here with those commissioners, if they would consent to come on being shown my letter to you of the 9th instant. Show that and this to them, and if they will come on the terms stated in the former, bring them. I not only intend a sincere effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that it is made. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 16, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO MAJOR JOHN HAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 16, 1864.

JOHN HAY, Astor House, New York:

Yours received. Write the safe-conduct, as you propose, without waiting for one by mail from me. If there is or is not anything in the affair, I wish to know it without unnecessary delay.

A. LINCOLN.

July 16, 1864.—SAFE-CONDUCT FOR C. C. CLAY AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The President of the United States directs that the four persons whose names follow, to wit: Hon. Clement C. Clay, Hon. Jacob Thompson, Prof. James B. Holcombe, George N. Sanders, shall have safe conduct to the city of Washington in company with the Hon. Horace Greeley, and shall be exempt from arrest or annoyance of any kind from any officer of the United States during their journey to the said city of Washington.

By order of the President.

JOHN HAY, Major and A. A. G.

July 17, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

[WASHINGTON], July 17, 1864. 11.25 A. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

In your despatch of yesterday to General Sherman, I find the following, to wit:

"I shall make a desperate effort to get a position here, which will hold the enemy without the necessity of so many men."

Pressed as we are by lapse of time I am glad to hear you say this; and yet I do hope you may find a way that the effort shall not be desperate in the sense of great loss of life.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President.

July 17, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. HUNTER.

[WASHINGTON], July 17, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia:

Yours of this morning received. You misconceive. The order you complain of was only nominally mine, and was framed by those who really made it with no thought of making you a scapegoat. It seemed to be General Grant's wish that the forces under General Wright and those under you should join and drive at the enemy under General Wright. Wright had the larger part of the

force, but you had the rank. It was thought that you would prefer Crook's commanding your part to your serving in person under Wright. That is all of it. General Grant wishes you to remain in command of the department, and I do not wish to order otherwise.

A. LINCOLN.

July 18, 1864.—ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING TERMS OF PEACE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 18, 1864.

To whom it may concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 18, 1864.—PROCLAMATION CALLING FOR 500,000 VOLUNTEERS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by the act approved July 4, 1864, entitled "An act further to regulate and provide for the enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," it is provided that the President of the United States may, "at his discretion, at any time hereafter, call for any number of men as volunteers, for the respective terms of one, two, and three years, for military service," and "that in case the quota, or any part thereof, of any town, township, ward of a city, precinct, or election district, or of a county not so subdivided, shall not be filled within the space of fifty days after such call, then the President shall immediately order a draft for one year to fill such quota, or any part thereof, which may be unfilled."

And whereas the new enrolment heretofore ordered is so far completed as that the aforementioned act of Congress may now be put in operation for recruiting and keeping up the strength of the armies in the field, for garrisons and such military operations as may be required for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion and restoring the authority of the United States Government in the insurgent States:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do issue this my call for 500,000 volunteers for the military service; provided, nevertheless, that this call shall be reduced by all credits which may be established under Section 8 of the aforesaid act, on account of persons who have entered the naval service during the present rebellion, and by credits for men furnished to the military service in excess of calls heretofore made. Volunteers will

be accepted under this call for one, two, or three years, as they may elect, and will be entitled to the bounty provided by the law for the period of service for which they enlist.

And I hereby proclaim, order, and direct, that immediately after the fifth day of September, 1864, being fifty days from the date of this call, a draft for troops to serve for one year shall be had in every town, township, ward of a city, precinct or election district, or county not so subdivided, to fill the quota which shall be assigned to it under this call, or any part thereof which may be unfilled by volunteers on the said fifth day of September, 1864.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of
[L. S.] July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

July 18, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 18, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, Chattahoochee River, Georgia:

I have seen your despatches, objecting to agents of Northern States opening recruiting stations near your camps.

An act of Congress authorizes this, giving the appointment of agents to the States, and not to the executive government. It is not for the War Department or myself to restrain or modify the law in its execution further than actual necessity may require.

To be candid, I was for the passage of the law, not apprehending at the time that it would produce such inconvenience to the armies in the field, as you now cause me to fear. Many of the States were very anxious for it, and I hoped that, with their State bounties, and active exertions, they would get out substantial additions to our colored forces, which, unlike white recruits, help us where they come from, as well as where they go to. I still hope advantage from the law; and, being a law, it must be treated as such by all of us.

We here will do what we consistently can to save you from difficulties arising out of it.

May I ask therefore that you will give your hearty coöperation?

A. LINCOLN.

July 20, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 20, 1864. 4.30 P. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Yours of yesterday, about a call for 300,000, is received. I suppose you had not seen the call for 500,000, made the day before, and which, I suppose, covers the case. Always glad to have your suggestions.

A. LINCOLN.

July 20, 1864.—LETTER TO J. L. SCRIPPS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 20, 1864.

HON. J. L. SCRIPPS.

My dear Sir: I have received and read yours of the 15th. Mine to you was only a copy, with names changed, of what I had said to another postmaster, on a similar complaint; and the two are the only cases in which that precise complaint has, as yet, been made to me. I think that in these cases I have stated the principle correctly for all public officers, and I certainly wish all would follow it. But I do not quite like to publish a general circular on the subject, and it would be rather laborious to write a separate letter to each. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 22, 1864.—LETTER TO O. B. FICKLIN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 22, 1864.

HON. O. B. FICKLIN.

Dear Sir: I had about concluded to send the Coles County men home, turning over the indicted to the authorities and discharging the others, when Colonel Oaks's report with the evidence he had taken in the case was put in my hand. The evidence is very voluminous, and Colonel Oaks says it fully implicates every one of the sixteen now held; and so far as I have been able to look into it his statement is sustained. I cannot now decide the case until I shall have fully examined this evidence. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 23, 1864.—REPLY TO COMMANDER BERTINATTI, ITALIAN ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY, ETC.

MR. COMMANDER BERTINATTI:

I am free to confess that the United States have in the course of the last three years encountered vicissitudes and been involved in controversies which have tried the friendship and even the forbearance of other nations, but at no stage in this unhappy fraternal war in which we are only endeavoring to save and strengthen the foundations of our national unity has the king or the people of Italy faltered in addressing to us the language of respect, confidence, and friendship. We have tried you, Mr. Bertinatti, as a chargé d'affaires and as a minister resident, and in both of these characters we have found you always sincerely and earnestly interpreting the loyal sentiments of your sovereign. At the same time I am sure that no minister here has more faithfully maintained and advanced the interests with which he was charged by his government. I desire that your countrymen may know that I think you have well

deserved the elevation to which I owe the pleasure of the present interview.

I pray God to have your country in his holy keeping, and to vouchsafe to crown with success her noble aspirations to renew, under the auspices of her present enlightened government, her ancient career, so wonderfully illustrated in the achievements of art, science, and freedom.

July 23, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. HUNTER.

(*Cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 23, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia:

Are you able to take care of the enemy, when he turns back upon you, as he probably will on finding that Wright has left?

A. LINCOLN.

July 25, 1864.—LETTER TO A. WAKEMAN.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 25, 1864.

ABRAM WAKEMAN, Esq.

My dear Sir: I feel that the subject which you pressed upon my attention in our recent conversation is an important one. The men of the South recently (and perhaps still) at Niagara Falls tell us distinctly that they *are* in the confidential employment of the rebellion; and they tell us as distinctly that they are *not* empowered to offer terms of peace. Does any one doubt that what they *are* empowered to do is to assist in selecting and arranging a candidate and a platform for the Chicago convention? Who could have given them this confidential employment but he who, only a week since, declared to Jaquess and Gilmore, that he had no terms of peace but the independence of the South—the dissolution of the Union? Thus, the present presidential contest will almost certainly be no other than a contest between a union and a disunion candidate, disunion certainly following the success of the latter. The issue is a mighty one, for all people, and all times; and whoever aids the right will be appreciated and remembered.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 25, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL E. R. S. CANBY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 25, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL CANBY:

Frequent complaints are made to me that persons endeavoring to bring in cotton in strict accordance with the trade regulations of the Treasury Department are frustrated by seizures of district

attorneys, marshals, provost-marshals, and others, on various pretenses, all looking to blackmail and spoils, one way and another. I wish, if you can find time, you would look into this matter within your department, and, finding these abuses to exist, break them up, if in your power, so that fair dealing under the regulations can proceed. The printed regulations, no doubt, are accessible to you. If you find the abuses existing, and yet beyond your power, please report to me somewhat particularly upon the facts.

The bearer of this, —— Shaffer, is one who, on behalf of himself and firm, makes complaint, but while he is my friend, I do not ask anything for him which cannot be done for all honest dealers under the regulations. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

July 25, 1865.—LETTER FROM JOHN HAY TO J. C. WELLING.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 25, 1864.

J. C. WELLING, Esq.

Sir: According to the request contained in your note, I have placed Mr. Gibson's letter of resignation in the hands of the President. He has read the letter, and says he accepts the resignation, as he will be glad to do with any other, which may be tendered, as this is, for the purpose of taking an attitude of hostility against him.

He says he was not aware that he was so much indebted to Mr. Gibson for having accepted the office at first, not remembering that he ever pressed him to do so, or that he gave it otherwise than as was usual, upon request made on behalf of Mr. Gibson.

He thanks Mr. Gibson for his acknowledgment that he has been treated with personal kindness and consideration, and he says he knows of but two small drawbacks upon Mr. Gibson's right to still receive such treatment, one of which is that he never could learn of his giving much attention to the duties of his office, and the other is this studied attempt of Mr. Gibson's to stab him. I am, very truly, Your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY.

July 26, 1864.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 26, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

General Rawlins arrived this morning. The President desires you to name, if you can, a time when it would be convenient for you to meet him in person at Fortress Monroe after Thursday morning.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

July 26, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, near Atlanta:

I have just seen yours complaining of the appointment of Hovey and Osterhaus. The point you make is unquestionably a good one, and yet, please hear a word from us. My recollection is that both General Grant and yourself recommended both Hovey and Osterhaus for promotion, and these, with other strong recommendations, drew committals from us which we could neither honorably nor safely disregard. We blamed Hovey for coming away in the manner in which he did, but we knew he had apparent reason to feel disappointed and mortified, and we felt it was not best to crush one who certainly had been a good soldier. As to Osterhaus, we did not know of his leaving, at the time we made the appointment, and do not now know the terms on which he left. Not to have appointed him, as the case appeared to us at the time, would have been almost, if not quite, a violation of our word. The word was given on what we thought was high merit, and somewhat on his nationality. I beg you to believe we do not act in a spirit of disregarding merit; we expect to await your program for further changes and promotions in your army. My profoundest thanks to you and your whole army for the present campaign so far.

A. LINCOLN.

July 27, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. HUNTER.

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia:

Please send any recent news you have, particularly as to movements of the enemy.

A. LINCOLN.

July 27, 1864.—LETTER FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL HALLECK.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 27, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Chief of Staff of the Army.

General: Lieutenant-General Grant having signified that, owing to the difficulties and delay of communication between his headquarters and Washington, it is necessary that in the present emergency military orders must be issued directly from Washington, the President directs me to instruct you that all the military operations for the defense of the Middle Department, the Department of the Susquehanna, the Department of Washington, and the Department of West Virginia, and all the forces in those departments, are placed under your general command, and that you will be expected to take

all military measures necessary for defense against any attack of the enemy and for his capture and destruction. You will issue from time to time such orders to the commanders of the respective departments and to the military authorities therein as may be proper. Your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

July 27, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1864.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Yours in relation to General A. C. Gillam just received. Will look after the matter to-day.

I also received yours about General Carl Schurz. I appreciate him certainly, as highly as you do; but you can never know until you have the trial, how difficult it is to find a place for an officer of so high rank when there is no place seeking him.

A. LINCOLN.

July 28, 1864.—LETTER TO J. W. FORNEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 28, 1864.

HON. JOHN W. FORNEY.

My dear Sir: Your note announcing your intended visit to Europe takes me somewhat by surprise. Nevertheless I am glad for you to have the relaxation, though I regret the necessity which compels it. I have no European personal acquaintances, or I would gladly give you letters.

I shall be pleased to see you in Washington before you leave, for a special reason, and the sooner you could come the better.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

July 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 28, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Will meet you at Fort Monroe, at 8 P. M., on Saturday, the 30th, unless you shall notify me that it will be inconvenient to you.

A. LINCOLN.

July 29, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, July 29, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

I have changed my purpose, so that now I expect to reach Fort Monroe at 10 A. M., Sunday the 31st. A. LINCOLN.

July 30, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO J. A. BINGHAM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 30, 1864.

HON. JOHN A. BINGHAM, Cadiz, Ohio:

Mr. Gibson having resigned, I have appointed you solicitor of the United States, in the Court of Claims.

A. LINCOLN.

August 2, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 2, 1864.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Thanks to General Gillam for making the news, and also to you for sending it. Does Joe Heiskell's "walking to meet us" mean any more than that "Joe" was scared and wanted to save his skin?

A. LINCOLN.

August 3, 1864.—INDORSEMENT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, August 2, 1864.

Mr. President: This note will introduce to you Mr. Schley of Baltimore, who desires to appeal to [you] for the revocation of an order of General Hunter, removing some persons, citizens of Frederick, beyond his lines, and imprisoning others. This Department has no information of the reasons or proofs on which General Hunter acts, and I do not therefore feel at liberty to suspend or interfere with his action except under your direction.

Yours truly, EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

[*Indorsement.*]

The Secretary of War will suspend the order of General Hunter mentioned within, until further order, and direct him to send to the Department a brief report of what is known against each one proposed to be dealt with.

A. LINCOLN.

August 3, 1864.

August 3, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

(*Cipher.*)

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 3, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

I have seen your despatch in which you say, "I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy, and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, let our troops go also." This, I think, is exactly right as to how our forces should move; but please look

over the despatches you may have received from here, ever since you made that order, and discover, if you can, that there is any idea in the head of any one here of "putting our army south of the enemy," or of following him to the "death," in any direction. I repeat to you, it will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour, and force it.

A. LINCOLN.

August 4, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO COLONEL WOLFORD.

WASHINGTON CITY, August 4, 1864.

COLONEL FRANK WOLFORD, Louisville, Kentucky:

Yours of yesterday received. Before interfering with the Judge-Advocate-General's order, I should know his reason for making it. Meanwhile, if you have not already started, wait till you hear from me again. Did you receive letter and inclosures from me?

A. LINCOLN.

August 5, 1864.—LETTER TO M. MCMICHAEL.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 5, 1864.

HON. MORTON MCMICHAEL.

My dear Sir: When the Philadelphia postmaster was here on the 20th of June last, I read to him a paper in the following words:

> Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Judge Kelley's renomination to Congress. I am well satisfied with Judge Kelley as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his. This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part, when a certain other nomination, now recently made, was being canvassed for.

He promised me to strictly follow this. I am now told that, of the two or three hundred employees in the Post-office, not one of them is openly for Judge Kelley. This, if true, is not accidental. Left to their free choice, there can be no doubt that a large number of them, probably as much or more than half, would be for Kelley. And if they are for him, and are not restrained, they can put it beyond question by publicly saying so. Please tell the postmaster he must find a way to relieve me from the suspicion that he is not keeping his promise to me in good faith. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 6, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO HORACE GREELEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 6, 1864.

HON. HORACE GREELEY, New York:

Yours to Major Hay about publication of our correspondence received. With the suppression of a few passages in your letters in regard to which I think you and I would not disagree, I should be glad of the publication. Please come over and see me.

A. LINCOLN.

August 6, 1864.—UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO ———.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 6, 1864.

———, Pennsylvania:

The President has received yours of yesterday and is kindly paying attention to it. As it is my business to assist him whenever I can, I will thank you to inform me, for his use, whether you are either a white man or black man, because in either case you cannot be regarded as an entirely impartial judge. It may be that you belong to a third or fourth class of yellow or red men, in which case the impartiality of your judgment would be more apparent.

August 8, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL S. G. BURBRIDGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 8, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURBRIDGE, Lexington, Kentucky:

Last December Mrs. Emily T. Helm, half-sister of Mrs. Lincoln, and widow of the rebel general, Ben Hardin Helm, stopped here on her way from Georgia to Kentucky, and I gave her a paper, as I remember, to protect her against the mere fact of her being General Helm's widow. I hear a rumor to-day that you recently sought to arrest her, but were prevented by her presenting the paper from me. I do not intend to protect her against the consequences of disloyal words or acts, spoken or done by her since her return to Kentucky, and if the paper given her by me can be construed to give her protection for such words or acts, it is hereby revoked *pro tanto*. Deal with her for current conduct just as you would with any other.

A. LINCOLN.

August 9, 1864.—LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 9, 1864.

HON. HORACE GREELEY.

Dear Sir: Herewith is a full copy of the correspondence, and which I have had privately printed, but not made public. The

parts of your letters which I wish suppressed are only those which, as I think, give too gloomy an aspect to our cause, and those which present the carrying of elections as a motive of action. I have, as you see, drawn a red pencil over the parts I wish suppressed.

As to the Alexander H. Stephens matter, so much pressed by you, I can only say that he sought to come to Washington in the name of the "Confederate States," in a vessel of "the Confederate States navy," and with no pretense even that he would bear any proposal for peace; but with language showing that his mission would be military, and not civil or diplomatic. Nor has he at any time since pretended that he had terms of peace, so far as I know or believe. On the contrary, Jefferson Davis has, in the most formal manner, declared that Stephens had no terms of peace. I thought we could not afford to give this quasi-acknowledgment of the independence of the Confederacy, in a case where there was not even an intimation of anything for our good. Still, as the parts of your letters relating to Stephens contain nothing worse than a questioning of my action, I do not ask a suppression of those parts.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 9, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 9, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

I have just seen the new constitution adopted by the Convention of Louisiana; and I am anxious that it shall be ratified by the people. I will thank you to let the civil officers in Louisiana, holding under me, know that this is my wish, and let me know at once who of them openly declare for the constitution, and who of them, if any, decline to so declare. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 9, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL E. R. S. CANBY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 9, 1864.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD R. S. CANBY, Commanding the Military Division of West Mississippi, New Orleans:

For satisfactory reasons which concern the public service, I have to direct that if Andrew J. Hamilton, or any person authorized in writing by him, shall come out of either of the ports of Galveston or Sabine Pass with any vessel or vessels freighted with cotton shipped to the agent of the Treasury Department at New Orleans, the passage of such person, vessels, and cargoes shall not be molested or hindered, but they shall be permitted to pass to the hands of such consignee.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

August 11, 1864.—LETTER FROM MAJOR HAY TO GEN. C. SCHURZ.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 11, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL CARL SCHURZ, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania:

The President directs me to request that you will proceed at once to Washington, and report to him in person.

JOHN HAY, Assistant Adjutant-General.

August 11, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 11, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I should be glad for General Mott of New Jersey to have a brevet major-generalship. He has done a great deal of hard service, has been twice (I believe) wounded, and is now, by assignment of his superiors, commanding a division. Add to this that I have been for a year trying to find an opportunity to promote him, as you know. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

August 14, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 14, 1864. 1.30 P. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

The Secretary of War and I concur that you had better confer with General Lee, and stipulate for a mutual discontinuance of house-burning and other destruction of private property. The time and manner of conference and particulars of stipulation we leave, on our part, to your convenience and judgment.

A. LINCOLN.

August 15, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., August 15, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, near Atlanta, Georgia:

If the government should purchase, on its own account, cotton northward of you, and on the line of your communications, would it be an inconvenience to you, or detriment to the military service, for it to come to the north on the railroad?

A. LINCOLN.

August [15?], 1864.—INTERVIEW WITH JOHN T. MILLS.

"Mr. President," said Governor Randall, "why can't you seek seclusion, and play hermit for a fortnight? It would reinvigorate you."

"Ah," said the President, "two or three weeks would do me no good. I cannot fly from my thoughts—my solicitude for this

great country follows me wherever I go. I do not think it is personal vanity or ambition, though I am not free from these infirmities, but I cannot but feel that the weal or woe of this great nation will be decided in November. There is no program offered by any wing of the Democratic party but that must result in the permanent destruction of the Union."

"But, Mr. President, General McClellan is in favor of crushing out this rebellion by force. He will be the Chicago candidate."

"Sir, the slightest knowledge of arithmetic will prove to any man that the rebel armies cannot be destroyed by Democratic strategy. It would sacrifice all the white men of the North to do it. There are now in the service of the United States nearly 150,000 able-bodied colored men, most of them under arms, defending and acquiring Union territory. The Democratic strategy demands that these forces be disbanded, and that the masters be conciliated by restoring them to slavery. The black men who now assist Union prisoners to escape are to be converted into our enemies, in the vain hope of gaining the good-will of their masters. We shall have to fight two nations instead of one.

"You cannot conciliate the South if you guarantee to them ultimate success; and the experience of the present war proves their success is inevitable if you fling the compulsory labor of millions of black men into their side of the scale. Will you give our enemies such military advantages as insure success, and then depend on coaxing, flattery, and concession to get them back into the Union? Abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men, take 150,000 men from our side and put them in the battle-field or corn-field against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks.

"We have to hold territory in inclement and sickly places; where are the Democrats to do this? It was a free fight, and the field was open to the war Democrats to put down this rebellion by fighting against both master and slave, long before the present policy was inaugurated.

"There have been men base enough to propose to me to return to slavery the black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe. My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion.

"Freedom has given us 150,000 men, raised on Southern soil. It will give us more yet. Just so much it has subtracted from the enemy, and, instead of alienating the South, there are now evidences of a fraternal feeling growing up between our men and the rank and file of the rebel soldiers. Let my enemies prove to the country that the destruction of slavery is not necessary to a restoration of the Union. I will abide the issue."

August 15, 1864.—LETTER TO H. J. RAYMOND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 15, 1864.

HON. HENRY J. RAYMOND.

My dear Sir: I have proposed to Mr. Greeley that the Niagara correspondence be published, suppressing only the parts of his letters over which the red pencil is drawn in the copy which I herewith send. He declines giving his consent to the publication of his letters unless these parts be published with the rest. I have concluded that it is better for me to submit for the time to the consequences of the false position in which I consider he has placed me than to subject the country to the consequences of publishing their discouraging and injurious parts. I send you this and the accompanying copy, not for publication, but merely to explain to you, and that you may preserve them until their proper time shall come.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 16, 1864.—LETTER TO W. HUNT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 16, 1864.

HON. WARD HUNT.

My dear Sir: Yours of the ninth instant was duly received, and submitted to Secretary Seward. He makes a response which I herewith inclose to you. I add for myself that I am for the regular nominee in all cases, and that no one could be more satisfactory to me as the nominee in that district than Mr. [Roscoe] Conkling. I do not mean to say there [are] not others as good as he in the district; but I think I know him to be at least good enough.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 17, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 17, 1864. 10.30 A. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

I have seen your despatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible.

A. LINCOLN.

August 17, 1864.—UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO C. D. ROBINSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 17, 1864.

HON. CHARLES D. ROBINSON.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the seventh was placed in my hand yesterday by Governor Randall. To me it seems plain that saying

reunion and abandonment of slavery would be considered, if offered, is not saying that nothing else or less would be considered, if offered. But I will not stand upon the mere construction of language. It is true, as you remind me, that in the Greeley letter of 1862 I said: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." I continued in the same letter as follows: "What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause."

All this I said in the utmost sincerity; and I am as true to the whole of it now as when I first said it. When I afterward proclaimed emancipation, and employed colored soldiers, I only followed the declaration just quoted from the Greeley letter that "I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause." The way these measures were to help the cause was not to be by magic or miracles, but by inducing the colored people to come bodily over from the rebel side to ours. On this point, nearly a year ago, in a letter to Mr. Conkling, made public at once, I wrote as follows: "But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive — even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept." I am sure you will not, on due reflection, say that the promise being made must be broken at the first opportunity. I am sure you would not desire me to say, or to leave an inference, that I am ready, whenever convenient, to join in reënslaving those who shall have served us in consideration of our promise. As matter of morals, could such treachery by any possibility escape the curses of heaven, or of any good man? As matter of policy, to announce such a purpose would ruin the Union cause itself. All recruiting of colored men would instantly cease, and all colored men now in our service would instantly desert us. And rightfully, too. Why should they give their lives for us, with full notice of our purpose to betray them? Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give and promise us, and neither the present, nor any coming, administration can save the Union. Take from us and give to the enemy the hundred and thirty, forty, or fifty thousand colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers, and we cannot longer maintain the contest. The party who could elect a President on a War and Slavery Restoration platform would, of necessity, lose the colored force; and that force being lost, would be as powerless to save the Union as to do any other impossible thing.

It is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated, as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. And, by measurement, it is

more than we can lose and live. Nor can we, by discarding it, get a white force in place of it. There is a witness in every white man's bosom that he would rather go to the war having the negro to help him than to help the enemy against him. It is not the giving of one class for another—it is simply giving a large force to the enemy for nothing in return. In addition to what I have said, allow me to remind you that no one, having control of the rebel armies, or, in fact, having any influence whatever in the rebellion, has offered, or intimated, a willingness to a restoration of the Union, in any event, or on any condition whatever. Let it be constantly borne in mind that no such offer has been made or intimated. Shall we be weak enough to allow the enemy to distract us with an abstract question which he himself refuses to present as a practical one? In the Conkling letter before mentioned, I said: "Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then to declare that you will not fight to free negroes." I repeat this now. If Jefferson Davis wishes for himself, or for the benefit of his friends at the North, to know what I would do if he were to offer peace and reunion, saying nothing about slavery, let him try me.

August 18, 1864.—Proclamation concerning Commercial Regulations.

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the act of Congress of the 28th of September, 1850, entitled "An act to create additional collection districts in the State of California, and to change the existing districts therein, and to modify the existing collection districts in the United States," extends to merchandise warehoused under bond the privilege of being exported to the British North American provinces adjoining the United States, in the manner prescribed in the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1845, which designates certain frontier ports through which merchandise may be exported, and further provides "that such other ports, situated on the frontiers of the United States adjoining the British North American provinces, as may hereafter be found expedient, may have extended to them the like privileges, on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, and proclamation duly made by the President of the United States, specially designating the ports to which the aforesaid privileges are to be extended":

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, do hereby declare and proclaim that the port of Newport, in the State of Vermont, is and shall be entitled to all the privileges in regard to the exportation of merchandise in bond to the British North American provinces adjoining the United

States, which are extended to the ports enumerated in the seventh section of the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1845, aforesaid, from and after the date of this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

August 18, 1864.—ADDRESS TO THE 164TH OHIO REGIMENT.

Soldiers: You are about to return to your homes and your friends, after having, as I learn, performed in camp a comparatively short term of duty in this great contest. I am greatly obliged to you, and to all who have come forward at the call of their country. I wish it might be more generally and universally understood what the country is now engaged in. We have, as all will agree, a free government, where every man has a right to be equal with every other man. In this great struggle, this form of government and every form of human right is endangered if our enemies succeed. There is more involved in this contest than is realized by every one. There is involved in this struggle the question whether your children and my children shall enjoy the privileges we have enjoyed. I say this in order to impress upon you, if you are not already so impressed, that no small matter should divert us from our great purpose.

There may be some inequalities in the practical application of our system. It is fair that each man shall pay taxes in exact proportion to the value of his property; but if we should wait, before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collect any tax at all. There may be mistakes made sometimes; things may be done wrong, while the officers of the government do all they can to prevent mistakes. But I beg of you, as citizens of this great republic, not to let your minds be carried off from the great work we have before us. This struggle is too large for you to be diverted from it by any small matter. When you return to your homes, rise up to the height of a generation of men worthy of a free government, and we will carry out the great work we have commenced. I return to you my sincere thanks, soldiers, for the honor you have done me this afternoon.

August 19, 1864.—NOTE FROM THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECRETARY TO D. S. D. BALDWIN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 19, 1864.

Dear Sir: The President never interferes with the details of army organization, and the note of Hon. D. S. Dickinson, accom-

panying your application of the 17th instant, is returned, as it is presumed it will have as much weight with General Patrick, as if it were directed to him instead of Major-General Burnside.

Your obedient servant,

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

August 22, 1864.—ADDRESS TO THE 166TH OHIO REGIMENT.

Soldiers: I suppose you are going home to see your families and friends. For the services you have done in this great struggle in which we are all engaged, I present you sincere thanks for myself and the country.

I almost always feel inclined, when I happen to say anything to soldiers, to impress upon them, in a few brief remarks, the importance of success in this contest. It is not merely for to-day, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free government which we have enjoyed all our lives. I beg you to remember this, not merely for my sake, but for yours. I happen, temporarily, to occupy this White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthright — not only for one, but for two or three years. The nation is worth fighting for, to secure such an inestimable jewel.

August 23, 1864.—ORDER FOR THE RELEASE OF JOSEPH HOWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 22, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I very much wish to oblige Henry Ward Beecher by releasing Howard; but I wish you to be satisfied when it is done. What say you? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

I have no objection if you think it right — and this a proper time.

E. M. S.

Let Howard, imprisoned in regard to the bogus proclamation, be discharged.

A. LINCOLN.

August 23, 1864.

August 23, 1864.—MEMORANDUM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 23, 1864.

This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be reëlected.[1] Then it will be my duty to so coöperate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he cannot possibly save it afterward.

A. LINCOLN.

August 24, 1864.—DRAFT OF INSTRUCTIONS TO H. J. RAYMOND.—NOT SENT OR USED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 24, 1864.

Sir: You will proceed forthwith and obtain, if possible, a conference for peace with Honorable Jefferson Davis, or any person by him authorized for that purpose. You will address him in entirely respectful terms, at all events, and in any that may be indispensable to secure the conference. At said conference you will propose, on behalf of this government, that upon the restoration of the Union and the national authority, the war shall cease at once, all remaining questions to be left for adjustment by peaceful modes. If this be accepted, hostilities to cease at once. If it be not accepted, you will then request to be informed what terms, if any, embracing the restoration of the Union would be accepted. If any such be presented you in answer, you will forthwith report the same to this government, and await further instructions. If the presentation of any terms embracing the restoration of the Union be declined, you will then request to be informed what terms of peace would be accepted; and, on receiving any answer, report the same to this government, and await further instructions.

[1] We copy from the MS. diary of one of the President's secretaries under date of November 11, 1864, the following passage relating to this incident: "At the meeting of the Cabinet to-day the President took out a paper from his desk and said: 'Gentlemen, do you remember last summer I asked you all to sign your names to the back of a paper of which I did not show you the inside? This is it. Now, Mr. Hay, see if you can open this without tearing it.' He had pasted it up in so singular a style that it required some cutting to get it open. He then read this memorandum [given in the text above]. The President said: 'You will remember that this was written at the time, six days before the Chicago nominating convention, when as yet we had no adversary and seemed to have no friends. I then solemnly resolved on the course of action indicated in this paper. I resolved in case of the election of General McClellan, being certain that he would be the candidate, that I would see him and talk matters over with him. I would say, "General, the election has demonstrated that you are stronger, have more influence with the American people than I. Now let us together, you with your influence and I with all the executive power of the government, try to save the country. You raise as many troops as you possibly can for this final trial, and I will devote all my energies to assist and finish the war."'

"Seward said, 'And the General would have answered you, "Yes, yes," and the next day when you saw him again and pressed these views upon him he would have said, "Yes, yes," and so on forever, and would have done nothing at all.'

"'At least,' said Lincoln, 'I should have done my duty, and have stood clear before my own conscience.'"

"Abraham Lincoln: A History," IX, 251.

August 27, 1864.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 27, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: If General Sigel has asked for an inquiry, let him have it, if there is not some insurmountable, or at least, very serious obstacle. He is fairly entitled to this consideration.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

August 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON CITY, August 28, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

There appears to be doubt whether the report of Fort Morgan being in our possession is in the Richmond papers. Did you see the Richmond paper containing the statement?

A. LINCOLN.

August 29, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 29, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Colonel T. Worthington of Ohio is here, wishing to visit you. I will send him if you say so, otherwise not.

A. LINCOLN.

August 31, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1864.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Manchester, Vermont:

All reasonably well. Bob not here yet. How is dear Tad?

A. LINCOLN.

August 31, 1864.—ORDER CONCERNING COTTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 31, 1864.

Any person or persons engaged in bringing out cotton, in strict conformity with authority given by W. P. Fessenden, Secretary of the United States Treasury, must not be hindered by the War, Navy, or any other Department of the government, or any person engaged under any of said departments.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

August 31, 1864.— ADDRESS TO THE 148TH OHIO REGIMENT.

SOLDIERS OF THE 148TH OHIO:

I am most happy to meet you on this occasion. I understand that it has been your honorable privilege to stand, for a brief period, in the defense of your country, and that now you are on your way to your homes. I congratulate you, and those who are waiting to bid you welcome home from the war; and permit me in the name of the people to thank you for the part you have taken in this struggle for the life of the nation. You are soldiers of the republic, everywhere honored and respected. Whenever I appear before a body of soldiers, I feel tempted to talk to them of the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. I look upon it as an attempt on the one hand to overwhelm and destroy the national existence, while on our part we are striving to maintain the government and institutions of our fathers, to enjoy them ourselves, and transmit them to our children and our children's children forever.

To do this the constitutional administration of our government must be sustained, and I beg of you not to allow your minds or your hearts to be diverted from the support of all necessary measures for that purpose, by any miserable picayune arguments addressed to your pockets, or inflammatory appeals made to your passions and your prejudices.

It is vain and foolish to arraign this man or that for the part he has taken or has not taken, and to hold the government responsible for his acts. In no administration can there be perfect equality of action and uniform satisfaction rendered by all.

But this government must be preserved in spite of the acts of any man or set of men. It is worthy of your every effort. Nowhere in the world is presented a government of so much liberty and equality. To the humblest and poorest amongst us are held out the highest privileges and positions. The present moment finds me at the White House, yet there is as good a chance for your children as there was for my father's.

Again I admonish you not to be turned from your stern purpose of defending our beloved country and its free institutions by any arguments urged by ambitious and designing men, but to stand fast for the Union and the old flag.

Soldiers, I bid you God-speed to your homes.

September 1, 1864.— LETTER TO COLONEL HUIDEKOPER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 1, 1864.

COLONEL H. C. HUIDEKOPER, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

Sir: It is represented to me that there are at Rock Island, Illinois, as rebel prisoners of war, many persons of Northern and foreign birth who are unwilling to be exchanged and sent South, but who wish to take the oath of allegiance and enter the military service of the Union. Colonel Huidekoper, on behalf of the people of

some parts of Pennsylvania, wishes to pay the bounties the government would have to pay to proper persons of this class, have them enter the service of the United States, and be credited to the localities furnishing the bounty money. He will therefore proceed to Rock Island, ascertain the names of such persons (not including any who have attractions Southward), and telegraph them to the Provost-Marshal-General here, whereupon direction will be given to discharge the persons named upon their taking the oath of allegiance; and then upon the official evidence being furnished that they shall have been duly received and mustered into the service of the United States, their number will be credited as may be directed by Colonel Huidekoper.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

September 1, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO POSTMASTER-GENERAL BLAIR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 1, 1864.

HON. M. BLAIR, Portsmouth, N. H.:

Please return here at your earliest convenience.

A. LINCOLN.

September 3, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO POSTMASTER-GENERAL BLAIR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 3, 1864.

HON. M. BLAIR, Portsmouth, N. H.:

Please come at once. Don't delay. Answer when you will be here.

A. LINCOLN.

September 3, 1864.—PROCLAMATION OF THANKSGIVING.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON CITY, September 3, 1864.

The signal success that divine Providence has recently vouchsafed to the operations of the United States fleet and army in the harbor of Mobile, and the reduction of Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan, and the glorious achievements of the army under Major-General Sherman, in the State of Georgia, resulting in the capture of the city of Atlanta, call for devout acknowledgment to the Supreme Being in whose hands are the destinies of nations. It is therefore requested that on next Sunday, in all places of worship in the United States, thanksgivings be offered to him for his mercy in preserving our national existence against the insurgent rebels who have been waging a cruel war against the Government of the United States for its overthrow; and also that prayer be made for divine protection to our brave soldiers and their leaders in the field, who have so often and so gallantly periled their lives in battling with the enemy; and for blessings and comfort from the Father, of mercies to the sick, wounded, and prisoners, and to the orphans and

widows of those who have fallen in the service of their country, and that he will continue to uphold the Government of the United States against all the efforts of public enemies and secret foes.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

September 3, 1864.— ORDERS OF THANKS AND REJOICING.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 3, 1864.

The national thanks are tendered by the President to Admiral Farragut and Major-General Canby for the skill and harmony with which the recent operations in Mobile Harbor, and against Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan, were planned and carried into execution. Also to Admiral Farragut and Major-General Granger, under whose immediate command they were conducted, and to the gallant commanders on sea and land, and to the sailors and soldiers engaged in the operations, for their energy and courage, which, under the blessing of Providence, have been crowned with brilliant success, and have won for them the applause and thanks of the nation.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 3, 1864.

The national thanks are tendered by the President to Major-General William T. Sherman, and the gallant officers and soldiers of his command before Atlanta, for the distinguished ability, courage, and perseverance displayed in the campaign in Georgia, which, under divine favor, has resulted in the capture of Atlanta. The marches, battles, sieges, and other military operations that have signalized the campaign must render it famous in the annals of war, and have entitled those who have participated therein to the applause and thanks of the nation.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 3, 1864.

Ordered: First. That on Monday, the fifth day of September, commencing at the hour of twelve o'clock noon, there shall be given a salute of one hundred guns at the arsenal and navy-yard, at Washington, and on Tuesday, the 6th of September, or on the day after the receipt of this order, at each arsenal and navy-yard in the United States, for the recent brilliant achievements of the fleet and land forces of the United States in the harbor of Mobile, and in the reduction of Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy will issue the necessary directions in their respective departments for the execution of this order.

Second. That on Wednesday, the 7th of September, commencing at the hour of twelve o'clock noon, there shall be fired a salute of one hundred guns at the arsenal at Washington, and at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Newport (Ky.), and St. Louis, and New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, Hilton Head, and Newbern, the day after the receipt of this order, for the brilliant achievements of the army under command of Major-General Sherman, in the State of Georgia, and for the capture of Atlanta. The Secretary of War will issue directions for the execution of this order.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States.

September 4, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. G. BURBRIDGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 4, 1864.

GENERAL BURBRIDGE, Lexington, Kentucky:

Judge Swayne, of the United States Supreme Court, appeals to me in favor of a man by the name of A. Harris, said to be in custody at Louisville, on charge of belonging to the secret order so much spoken of. Harris avers that he does not belong to it, and the judge declares he believes him. Please have the case examined.

A. LINCOLN.

September 4, 1864.—LETTER TO MRS. GURNEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 4, 1864.

ELIZA P. GURNEY.

My esteemed Friend: I have not forgotten — probably never shall forget — the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance on God. I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations; and to no one of them more than to yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge his wisdom, and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best lights he gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends he ordains. Surely he intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay. Your people, the Friends, have had, and are having, a very great trial. On principle and faith opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma some have chosen one horn, and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under

my oath to the law. That you believe this I doubt not; and, believing it, I shall still receive for our country and myself your earnest prayers to our Father in heaven.

Your sincere friend, A. LINCOLN.

September 5, 1864.—REPLY TO SEÑOR BLAS BRUZUAL, MINISTER FROM VENEZUELA.

Mr. Bruzual: It gives me pleasure to receive and welcome to the United States a representative of Venezuela.

Venezuela, almost centrally situated among American republics, holds a position commercially advantageous and politically important. Endowed by nature with capacity for rich and varied production, it extends over a broad territory, embracing vast resources yet to be developed. Guided by the principles of republican government and advancing civilization, it adopts institutions which have contributed largely to the growth of the countries of this continent in the past, and which form the basis of high and cherished aspirations for their future.

The government and people of the United States cannot but feel a deep interest and earnest sympathy in the peace, the prosperity, and the progress of Venezuela.

Thanking you for the friendly sentiments toward the United States which you have expressed, I pray you to accept the assurance of my best wishes that your sojourn in our country may be agreeable to yourself and satisfactory to the government which you represent.

September 7, 1864.—REPLY TO COMMITTEE OF COLORED PEOPLE OF BALTIMORE WHO PRESENTED HIM WITH A BIBLE.

This occasion would seem fitting for a lengthy response to the address which you have just made. I would make one if prepared; but I am not. I would promise to respond in writing had not experience taught me that business will not allow me to do so. I can only now say, as I have often before said, it has always been a sentiment with me that all mankind should be free. So far as able, within my sphere, I have always acted as I believe to be right and just; and I have done all I could for the good of mankind generally. In letters and documents sent from this office I have expressed myself better than I now can. In regard to this great book, I have but to say, it is the best gift God has given to man.

All the good Saviour gave to the world was communicated through this book. But for it we could not know right from wrong. All things most desirable for man's welfare, here and hereafter, are to be found portrayed in it. To you I return my most sincere thanks for the very elegant copy of the great Book of God which you present.

September 8, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 8, 1864.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Manchester, Vermont:

All well, including Tad's pony and the goats. Mrs. Colonel Dimmick died night before last. Bob left Sunday afternoon. Said he did not know whether he should see you.

A. LINCOLN.

September 10, 1864.—ORDER OF THANKS TO HUNDRED-DAY TROOPS FROM OHIO.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON CITY, September 10, 1864.

The term of one hundred days, for which the National Guard of Ohio volunteered, having expired, the President directs an official acknowledgment of their patriotism and valuable services during the recent campaign. The term of service of their enlistment was short, but distinguished by memorable events in the valley of the Shenandoah, on the Peninsula, in the operations of the James River, around Petersburg and Richmond, in the battle of Monocacy, in the intrenchments of Washington, and in other important service. The National Guard of Ohio performed with alacrity the duty of patriotic volunteers, for which they are entitled, and are hereby tendered, through the governor of their State, the national thanks.

The Secretary of War is directed to transmit a copy of this order to the Governor of Ohio, and to cause a certificate of their honorable service to be delivered to the officers and soldiers of the Ohio National Guard who recently served in the military force of the United States as volunteers for one hundred days.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

September 12, 1864.—UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO I. M. SCHERMERHORN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 12, 1864.

ISAAC M. SCHERMERHORN.

My dear Sir: Yours inviting me to attend a Union mass-meeting at Buffalo is received. Much is being said about peace, and no man desires peace more ardently than I. Still, I am yet unprepared to give up the Union for a peace which, so achieved, could not be of much duration. The preservation of our Union was not the sole avowed object for which the war was commenced. It was commenced for precisely the reverse object—to destroy our Union. The insurgents commenced it by firing upon the *Star of the West* and on Fort Sumter, and by other similar acts. It is true, however, that the administration accepted the war thus commenced for the sole avowed object of preserving our Union; and it is not true that it has since been, or will be, prosecuted by this administration for any other ob-

ject. In declaring this I only declare what I can know and do know to be true, and what no other man can know to be false.

In taking the various steps which have led to my present position in relation to the war, the public interest and my private interest have been perfectly parallel, because in no other way could I serve myself so well as by truly serving the Union. The whole field has been open to me where to choose. No place-hunting necessity has been upon me urging me to seek a position of antagonism to some other man, irrespective of whether such position might be favorable or unfavorable to the Union.

Of course I may err in judgment, but my present position in reference to the rebellion is the result of my best judgment, and, according to that best judgment, it is the only position upon which any executive can or could save the Union. Any substantial departure from it insures the success of the rebellion. An armistice — a cessation of hostilities — is the end of the struggle, and the insurgents would be in peaceable possession of all that has been struggled for. Any different policy in regard to the colored man deprives us of his help, and this is more than we can bear. We cannot spare the hundred and forty or fifty thousand now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers. This is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. Keep it, and you can save the Union. Throw it away, and the Union goes with it. Nor is it possible for any administration to retain the service of these people with the express or implied understanding that, upon the first convenient occasion, they are to be reënslaved. It cannot be, and it ought not to be.

September 12, 1864.—Letter to I. M. Schermerhorn.

(*Private.*)

Executive Mansion, Washington, September 12, 1864.

Isaac M. Schermerhorn, Buffalo, New York.

My dear Sir: Your letter, mentioned in your two telegrams, has not yet reached me, so that I am without knowledge of its particulars. I beg you to pardon me for having concluded that it is not best for me now to write a general letter to a political meeting.

First, I believe it is not customary for one holding the office, and being a candidate for reëlection, to do so; and, secondly, a public letter must be written with some care, and at some expense of time, so that having begun with your meeting, I could not well refuse others, and yet could not get through with all having equal claims.

Please tender to those you represent, my sincere thanks for the invitation, and my appeal to their indulgence for having declined their request.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

September 12, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 12, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Sheridan and Early are facing each other at a dead-lock. Could we not pick up a regiment here and there, to the number of say ten thousand men, and quietly but suddenly concentrate them at Sheridan's camp and enable him to make a strike?

This is but a suggestion. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 13, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia:

The Ames guns I am under promise to pay, or rather to advise paying, a very high price for, provided they bear the test, and they are not yet tested, though I believe in process of being tested. I could not be justified to pay the extraordinary price without the testing. I shall be happy to let you have some of them as soon as I can. How comes on your canal?

A. LINCOLN.

September 15, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. B. STEEDMAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 15, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEEDMAN, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

Mrs. McElrath, of East Tennessee, is here, saying she has been sent away by your order, and appealing to me to allow her to return to her home. I have told her I will, if you say so. What say you?

A. LINCOLN.

September 17, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 17, 1864. 10 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, Atlanta, Georgia:

I feel great interest in the subjects of your despatch mentioning corn and sorghum, and the contemplated visit to you.

A. LINCOLN, President of the United States.

September 19, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 19, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN:

The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11th of October, and the loss of it, to the friends of the government, would go far toward

losing the whole Union cause. The bad effect upon the November election, and especially the giving the State government to those who will oppose the war in every possible way, are too much to risk, if it can possibly be avoided. The draft proceeds, notwithstanding its strong tendency to lose us the State. Indiana is the only important State, voting in October, whose soldiers cannot vote in the field. Anything you can safely do to let her soldiers, or any part of them, go home and vote at the State election will be greatly in point. They need not remain for the Presidential election, but may return to you at once. This is in no sense an order, but is merely intended to impress you with the importance, to the army itself, of your doing all you safely can, yourself being the judge of what you can safely do. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

September 19, 1864.—LETTER TO J. C. TEN EYCK.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 19, 1864.

HON. J. C. TEN EYCK.

My dear Sir: Dr. J. R. Freese, now editor of a leading Union journal in New Jersey, resided for a time in Illinois, where and when I made his acquaintance, and since when I have enjoyed much of his friendship. He is somewhat wounded with me now, that I do not recognize him as he thinks I ought. I wish to appoint him a provost-marshal in your State. May I have your approval?

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 20, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL P. SHERIDAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN, Winchester, Virginia:

Have just heard of your great victory. God bless you all, officers and men. Strongly inclined to come up and see you.

A. LINCOLN.

September 21, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL E. R. S. CANBY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 21, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL CANBY:

General Baily of Rapides Parish, Louisiana, is vouched to me as entirely trustworthy, and appeals to me in behalf of the people in his region, who he says are mostly Union people, and are in great destitution — almost absolute starvation. He says their condition is greatly aggravated by General Banks's expedition up Red River, last spring, in reliance upon which they mostly took the oath of allegiance.

Of course what General Baily asks is permission to carry provisions to them.

This I will not give without your consent, but I will thank you to hear and consider their case, and do for them the best you can, consistently with the interests of the public service.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 22, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 22, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

I send this as an explanation to you, and to do justice to the Secretary of War. I was induced, upon pressing application, to authorize the agents of one of the districts of Pennsylvania to recruit in one of the prison depots in Illinois; and the thing went so far before it came to the knowledge of the Secretary that, in my judgment, it could not be abandoned without greater evil than would follow its going through. I did not know at the time that you had protested against that class of thing being done; and I now say that while this particular job must be completed, no other of the sort will be authorized, without an understanding with you, if at all. The Secretary of War is wholly free of any part in this blunder.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 23, 1864.—LETTER TO POSTMASTER-GENERAL BLAIR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 23, 1864.

HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

My dear Sir: You have generously said to me more than once that whenever your resignation could be a relief to me it was at my disposal. The time has come. You very well know that this proceeds from no dissatisfaction of mine with you personally or officially. Your uniform kindness has been unsurpassed by that of any friend; and while it is true that the war does not so greatly add to the difficulties of your department as to those of some others, it is yet much to say, as I most truly can, that in the three years and a half during which you have administered the general post-office, I remember no single complaint against you in connection therewith.

Yours, A. LINCOLN.

September 24, 1864.—ORDER CONCERNING THE PURCHASE OF PRODUCTS IN INSURRECTIONARY STATES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 24, 1864.

I. Congress having authorized the purchase for the United States of the products of States declared in insurrection, and the Secretary of the Treasury having designated New Orleans, Memphis, Nash-

ville, Pensacola, Port Royal, Beaufort (North Carolina), and Norfolk, as places of purchase, and, with my approval, appointed agents and made regulations under which said products may be purchased, therefore:

II. All persons except such as may be in the civil, military, or naval service of the government, having in their possession any products of States or parts of States declared in insurrection, which said agents are authorized to purchase, and all persons owning or controlling such products therein are authorized to convey such products to either of the places which have been hereby or may hereafter be designated as places of purchase, and such products so destined shall not be liable to detention, seizure, or forfeiture while *in transitu*, or in store waiting transportation.

III. Any person having the certificate of a purchasing agent, as prescribed by Treasury Regulation VIII, is authorized to pass with the necessary means of transportation to the points named in said certificate, and to return therefrom with the products required for the fulfilment of the stipulations set forth in said certificate.

IV. Any person having sold and delivered to a purchasing agent any products of an insurrectionary State in accordance with the regulations in relation thereto, and having in his possession a certificate setting forth the fact of such purchase and sale, the character and quantity of products, and the aggregate amount paid therefor, as prescribed by Regulation I, shall be permitted by the military authority commanding at the place of sale to purchase from any authorized dealer at such place merchandise and other articles not contraband of war nor prohibited by order of the War Department, nor coin, bullion, or foreign exchange, to an amount not exceeding in value one third of the aggregate value of the products sold by him as certified by the agents purchasing, and the merchandise and other articles so purchased may be transported by the same route, and to the same place, from and by which the products sold and delivered reached the purchasing agent, as set forth in the certificate, and such merchandise and other articles shall have safe conduct, and shall not be subject to detention, seizure, or forfeiture while being transported to the places and by the routes set forth in the said certificate.

V. Generals commanding military districts, and commandants of military posts and detachments, and officers commanding fleets, flotillas, and gunboats, will give safe conduct to persons and products, merchandise, and other articles duly authorized as aforesaid, and not contraband of war, or prohibited by order of the War Department, or of the order of such generals commanding, or other duly authorized military or naval officer, made in pursuance hereof, and all persons hindering or preventing such safe conduct of persons or property will be deemed guilty of a military offense and punished accordingly.

VI. Any person transporting or attempting to transport any merchandise or other articles except in pursuance of regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury, dated July 29, 1864, or in pursuance of this order, or transporting or attempting to transport any merchandise or other articles contraband of war or forbidden by any

order of the War Department, will be deemed guilty of a military offense and punished accordingly; and all products of insurrectionary States found *in transitu* to any other person or place, than a purchasing agent and a designated place of purchase shall be seized and forfeited to the United States, except such as may be moving to a loyal State under duly authorized permits of a proper officer of the Treasury Department, as prescribed by Regulation XXXVIII, concerning commercial intercourse, dated July 29, 1864, or such as may have been found abandoned, or have been captured and are moving in pursuance of the act of March 12, 1864.

VII. No military or naval officer of the United States, or person in the military or naval service, nor any civil officer, except such as are appointed for that purpose, shall engage in trade or traffic in the products of the insurrectionary States, or furnish transportation therefore under pain of being deemed guilty of unlawful trading with the enemy and punished accordingly.

VIII. The Secretary of War will make such general orders or regulations as will insure the proper observance and execution of this order, and the Secretary of the Navy will give instructions to officers commanding fleets, flotillas, and gunboats in conformity therewith.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

September 24, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO W. DENNISON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 24, 1864.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM DENNISON, Columbus, Ohio:

Mr. Blair has resigned and I appoint you Postmaster-General. Come on immediately.

A. LINCOLN.

September 26, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO S. G. BURBRIDGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURBRIDGE, Lexington, Kentucky:

Terrible complaints are being made as to the discharge of Meade at Louisville. Please report the particulars of the case, including grounds of discharge.

A. LINCOLN.

September 26, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS:

One cannot always safely disregard a report, even which one may not believe. I have a report that you incline to deny the soldiers the right of attending the election in Missouri, on the assumed ground that they will get drunk and make disturbance. Last year

I sent General Schofield a letter of instruction, dated October 1, 1863, which I suppose you will find on the files of the department, and which contains among other things the following: "At elections see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including as of those laws the restrictions laid by the Missouri Convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion." This I thought right then, and think right now; and, I may add, I do not remember that either party complained after the election of General Schofield's action under it. Wherever the law allows soldiers to vote, their officers must also allow it. Please write me on this subject.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

September 27, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 27, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, Atlanta, Georgia:

You say Jefferson Davis is on a visit to Hood. I judge that Brown and Stephens are the objects of his visit.

A. LINCOLN.

September 27, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO W. DENNISON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 27, 1864.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM DENNISON, Columbus, Ohio:

Yours received. Come so soon as you can.

A. LINCOLN.

September 27, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 27, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia:

Assistant Surgeon William Crouse is here, complaining that you have dismissed him, and ordered him out of the department. Please telegraph me briefly the reasons.

A. LINCOLN.

September 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO J. R. CANNON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 28, 1864.

J. R. CANNON, New Albany, Indiana:

It will be impossible for me to attend your ratification meeting. Thank you for the invitation.

A. LINCOLN.

September 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 28, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia:

For what offense was the money of John H. Lester confiscated? Please answer, and, if practicable, send me the record of confiscation.

A. LINCOLN.

September 29, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 29, 1864. 10 A. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

I hope it will have no constraint on you, nor do harm any way, for me to say I am a little afraid lest Lee sends reinforcements to Early, and thus enables him to turn upon Sheridan.

A. LINCOLN.

October 1, 1864.—ORDER OF THANKS TO HUNDRED-DAY TROOPS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 1, 1864.

The term of one hundred days for which volunteers from the States of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin volunteered, under the call of their respective governors, in the months of May and June, to aid the recent campaign of General Sherman, having expired, the President directs an official acknowledgment to be made of their patriotic service. It was their good fortune to render effective service in the brilliant operations in the Southwest, and to contribute to the victories of the national arms over the rebel forces in Georgia, under command of Johnston and Hood. On all occasions, and in every service to which they were assigned, their duty as patriotic volunteers was performed with alacrity and courage, for which they are entitled to, and are hereby tendered, the national thanks through the governors of their respective States.

The Secretary of War is directed to transmit a copy of this order to the governors of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, and to cause a certificate of their honorable services to be delivered to the officers and soldiers of the States above named, who recently served in the military service of the United States as volunteers for one hundred days.

A. LINCOLN.

October 5, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 5, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

I inclose you a copy of a correspondence in regard to a contemplated exchange of naval prisoners through your lines, and not very

distant from your headquarters. It only came to the knowledge of the War Department and of myself yesterday, and it gives us some uneasiness. I therefore send it to you with the statement that, as the numbers to be exchanged under it are small, and so much has already been done to effect the exchange, I hope you may find it consistent to let it go forward under the general supervision of General Butler, and particularly in reference to the points he holds vital in exchanges. Still, you are at liberty to arrest the whole operation if in your judgment the public good requires it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

October 9, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO SIMON CAMERON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 9, 1864.

GENERAL SIMON CAMERON, Philadelphia:

There is absolutely no news here from the Army of the Potomac not published in Stanton's bulletins of yesterday and before. The line is open and mere business despatches are passing over it. Have no alarm on bogus despatches.

A. LINCOLN.

October 10, 1864.—LETTER TO H. W. HOFFMAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 10, 1864.

HON. HENRY W. HOFFMAN.

My dear Sir: A convention of Maryland has framed a new constitution for the State; a public meeting is called for this evening at Baltimore to aid in securing its ratification by the people, and you ask a word from me for the occasion. I presume the only feature of the instrument about which there is serious controversy is that which provides for the extinction of slavery. It needs not to be a secret, and I presume it is no secret, that I wish success to this provision. I desire it on every consideration. I wish all men to be free. I wish the material prosperity of the already free, which I feel sure the extinction of slavery would bring. I wish to see in process of disappearing that only thing which ever could bring this nation to civil war. I attempt no argument. Argument upon the question is already exhausted by the abler, better informed, and more immediately interested sons of Maryland herself. I only add that I shall be gratified exceedingly if the good people of the State shall, by their votes, ratify the new constitution.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

October 11, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 11, 1864.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

On looking up the Colonel Stover case this morning, I find we could not, without further information, be at all justified in order-

ing him to be mustered. I hope it can be made straight, but the record as it stands is too bad. A copy will be immediately sent you by mail.

A. LINCOLN.

October 11, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO R. T. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 11, 1864.

ROBERT T. LINCOLN, Cambridge, Massachusetts:

Your letter makes us a little uneasy about your health. Telegraph us how you are. If you think it would help you, make us a visit.

A. LINCOLN.

October 12, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 12, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Secretary of War not being in, I answer yours about election. Pennsylvania very close, and still in doubt on home vote. Ohio largely for us, with all the members of Congress but two or three. Indiana largely for us,—governor, it is said, by 15,000, and eight of the eleven members of Congress. Send us what you may know of your army vote.

A. LINCOLN.

October 13, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MORTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 13, 1864.

GOVERNOR OLIVER P. MORTON, Indianapolis, Indiana:

In my letter borne by Mr. Mitchell to General Sherman, I said that any soldiers he could spare for October need not to remain for November. I therefore cannot press the general on this point. All that the Secretary of War and General Sherman feel they can safely do, I, however, shall be glad of. Bravo for Indiana and for yourself personally!

A. LINCOLN.

October 14, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 14, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Butler's Headquarters, Virginia:

It is said that Captain Joseph R. Findley, of Company F, 76th Pennsylvania Volunteers, has been summarily dismissed the service for supposed skulking. Such representations are made to me of his good character, long service, and good behavior in many battles, as to induce the wish that you would reëxamine his case. At all events, send me a statement of it as you have it.

A. LINCOLN.

October 17, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 17, 1864.

GOVERNOR A. G. CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

Your information is erroneous. No part of Sheridan's force has left him, except by expiration of terms of service. I think there is not much danger of a raid into Pennsylvania.

A. LINCOLN.

October 19, 1864.—RESPONSE TO A SERENADE.

Friends and Fellow-citizens: I am notified that this is a compliment paid me by the loyal Marylanders resident in this district. I infer that the adoption of the new constitution for the State furnishes the occasion, and that in your view the extirpation of slavery constitutes the chief merit of the new constitution. Most heartily do I congratulate you, and Maryland, and the nation, and the world, upon this event. I regret that it did not occur two years sooner, which, I am sure, would have saved to the nation more money than would have met all the private loss incident to the measure; but it has come at last, and I sincerely hope its friends may fully realize all their anticipations of good from it, and that its opponents may by its effects be agreeably and profitably disappointed.

A word upon another subject. Something said by the Secretary of State, in his recent speech at Auburn, has been construed by some into a threat that if I shall be beaten at the election I will, between then and the end of my constitutional term, do what I may be able to ruin the government. Others regard the fact that the Chicago Convention adjourned, not *sine die*, but to meet again, if called to do so by a particular individual, as the intimation of a purpose that if their nominee shall be elected he will at once seize control of the government. I hope the good people will permit themselves to suffer no uneasiness on either point.

I am struggling to maintain the government, not to overthrow it. I am struggling, especially, to prevent others from overthrowing it. I therefore say that if I shall live I shall remain President until the 4th of next March; and that whoever shall be constitutionally elected therefor, in November, shall be duly installed as President on the 4th of March; and that, in the interval, I shall do my utmost that whoever is to hold the helm for the next voyage shall start with the best possible chance to save the ship.

This is due to the people both on principle and under the Constitution. Their will, constitutionally expressed, is the ultimate law for all. If they should deliberately resolve to have immediate peace, even at the loss of their country and their liberty, I know not the power or the right to resist them. It is their own business, and they must do as they please with their own. I believe, however, they are still resolved to preserve their country and their liberty; and in this, in office or out of it, I am resolved to stand by them.

I may add that in this purpose — to save the country and its liberties — no classes of people seem so nearly unanimous as the soldiers in the field and the sailors afloat. Do they not have the hardest of it? Who should quail when they do not? God bless the soldiers and seamen, with all their brave commanders.

October 20, 1864.— PROCLAMATION OF THANKSGIVING.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

It has pleased almighty God to prolong our national life another year, defending us with his guardian care against unfriendly designs from abroad, and vouchsafing to us in his mercy many and signal victories over the enemy, who is of our own household. It has also pleased our heavenly Father to favor as well our citizens in their homes as our soldiers in their camps, and our sailors on the rivers and seas, with unusual health. He has largely augmented our free population by emancipation and by immigration, while he has opened to us new sources of wealth, and has crowned the labor of our working-men in every department of industry with abundant rewards. Moreover, he has been pleased to animate and inspire our minds and hearts with fortitude, courage, and resolution sufficient for the great trial of civil war into which we have been brought by our adherence as a nation to the cause of freedom and humanity, and to afford to us reasonable hopes of an ultimate and happy deliverance from all our dangers and afflictions.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby appoint and set apart the last Thursday of November next as a day which I desire to be observed by all my fellow-citizens, wherever they may then be, as a day of thanksgiving and praise to almighty God, the beneficent Creator and Ruler of the universe. And I do further recommend to my fellow-citizens aforesaid, that on that occasion they do reverently humble themselves in the dust, and from thence offer up penitent and fervent prayers and supplications to the great Disposer of events for a return of the inestimable blessings of peace, union, and harmony throughout the land which it has pleased him to assign as a dwelling-place for ourselves and for our posterity throughout all generations.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington, this twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

October 21, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO J. G. NICOLAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 21, 1864. 9.45 P. M.

J. G. NICOLAY, St. Louis, Missouri:

While Curtis is fighting Price, have you any idea where the force under Rosecrans is, or what it is doing?

A. LINCOLN.

October 22, 1864.—LETTER TO WM. B. CAMPBELL AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., October 22, 1864.

MESSRS. WM. B. CAMPBELL, THOMAS A. R. NELSON, JAMES T. P. CARTER, JOHN WILLIAMS, A. BLIZZARD, HENRY COOPER, BAILIE PEYTON, JOHN LELLYETT, E. ETHERIDGE, JOHN D. PERRYMANS.

Gentlemen: On the fifteenth day of this month, as I remember, a printed paper, with a few manuscript interlineations, called a protest, with your names appended thereto, and accompanied by another printed paper purporting to be a proclamation by Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, and also a manuscript paper purporting to be extracts from the Code of Tennessee, was laid before me. The protest, proclamation, and extracts are respectively as follows:

[The protest is here recited, and also the proclamation of Governor Johnson, dated September 30, to which it refers, together with a list of the counties in East, Middle, and West Tennessee; also an extract from the Code of Tennessee, in relation to electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, the qualifications of voters for members of the General Assembly, and the places of holding elections of officers of popular elections.]

At the time these papers were presented, as before stated, I had never seen either of them, nor heard of the subject to which they relate, except in a general way, only one day previously. Up to the present moment nothing whatever has passed between Governor Johnson, or any one else connected with the proclamation, and myself. Since receiving the papers, as stated, I have given the subject such brief consideration as I have been able to do in the midst of so many pressing public duties.

My conclusion is that I have nothing to do with the matter, either to sustain the plan as the convention and Governor Johnson have initiated it, or to revoke or modify it as you demand. By the Constitution and laws, the President is charged with no duty in the conduct of a presidential election in any State; nor do I, in this case, perceive any military reason for his interference in the matter.

The movement set on foot by the convention and Governor Johnson does not, as seems to be assumed by you, emanate from the national executive. In no proper sense can it be considered other than as an independent movement of at least a portion of the loyal people of Tennessee.

I do not perceive in the plan any menace of violence or coercion toward any one. Governor Johnson, like any other loyal citizen of Tennessee, has the right to favor any political plan he chooses, and, as military governor, it is his duty to keep the peace among and for the loyal people of the State. I cannot discern that by this plan he purposes any more.

But you object to the plan. Leaving it alone will be your perfect security against it. Do as you please on your own account, peacefully and loyally, and Governor Johnson will not molest you, but will protect you against violence so far as in his power.

I presume that the conducting of a presidential election in Tennessee in strict accordance with the old code of the State is not now a possibility.

It is scarcely necessary to add that if any election shall be held, and any votes shall be cast in the State of Tennessee for President and Vice-President of the United States, it will belong, not to the military agents, nor yet to the executive department, but exclusively to another department of the government, to determine whether they are entitled to be counted in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Except it be to give protection against violence, I decline to interfere in any way with any presidential election.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

October 22, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL P. H. SHERIDAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 22, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN:

With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave army the thanks of the nation, and my own personal admiration and gratitude, for the month's operations in the Shenandoah Valley; and especially for the splendid work of October 19, 1864.

Your obedient servant, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

October 23, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. H. THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 23, 1864. 5 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, Nashville, Tennessee:

I have received information to-day, having great appearance of authenticity, that there is to be a rebel raid into Western Kentucky; that it is to consist of 4000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, and is to start from Corinth, Mississippi, on the fourth day of November.

A. LINCOLN, President.

Send copy to General Washburn at Memphis.

A. L.

October 24, 1864.—ADDRESS TO THE 189TH NEW YORK REGIMENT.

Soldiers: I am exceedingly obliged to you for this mark of respect. It is said that we have the best government the world ever knew, and I am glad to meet you, the supporters of that government. To you who render the hardest work in its support should be given the greatest credit. Others who are connected with it, and who occupy higher positions, can be dispensed with, but we cannot get along without your aid. While others differ with the administration, and, perhaps, honestly, the soldiers generally have sustained it; they have not only fought right, but, so far as could be judged from their actions, they have voted right, and I for one thank you for it. I know you are *en route* for the front, and therefore do not expect me to detain you long. I will now bid you good morning.

October 26, 1864.—NOTE TO MRS. SWIFT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 26, 1864.

MRS. GEORGE W. SWIFT.

My dear Madam: Your complimentary little poem asking for my autograph was duly received. I thank you for it, and cheerfully comply with your request. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

October 26, 1864.—UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO J. R. UNDERWOOD AND H. GRIDER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 26, 1864.

HON. J. R. UNDERWOOD AND HON. HENRY GRIDER.

Gentlemen: A petition has been presented to me on behalf of certain citizens of Allen and Barren counties, in the State of Kentucky, assuming that certain sums of money have been assessed and collected from them by the United States military authorities to compensate certain Union citizens of the same vicinage for losses by rebel depredations, and praying that I will order the money to be refunded. The petition is accompanied by a letter of yours, which so presents the case as to induce me to make a brief response. You distinctly admit that the petitioners "sympathize with the Confederate States and regard them as warring to preserve their Constitutional and legal rights." This admitted, it is scarcely possible to believe that they do not help the cause they thus love whenever they conveniently can. Their sons and relatives go into the rebel [armies], but we may not be able to distinctly prove that they outfitted and sent them. When armed rebels come among them their houses and other property are spared while Union men's houses are burned and their property pillaged. Still, we may not be able to specifically prove that the sympathizers protected and

supplied the raiders in turn, or designated their Union neighbors for plunder and devastation. Yet we know all this exists, even better than we could know an isolated fact upon the sworn testimony of one or two witnesses; just as we better know there is fire whence we see much smoke rising than we could know it by one or two witnesses swearing to it. The witnesses may commit perjury, but the smoke cannot. Now, experience has already taught us in this war that holding these smoky localities responsible for the conflagrations within them has a very salutary effect. It was obviously so in and about St. Louis, and on [the] eastern shore of Virginia.

October 27, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL S. G. BURBRIDGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 27, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURBRIDGE:

It is represented to me that an officer has, by your authority, assessed and collected considerable sums of money from citizens of Allen and Barren counties, Kentucky, to compensate Union men for depredations committed upon them in the vicinity by rebels; and I am petitioned to order the money to be refunded. At most, I could not do this without hearing both sides, which, as yet, I have not. I write now to say that, in my opinion, in some extreme cases this class of proceedings becomes a necessity; but that it is liable to—almost inseparable from—great abuses, and therefore should only be sparingly resorted to, and be conducted with great caution; that you, in your department, must be the judge of the proper localities and occasions for applying it; and that it will be well for you to see that your subordinates be at all times ready to account for every dollar, as to why collected, of whom, and how applied. Without this you will soon find some of them making assessments and collections merely to put money in their own pockets, and it will also be impossible to correct errors in future and better times.

In the case I have mentioned, such good men as Hon. J. R. Underwood and Hon. Henry Grider, though not personally interested, have appealed to me in behalf of others. So soon as you can, consistently with your other duties, I will thank you to acquaint yourself with the particulars of this case, and make any correction which may seem to be proper. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

October 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO A. G. HODGES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 28, 1864.

HON. A. G. HODGES, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Mrs. Margaret C. Price is here, asking that her son, Philemon B. Price, now a prisoner of war at Camp Chase may be discharged, and I have told her I will do it if you say so. What say you?

A. LINCOLN.

October 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO J. A. PRALL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 28, 1864.

J. A. PRALL, Paris, Kentucky:

Mrs. George W. Bowen is here, asking for the discharge of her husband, now a prisoner of war at Camp Chase, and I have told her I will do it if you say so. What say you?

A. LINCOLN.

October 31, 1864.—PROCLAMATION ADMITTING NEVADA INTO THE UNION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the Congress of the United States passed an act, which was approved on the twenty-first day of March last, entitled "An act to enable the people of Nevada to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States";

And whereas the said constitution and State government have been formed, pursuant to the conditions prescribed by the fifth section of the act of Congress aforesaid, and the certificate required by the said act, and also a copy of the constitution and ordinances, have been submitted to the President of the United States:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in accordance with the duty imposed upon me by the Act of Congress aforesaid, do hereby declare and proclaim that the said State of Nevada is admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington, this thirty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

October 31, 1864.—NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 31, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir: Herewith is a letter of Governor Curtin, which speaks for itself. I suggest for your consideration, whether, to the extent of, say, 5000, we might not exempt from the draft, upon the men being

put in good shape to defend and give assurance to the border. I have not said even this much to the bearer, General Todd, whom I hope you will see and hear. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 5, 1864.—INDORSEMENT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY.

Mr. President: Please read the accompanying telegram, just received, and favor me with your judgment on the point presented by General Butler, so that I can answer him. Yours truly,

E. M. STANTON.

[*Indorsement.*]

I think this might lie over till morning. The tendency of the order, it seems to me, is to bring on a collision with the State authority, which I would rather avoid, at least until the necessity for it is more apparent than it yet is.

A. LINCOLN.

November 5, 1864.

November 6, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 6, 1864.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Auburn, New York:

Nothing of much importance. Day before yesterday rebels destroyed two or more of our wooden gunboats at Johnsonville on Tennessee River. Curtis, on the 4th, was at Fayetteville, Arkansas, still pursuing and damaging Price. Richmond papers say Yankees landed at Escambia Bay, below Hilton, not far from Mobile, captured fifty men and destroyed all camp equipage, wagons, salt works, etc., and everything in and about Hilton. Richmond papers also confirm the destruction of the *Albemarle*, and the consequent evacuation of Plymouth, North Carolina.

A. LINCOLN.

November 6, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO NAVAL OFFICER AT MOBILE BAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 6, 1864. 9 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL CANBY, New Orleans, Louisiana:

Please forward with all possible despatch to the naval officer commanding at Mobile Bay the following order.

A. LINCOLN.

[*Inclosure.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 6, 1864.

NAVAL OFFICER IN COMMAND AT MOBILE BAY:

Do not on any account, or on any showing of authority whatever, from whomsoever purporting to come, allow the blockade to be violated.

A. LINCOLN.

November 8, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO SAILORS' FAIR AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 8, 1864.

TO THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE SAILORS' FAIR,
Boston, Massachusetts:

Allow me to wish you a great success. With the old fame of the navy made brighter in the present war you cannot fail. I name none lest I wrong others by omission. To all, from rear-admiral to honest Jack, I tender the nation's admiration and gratitude.

A. LINCOLN.

November 8, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO A. H. RICE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 8, 1864.

HON. A. H. RICE, Boston, Massachusetts:

Yours received. I have no other notice that the ox is mine. If it be really so, I present it to the Sailors' Fair as a contribution.

A. LINCOLN.

November 8, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

WASHINGTON, November 8, 1864.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Auburn, New York:

News from Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and Rosecrans satisfactory, but not important. Pirate *Florida* captured by the *Wachusett* October 7, on the coast of Brazil. The information is certain.

A. LINCOLN.

November 9, 1864.—RESPONSE TO A SERENADE.

Friends and Fellow-citizens: Even before I had been informed by you that this compliment was paid me by loyal citizens of Pennsylvania, friendly to me, I had inferred that you were of that portion of my countrymen who think that the best interests of the nation are to be subserved by the support of the present administration. I do not pretend to say that you, who think so, embrace all the patriot-

ism and loyalty of the country, but I do believe, and I trust without personal interest, that the welfare of the country does require that such support and indorsement should be given.

I earnestly believe that the consequences of this day's work, if it be as you assume, and as now seems probable, will be to the lasting advantage, if not to the very salvation, of the country. I cannot at this hour say what has been the result of the election. But, whatever it may be, I have no desire to modify this opinion: that all who have labored to-day in behalf of the Union have wrought for the best interests of the country and the world; not only for the present, but for all future ages.

I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity.

November 10, 1864.— Response to a Serenade.

It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test, and a presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how sound and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union and most opposed to treason can receive most of the people's votes. It shows, also, to the extent yet known, that we have more men now than we had when the war began.

Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.

But the rebellion continues, and now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a reëlection, and duly grateful, as I trust, to almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result.

May I ask those who have not differed with me to join with me in this same spirit toward those who have? And now let me close by asking three hearty cheers for our brave soldiers and seamen and their gallant and skilful commanders.

November 10, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. G. BURBRIDGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 10, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURBRIDGE, Lexington, Kentucky:

I have just received a telegram from Governor Bramlette saying: "General John B. Houston, a loyal man and prominent citizen, was arrested, and, yesterday, started off by General Burbridge, to be sent beyond our lines by way of Catlettsburg, for no other offense than opposition to your reëlection," and I have answered him as follows below, of which please take notice and report to me.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 10, 1864.

GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Yours of yesterday received. I can scarcely believe that General John B. Houston has been arrested "for no other offense than opposition to my reëlection"; for, if that had been deemed sufficient cause of arrest, I should have heard of more than one arrest in Kentucky on election day. If, however, General Houston has been arrested for no other cause than opposition to my reëlection, General Burbridge will discharge him at once, I sending him a copy of this as an order to that effect.

A. LINCOLN.

November 12, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL LOGAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN, Carbondale, Illinois:

Yours of to-day just received. Some days ago I forwarded, to the care of Mr. Washburne, a leave for you to visit Washington, subject only to be countermanded by General Sherman. This qual-

ification I thought was a necessary prudence for all concerned. Subject to it, you may remain at home thirty days, or come here at your own option. If, in view of maintaining your good relations with General Sherman, and of probable movements of his army, you can safely come here, I shall be very glad to see you.

A. LINCOLN.

November 14, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 14, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBUT:

Few things since I have been here have impressed me more painfully than what, for four or five months past, has appeared a bitter military opposition to the new State government of Louisiana. I still indulged some hope that I was mistaken in the fact; but copies of a correspondence on the subject between General Canby and yourself, and shown me to-day, dispel that hope. A very fair proportion of the people of Louisiana have inaugurated a new State government, making an excellent new constitution—better for the poor black man than we have in Illinois. This was done under military protection, directed by me, in the belief, still sincerely entertained, that with such a nucleus around which to build we could get the State into position again sooner than otherwise. In this belief a general promise of protection and support, applicable alike to Louisiana and other States, was given in the last annual message. During the formation of the new government and constitution they were supported by nearly every loyal person, and opposed by every secessionist. And this support and this opposition, from the respective standpoints of the parties, was perfectly consistent and logical. Every Unionist ought to wish the new government to succeed; and every disunionist must desire it to fail. Its failure would gladden the heart of Slidell in Europe, and of every enemy of the old flag in the world. Every advocate of slavery naturally desires to see blasted and crushed the liberty promised the black man by the new Constitution. But why General Canby and General Hurlbut should join on the same side is to me incomprehensible.

Of course, in the condition of things at New Orleans, the military must not be thwarted by the civil authority; but when the Constitional Convention, for what it deems a breach of privilege, arrests an editor in no way connected with the military, the military necessity for insulting the Convention and forcibly discharging the editor is difficult to perceive. Neither is the military necessity for protecting the people against paying large salaries fixed by a legislature of their own choosing very apparent. Equally difficult to perceive is the military necessity for forcibly interposing to prevent a bank from loaning its own money to the State. These things, if they have occurred, are, at the best, no better than gratuitous hos-

tility. I wish I could hope that they may be shown to not have occurred. To make assurance against misunderstanding, I repeat that in the existing condition of things in Louisiana, the military must not be thwarted by the civil authority; and I add that on points of difference the commanding general must be judge and master. But I also add that in the exercise of this judgment and control, a purpose, obvious, and scarcely unavowed, to transcend all military necessity, in order to crush out the civil government, will not be overlooked. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 15, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO J. K. DUBOIS.

WASHINGTON, November 15, 1864.

HON. JESSE K. DUBOIS, Springfield, Illinois:

Yours of to-day, asking that 530 men may be assigned to the 32d Illinois, shall be attended to. You say: "State gone 25,000." Which way did it go? How stand the members of Congress and the other officers?

A. LINCOLN.

November 15, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO LOYAL GOVERNORS.

WASHINGTON, November 15, 1864.

THE GOVERNOR OF MAINE, Augusta, Maine:

Please send, as soon as practicable, exactly, or approximately, the aggregate of votes cast in your State at the late election. It is desired with reference to the forthcoming message.

A. LINCOLN.

November 17, 1864.—REPLY TO MARYLAND UNION COMMITTEE.

The President, in reply, said that he had to confess he had been duly notified of the intention to make this friendly call some days ago, and in this he had had a fair opportunity afforded to be ready with a set speech; but he had not prepared one, being too busy for that purpose. He would say, however, that he was gratified with the result of the presidential election. He had kept as near as he could to the exercise of his best judgment for the interest of the whole country, and to have the seal of approbation stamped on the course he had pursued was exceedingly grateful to his feelings. He thought he could say, in as large a sense as any other man, that his pleasure consisted in belief that the policy he had pursued was the best, if not the only one, for the safety of the country.

He had said before, and now repeated, that he indulged in no feeling of triumph over any man who thought or acted differently from himself. He had no such feeling toward any living man. When he thought of Maryland, in particular, he was of the opinion that she had more than double her share in what had occurred in the recent elections. The adoption of a free-State constitution was a

greater thing than the part taken by the people of the State in the presidential election. He would any day have stipulated to lose Maryland in the presidential election to save it by the adoption of a free-State constitution, because the presidential election comes every four years, while that is a thing which, being done, cannot be undone. He therefore thought that in that they had a victory for the right worth a great deal more than their part in the presidential election, though of the latter he thought highly. He had once before said, but would say again, that those who have differed with us and opposed us will see that the result of the presidential election is better for their own good than if they had been successful.

Thanking the committee for their compliment, he brought his brief speech to a close.

November 19, 1864.—PROCLAMATION CONCERNING BLOCKADE.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by my proclamation of the 19th of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, it was declared that the ports of certain States, including those of Norfolk in the State of Virginia, [and] Fernandina and Pensacola, in the State of Florida, were, for reasons therein set forth, intended to be placed under blockade; and whereas the said ports were subsequently blockaded accordingly, but having for some time past been in the military possession of the United States, it is deemed advisable that they should be opened to domestic and foreign commerce:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority in me vested by the fifth section of the act of Congress, approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," do hereby declare that the blockade of the said ports of Norfolk, Fernandina, and Pensacola shall so far cease and determine, from and after the first day of December next, that commercial intercourse with those ports, except as to persons, things, and information contraband of war, may, from that time, be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, to the limitations and in pursuance of the regulations which may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and to such military and naval regulations as are now in force, or may hereafter be found necessary.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

[L. S.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

November 19, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 19, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS:

A Major Wolf, as it seems, was under sentence in your department to be executed in retaliation for the murder of a Major Wilson, and I, without any particular knowledge of the facts, was induced by appeals for mercy to order the suspension of his execution till further order. Understanding that you so desire, this letter places the case again within your control, with the remark only that I wish you to do nothing merely for revenge, but that what you may do shall be solely done with reference to the security of the future. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 21, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO A. R. WRIGHT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

HON. A. R. WRIGHT, Louisville, Kentucky:

Admitting that your cotton was destroyed by the Federal army, I do not suppose anything could be done for you now. Congress has appropriated no money for that class of claims, and will not, I expect, while the active war lasts.

A. LINCOLN.

November 21, 1864.—LETTER TO MRS. BIXBY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

MRS. BIXBY, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

November 21, 1864.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I now propose that Smithson and Yocum, respectively, be enlarged, allowing their sentences to stand as security for

their good behavior—that is, not pardon them, but if they misbehave, re-arrest and imprison them on the old score.

Also, I think if Waring's premises down in Maryland are [not] in use by the government, he and his family might be allowed to re-occupy them. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 21, 1864.—LETTER TO J. PHILLIPS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

DEACON JOHN PHILLIPS.

My dear Sir: I have heard of the incident at the polls in your town, in which you acted so honorable a part, and I take the liberty of writing to you to express my personal gratitude for the compliment paid me by the suffrage of a citizen so venerable.

The example of such devotion to civic duties in one whose days have already been extended an average lifetime beyond the Psalmist's limit, cannot but be valuable and fruitful. It is not for myself only, but for the country which you have in your sphere served so long and so well, that I thank you.

Your friend and servant, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

November 22, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 22, 1864.

GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Yours of to-day received. It seems that Lieutenant-Governor Jacobs and Colonel Wolford are stationary now. General Sudarth and Mr. Hodges are here, and the Secretary of War and myself are trying to devise means of pacification and harmony for Kentucky, which we hope to effect soon, now that the passion-exciting subject of the election is past.

A. LINCOLN.

November 25, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 25, 1864.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

I have no knowledge, information, or belief, that three States, or any State, offer to resume allegiance.

A. LINCOLN.

November 26, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

I had a full conference this morning with the Secretary of War in relation to yourself. The conclusion is that it will be best for

all if you proceed to New Orleans and act there in obedience to your order; and, in doing which, having continued, say, one month, if it shall then, as now, be your wish to resign, your resignation will be accepted. Please take this course. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

November 29, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR STONE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 29, 1864.

GOVERNOR OF IOWA, Des Moines: May I renew my request for the exact aggregate vote of your State, cast at the late election? My object fails if I do not receive it before Congress meets.

A. LINCOLN.

Same to the Governors of Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Kansas, and West Virginia.

December 1, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO JAMES SPEED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 1, 1864.

HON. JAMES SPEED, Louisville, Kentucky:

I appoint you to be Attorney-General. Please come on at once.

A. LINCOLN.

December 1, 1864.—TELEGRAMS TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 1, 1864.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

I am applied to for the release of Alexander B. Kinney, John P. Carter, and Samuel A. Owens. Your name, commending their application to favorable consideration, is on the papers. If you will say directly that you think they ought to be discharged, I will discharge them. Answer.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 1, 1864.

HIS EXCELLENCY ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

In the cases of Alexander B. Kinney, John P. Carter, and Samuel A. Owens, Colonel William B. Stokes has recommended the release of all three. His recommendation is on file here.

A. LINCOLN.

December 2, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 2, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS:

I know you are dissatisfied, which pains me very much, but I wish not to be argued with further. I entertain no abatement of con-

fidence or friendship for you. I have told you why I cannot order General Canby from the Department of the Gulf — that he whom I must hold responsible for military results is not agreed. Yet I do believe that you, of all men, can best perform the part of advancing the new State government of Louisiana, and therefore I have wished you to go and try, leaving it to yourself to give up the trial at the end of a month if you find it impracticable, or personally too disagreeable.

This is certainly meant in no unkindness, but I wish to avoid further struggle about it. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

December 3, 1864.—MEMORANDUM.

On Thursday of last week, two ladies from Tennessee came before the President, asking the release of their husbands held as prisoners of war at Johnson's Island. They were put off until Friday, when they came again, and were again put off until Saturday. At each of the interviews one of the ladies urged that her husband was a religious man, and on Saturday the President ordered the release of the prisoners, when he said to this lady: "You say your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him, that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven."

A. LINCOLN.

December 5, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Captain John A. Winslow, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for the skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the brilliant action whilst in command of the United States steamer *Kearsarge*, which led to the total destruction of the piratical craft *Alabama*, on the 19th of June, 1864, a vessel superior in tonnage, superior in number of guns, and superior in number of crew.

This recommendation is specially made in order to comply with the requirements of the ninth section of the aforesaid act, which is in the following words, viz.:

> That any line officer of the navy or marine corps may be advanced one grade, if, upon recommendation by the President by name he receives the thanks of Congress for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy, or for extraordinary heroism in the line of his profession.

WASHINGTON, December 5, 1864.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 5, 1864.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of [the] 16th of July, 1862, I most cordially recommend

that Lieutenant William B. Cushing, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for his important, gallant, and perilous achievement in destroying the rebel iron-clad steamer *Albemarle*, on the night of the 27th of October, 1864, at Plymouth, North Carolina. The destruction of so formidable a vessel, which had resisted the continued attacks of a number of our vessels on former occasions, is an important event touching our future naval and military operations, and would reflect honor on any officer, and redounds to the credit of this young officer and the few brave comrades who assisted in this successful and daring undertaking.

This recommendation is specially made in order to comply with the requirements of the ninth section of the aforesaid act, which is in the following words, viz.:

> That any line officer of the navy or marine corps may be advanced one grade, if, upon recommendation of the President by name he receives the thanks of Congress for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy, or for extraordinary heroism in the line of his profession.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 5, 1864.

December 6, 1864.—ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Again the blessings of health and abundant harvests claim our profoundest gratitude to almighty God.

The condition of our foreign affairs is reasonably satisfactory.

Mexico continues to be a theater of civil war. While our political relations with that country have undergone no change, we have, at the same time, strictly maintained neutrality between the belligerents. At the request of the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, a competent engineer has been authorized to make a survey of the River San Juan and the port of San Juan. It is a source of much satisfaction that the difficulties which for a moment excited some political apprehensions and caused a closing of the interoceanic transit route, have been amicably adjusted, and that there is a good prospect that the route will soon be reopened with an increase of capacity and adaptation. We could not exaggerate either the commercial or the political importance of that great improvement. It would be doing injustice to an important South American State not to acknowledge the directness, frankness, and cordiality with which the United States of Colombia have entered into intimate relations with this government. A claims convention has been constituted to complete the unfinished work of the one which closed its session in 1861.

The new liberal constitution of Venezuela having gone into effect with the universal acquiescence of the people, the government under it has been recognized, and diplomatic intercourse with it has been opened in a cordial and friendly spirit. The long-deferred Aves Island claim has been satisfactorily paid and discharged.

Mutual payments have been made of the claims awarded by the

late joint commission for the settlement of claims between the United States and Peru. An earnest and cordial friendship continues to exist between the two countries, and such efforts as were in my power have been used to remove misunderstanding, and avert a threatened war between Peru and Spain.

Our relations are of the most friendly nature with Chili, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Paraguay, San Salvador, and Hayti.

During the past year no differences of any kind have arisen with any of these republics, and on the other hand, their sympathies with the United States are constantly expressed with cordiality and earnestness.

The claim arising from the seizure of the cargo of the brig *Macedonian* in 1821 has been paid in full by the Government of Chili.

Civil war continues in the Spanish part of San Domingo, apparently without prospect of an early close.

Official correspondence has been freely opened with Liberia, and it gives us a pleasing view of social and political progress in that republic. It may be expected to derive new vigor from American influence, improved by the rapid disappearance of slavery in the United States.

I solicit your authority to furnish to the republic a gunboat, at moderate cost, to be reimbursed to the United States by instalments. Such a vessel is needed for the safety of that State against the native African races, and in Liberian hands it would be more effective in arresting the African slave-trade than a squadron in our own hands. The possession of the least organized naval force would stimulate a generous ambition in the republic, and the confidence which we should manifest by furnishing it would win forbearance and favor toward the colony from all civilized nations.

The proposed overland telegraph between America and Europe, by the way of Behring's Straits and Asiatic Russia, which was sanctioned by Congress at the last session, has been undertaken, under very favorable circumstances, by an association of American citizens, with the cordial good-will and support as well of this government as of those of Great Britain and Russia. Assurances have been received from most of the South American States of their high appreciation of the enterprise and their readiness to coöperate in constructing lines tributary to that world-encircling communication. I learn with much satisfaction that the noble design of a telegraphic communication between the eastern coast of America and Great Britain has been renewed, with full expectation of its early accomplishment.

Thus it is hoped that with the return of domestic peace the country will be able to resume with energy and advantage its former high career of commerce and civilization.

Our very popular and estimable representative in Egypt died in April last. An unpleasant altercation which arose between the temporary incumbent of the office and the government of the Pasha, resulted in a suspension of intercourse. The evil was promptly corrected on the arrival of the successor in the consulate, and our rela-

tions with Egypt, as well as our relations with the Barbary Powers, are entirely satisfactory.

The rebellion which has so long been flagrant in China has at last been suppressed with the coöperating good offices of this government and of the other western commercial States. The judicial consular establishment there has become very difficult and onerous, and it will need legislative revision to adapt it to the extension of our commerce and to the more intimate intercourse which has been instituted with the government and people of that vast empire. China seems to be accepting with hearty good-will the conventional laws which regulate commercial and social intercourse among the western nations. Owing to the peculiar situation of Japan and the anomalous form of its government, the action of that empire in performing treaty stipulations is inconstant and capricious. Nevertheless, good progress has been effected by the western powers moving with enlightened concert. Our own pecuniary claims have been allowed or put in course of settlement, and the inland sea has been reopened to commerce. There is reason also to believe that these proceedings have increased rather than diminished the friendship of Japan toward the United States.

The ports of Norfolk, Fernandina, and Pensacola have been opened by proclamation. It is hoped that foreign merchants will now consider whether it is not safer and more profitable to themselves, as well as just to the United States, to resort to these and other open ports, than it is to pursue, through many hazards, and at vast cost, a contraband trade with other ports which are closed, if not by actual military occupation, at least by a lawful and effective blockade.

For myself, I have no doubt of the power and duty of the executive, under the law of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States. If Congress should think that proceedings in such cases lack the authority of law, or ought to be further regulated by it, I recommend that provision be made for effectually preventing foreign slave-traders from acquiring domicile and facilities for their criminal occupation in our country.

It is possible that if it were a new and open question, the maritime powers, with the lights they now enjoy, would not concede the privileges of a naval belligerent to the insurgents of the United States, destitute as they are, and always have been, equally of ships-of-war and of ports and harbors. Disloyal emissaries have been neither less assiduous nor more successful during the last year than they were before that time in their efforts, under favor of that privilege, to embroil our country in foreign wars. The desire and determination of the governments of the maritime States to defeat that design are believed to be as sincere as, and cannot be more earnest than, our own. Nevertheless, unforeseen political difficulties have arisen, especially in Brazilian and British ports, and on the northern boundary of the United States, which have required, and are likely to continue to require, the practice of constant vigilance and a just and conciliatory spirit on the part of the United States, as well as of the nations concerned and their governments.

Commissioners have been appointed, under the treaty with Great Britain, on the adjustment of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies in Oregon, and are now proceeding to the execution of the trust assigned to them.

In view of the insecurity of life and property in the region adjacent to the Canadian border, by reason of recent assaults and depredations committed by inimical and desperate persons who are harbored there, it has been thought proper to give notice that after the expiration of six months, the period conditionally stipulated in the existing arrangement with Great Britain, the United States must hold themselves at liberty to increase their naval armament upon the lakes if they shall find that proceeding necessary. The condition of the border will necessarily come into consideration in connection with the question of continuing or modifying the rights of transit from Canada through the United States, as well as the regulation of imposts, which were temporarily established by the Reciprocity Treaty of the 5th of June, 1854.

I desire, however, to be understood while making this statement, that the colonial authorities of Canada are not deemed to be intentionally unjust or unfriendly toward the United States; but, on the contrary, there is every reason to expect that, with the approval of the Imperial Government, they will take the necessary measures to prevent new incursions across the border.

The act passed at the last session for the encouragement of immigration has, so far as was possible, been put in operation. It seems to need amendment which will enable the officers of the government to prevent the practice of frauds against the immigrants while on their way and on their arrival in the ports, so as to secure them here a free choice of avocations and places of settlement. A liberal disposition toward this great national policy is manifested by most of the European States, and ought to be reciprocated on our part by giving the immigrants effective national protection. I regard our immigrants as one of the principal replenishing streams which are appointed by Providence to repair the ravages of internal war, and its wastes of national strength and health. All that is necessary is to secure the flow of that stream in its present fullness, and to that end the government must, in every way, make it manifest that it neither needs nor designs to impose involuntary military service upon those who come from other lands to cast their lot in our country.

The financial affairs of the government have been successfully administered during the last year. The legislation of the last session of Congress has beneficially affected the revenues, although sufficient time has not yet elapsed to experience the full effect of several of the provisions of the acts of Congress imposing increased taxation.

The receipts during the year, from all sources, upon the basis of warrants signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, including loans and the balance in the treasury on the first day of July, 1863, were $1,394,796,007.62, and the aggregate disbursements, upon the same basis, were $1,298,056,101.89, leaving a balance in the treasury, as shown by warrants, of $96,739,905.73.

Deduct from these amounts the amount of the principal of the public debt redeemed, and the amount of issues in substitution therefor, and the actual cash operations of the treasury were: receipts, $884,076,646.57; disbursements, $865,234,087.86, which leaves a cash balance in the treasury of $18,842,558.71.

Of the receipts, there were derived from customs, $102,316,152.99; from lands, $588,333.29; from direct taxes, $475,648.96; from internal revenue, $109,741,134.10; from miscellaneous sources, $47,511,448.10; and from loans applied to actual expenditures, including former balance, $623,443,929.13.

There were disbursed for the civil service, $27,505,599.46; for pensions and Indians, $7,517,930.97; for the War Department, $690,791,842.97; for the Navy Department, $85,733,292.77; for interest on the public debt, $53,685,421.69,—making an aggregate of $865,234,087.86, and leaving a balance in the treasury of $18,842,558.71, as before stated.

For the actual receipts and disbursements for the first quarter, and the estimated receipts and disbursements for the three remaining quarters of the current fiscal year, and the general operations of the treasury in detail, I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. I concur with him in the opinion that the proportion of moneys required to meet the expenses consequent upon the war derived from taxation should be still further increased; and I earnestly invite your attention to this subject, to the end that there may be such additional legislation as shall be required to meet the just expectations of the Secretary.

The public debt on the first day of July last, as appears by the books of the treasury, amounted to $1,740,690,489.49. Probably, should the war continue for another year, that amount may be increased by not far from $500,000,000. Held as it is, for the most part, by our own people, it has become a substantial branch of national though private property. For obvious reasons, the more nearly this property can be distributed among all the people, the better. To favor such general distribution, greater inducements to become owners might, perhaps, with good effect, and without injury, be presented to persons of limited means. With this view, I suggest whether it might not be both competent and expedient for Congress to provide that a limited amount of some future issue of public securities might be held by any bona-fide purchaser exempt from taxation, and from seizure for debt under such restrictions and limitations as might be necessary to guard against abuse of so important a privilege. This would enable every prudent person to set aside a small annuity against a possible day of want.

Privileges like these would render the possession of such securities, to the amount limited, most desirable to every person of small means who might be able to save enough for the purpose. The great advantage of citizens being creditors as well as debtors, with relation to the public debt, is obvious. Men readily perceive that they cannot be much oppressed by a debt which they owe to themselves.

The public debt on the first day of July last, although somewhat exceeding the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury made to Congress at the commencement of the last session, falls short of the estimate of that officer made in the preceding December, as to its probable amount at the beginning of this year, by the sum of $3,995,097.31. This fact exhibits a satisfactory condition and conduct of the operations of the treasury.

The national banking system is proving to be acceptable to capitalists and to the people. On the twenty-fifth day of November 584 national banks had been organized, a considerable number of which were conversions from State banks. Changes from State systems to the national system are rapidly taking place, and it is hoped that very soon there will be in the United States no banks of issue not authorized by Congress, and no bank-note circulation not secured by the government. That the government and the people will derive great benefit from this change in the banking systems of the country, can hardly be questioned. The national system will create a reliable and permanent influence in support of the national credit, and protect the people against losses in the use of paper money. Whether or not any further legislation is advisable for the suppression of State bank issues, it will be for Congress to determine. It seems quite clear that the treasury cannot be satisfactorily conducted unless the government can exercise a restraining power over the bank-note circulation of the country.

The report of the Secretary of War and the accompanying documents will detail the campaigns of the armies in the field since the date of the last annual message, and also the operations of the several administrative bureaus of the War Department during the last year. It will also specify the measures deemed essential for the national defense, and to keep up and supply the requisite military force.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents a comprehensive and satisfactory exhibit of the affairs of that department and of the naval service. It is a subject of congratulation and laudable pride to our countrymen that a navy of such vast proportions has been organized in so brief a period, and conducted with so much efficiency and success. The general exhibit of the navy, including vessels under construction on the 1st of December, 1864, shows a total of 671 vessels, carrying 4610 guns, and 510,396 tons, being an actual increase during the year, over and above all losses by shipwreck or in battle, of 83 vessels, 167 guns, and 42,427 tons.

The total number of men at this time in the naval service, including officers, is about 51,000.

There have been captured by the navy during the year, 324 vessels, and the whole number of naval captures since hostilities commenced is 1379, of which 267 are steamers.

The gross proceeds arising from the sale of condemned prize property thus far reported amounts to $14,396,250.51. A large amount of such proceeds is still under adjudication and yet to be reported.

The total expenditure of the Navy Department of every descrip-

tion, including the cost of the immense squadrons that have been called into existence from the 4th of March, 1861, to the 1st of November, 1864, is $238,647,262.35.

Your favorable consideration is invited to the various recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy, especially in regard to a navy-yard and suitable establishment for the construction and repair of iron vessels, and the machinery and armature for our ships, to which reference was made in my last annual message.

Your attention is also invited to the views expressed in the report in relation to the legislation of Congress, at its last session, in respect to prize on our inland waters.

I cordially concur in the recommendations of the Secretary as to the propriety of creating the new rank of vice-admiral in our naval service.

Your attention is invited to the report of the Postmaster-General for a detailed account of the operations and financial condition of the Post-office Department.

The postal revenues for the year ending June 30, 1864, amounted to $12,438,253.78, and the expenditures to $12,644,786.20; the excess of expenditures over receipts being $206,532.42.

The views presented by the Postmaster-General on the subject of special grants by the government, in aid of the establishment of new lines of ocean mail steamships, and the policy he recommends for the development of increased commercial intercourse with adjacent and neighboring countries, should receive the careful consideration of Congress.

It is of noteworthy interest that the steady expansion of population, improvement, and governmental institutions over the new and unoccupied portions of our country have scarcely been checked, much less impeded or destroyed, by our great civil war, which at first glance would seem to have absorbed almost the entire energies of the nation.

The organization and admission of the State of Nevada has been completed in conformity with law, and thus our excellent system is firmly established in the mountains which once seemed a barren and uninhabitable waste between the Atlantic States and those which have grown up on the coast of the Pacific Ocean.

The Territories of the Union are generally in a condition of prosperity and rapid growth. Idaho and Montana, by reason of their great distance and the interruption of communication with them by Indian hostilities, have been only partially organized; but it is understood that these difficulties are about to disappear, which will permit their governments, like those of the others, to go into speedy and full operation.

As intimately connected with and promotive of this material growth of the nation, I ask the attention of Congress to the valuable information and important recommendations relating to the public lands, Indian affairs, the Pacific Railroad, and mineral discoveries contained in the report of the Secretary of the Interior, which is herewith transmitted, and which report also embraces the subjects of patents, pensions, and other topics of public interest pertaining

to his department. The quantity of public land disposed of during the five quarters ending on the 30th of September last was 4,221,342 acres, of which 1,538,614 acres were entered under the homestead law. The remainder was located with military land warrants, agricultural scrip certified to States for railroads, and sold for cash. The cash received from sales and location fees was $1,019,446.

The income from sales during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1864, was $678,007.21, against $136,077.95 received during the preceding year. The aggregate number of acres surveyed during the year has been equal to the quantity disposed of, and there is open to settlement about 133,000,000 acres of surveyed land.

The great enterprise of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific States by railways and telegraph lines has been entered upon with a vigor that gives assurance of success, notwithstanding the embarrassments arising from the prevailing high prices of materials and labor. The route of the main line of the road has been definitely located for one hundred miles westward from the initial point at Omaha City, Nebraska, and a preliminary location of the Pacific Railroad of California has been made from Sacramento, eastward, to the great bend of Truckee River, in Nevada.

Numerous discoveries of gold, silver, and cinnabar mines have been added to the many heretofore known, and the country occupied by the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains and the subordinate ranges now teems with enterprising labor which is richly remunerative. It is believed that the product of the mines of precious metals in that region has, during the year, reached, if not exceeded, $100,000,000 in value.

It was recommended in my last annual message that our Indian system be remodeled. Congress, at its last session, acting upon the recommendation, did provide for reorganizing the system in California, and it is believed that under the present organization the management of the Indians there will be attended with reasonable success. Much yet remains to be done to provide for the proper government of the Indians in other parts of the country, to render it secure for the advancing settler and to provide for the welfare of the Indian. The Secretary reiterates his recommendations, and to them the attention of Congress is invited.

The liberal provisions made by Congress for paying pensions to invalid soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and to the widows, orphans, and dependent mothers of those who have fallen in battle, or died of disease contracted, or of wounds received, in the service of their country, have been diligently administered.

There have been added to the pension-rolls, during the year ending the thirtieth day of June last, the names of 16,770 invalid soldiers, and of 271 disabled seamen; making the present number of army invalid pensioners, 22,767, and of navy invalid pensioners, 712.

Of widows, orphans, and mothers, 22,198 have been placed on the army pension-rolls, and 248 on the navy-rolls. The present number of army pensioners of this class is 25,433, and of navy pensioners, 793. At the beginning of the year, the number of Revolutionary pensioners was 1430; only twelve of them were soldiers, of

whom seven have since died. The remainder are those who under the law receive pensions because of relationship to Revolutionary soldiers. During the year ending the 30th of June, 1864, $4,504,616.92 have been paid to pensioners of all classes.

I cheerfully commend to your continued patronage the benevolent institutions of the District of Columbia, which have hitherto been established or fostered by Congress, and respectfully refer for information concerning them, and in relation to the Washington aqueduct, the Capitol, and other matters of local interest, to the report of the Secretary.

The Agricultural Department, under the supervision of its present energetic and faithful head, is rapidly commending itself to the great and vital interest it was created to advance. It is peculiarly the people's department, in which they feel more directly concerned than in any other. I commend it to the continued attention and fostering care of Congress.

The war continues. Since the last annual message, all the important lines and positions then occupied by our forces have been maintained, and our arms have steadily advanced, thus liberating the regions left in rear; so that Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and parts of other States have again produced reasonably fair crops.

The most remarkable feature in the military operations of the year is General Sherman's attempted march of three hundred miles, directly through the insurgent region. It tends to show a great increase of our relative strength, that our general-in-chief should feel able to confront and hold in check every active force of the enemy, and yet to detach a well-appointed large army to move on such an expedition. The result not yet being known, conjecture in regard to it is not here indulged.

Important movements have also occurred during the year to the effect of molding society for durability in the Union. Although short of complete success, it is much in the right direction that 12,000 citizens in each of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana have organized loyal State governments, with free constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them. The movements in the same direction, more extensive though less definite, in Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, should not be overlooked. But Maryland presents the example of complete success. Maryland is secure to liberty and Union for all the future. The genius of rebellion will no more claim Maryland. Like another foul spirit, being driven out, it may seek to tear her, but it will woo her no more.

At the last session of Congress a proposed amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the United States, passed the Senate, but failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. Although the present is the same Congress, and nearly the same members, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the reconsideration and passage of the measure at the present session. Of course the abstract question is not changed, but an intervening election shows, almost certainly, that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a

question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action. And as it is to so go, at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better? It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than as an additional element to be considered, their judgment may be affected by it. It is the voice of the people now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable—almost indispensable. And yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority, simply because it is the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is most clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment.

The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections. Judging by the recent canvass and its result, the purpose of the people within the loyal States to maintain the integrity of the Union, was never more firm nor more nearly unanimous than now. The extraordinary calmness and good order with which the millions of voters met and mingled at the polls give strong assurance of this. Not only all those who supported the Union ticket, so called, but a great majority of the opposing party also, may be fairly claimed to entertain, and to be actuated by, the same purpose. It is an unanswerable argument to this effect, that no candidate for any office whatever, high or low, has ventured to seek votes on the avowal that he was for giving up the Union. There has been much impugning of motives, and much heated controversy as to the proper means and best mode of advancing the Union cause; but on the distinct issue of Union or no Union the politicians have shown their instinctive knowledge that there is no diversity among the people. In affording the people the fair opportunity of showing one to another and to the world this firmness and unanimity of purpose, the election has been of vast value to the national cause.

The election has exhibited another fact, not less valuable to be known—the fact that we do not approach exhaustion in the most important branch of national resources—that of living men. While it is melancholy to reflect that the war has filled so many graves, and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to know that compared with the surviving, the fallen have been so few. While corps, and divisions, and brigades, and regiments have formed, and fought, and dwindled, and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found. The States regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago—to wit: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin—cast 3,982,011 votes now,

against 3,870,222 cast then; showing an aggregate now of 3,982,011. To this is to be added 33,762 cast now in the new States of Kansas and Nevada, which States did not vote in 1860; thus swelling the aggregate to 4,015,773, and the net increase during the three years and a half of war, to 145,551. A table is appended, showing particulars. To this again should be added the number of all soldiers in the field from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, and California, who by the laws of those States could not vote away from their homes, and which number cannot be less than 90,000. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized Territories is triple now what it was four years ago, while thousands, white and black, join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown, affirmatively and negatively, by the election.

It is not material to inquire how the increase has been produced, or to show that it would have been greater but for the war, which is probably true. The important fact remains demonstrated that we have more men now than we had when the war began; that we are not exhausted, nor in process of exhaustion; that we are gaining strength, and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men. Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever.

The national resources, then, are unexhausted, and, as we believe, inexhaustible. The public purpose to reëstablish and maintain the national authority is unchanged, and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains to choose. On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union—precisely what we will not and cannot give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He cannot voluntarily re-accept the Union; we cannot voluntarily yield it.

Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield, we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it would be the victory and defeat following war. What is true, however, of him who heads the insurgent cause, is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he cannot reaccept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase.

They can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution. After so much the government could not, if it would, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain, we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, conference, courts, and votes, operating only in constitutional and lawful channels. Some certain, and other possible, questions are, and would be, beyond the executive power to adjust; as, for instance, the admission of members into

Congress, and whatever might require the appropriation of money. The executive power itself would be greatly diminished by the cessation of actual war. Pardons and remissions of forfeitures, however, would still be within executive control. In what spirit and temper this control would be exercised, can be fairly judged of by the past.

A year ago general pardon and amnesty, upon specified terms, were offered to all except certain designated classes, and it was at the same time made known that the excepted classes were still within contemplation of special clemency. During the year many availed themselves of the general provision, and many more would, only that the signs of bad faith in some led to such precautionary measures as rendered the practical process less easy and certain. During the same time, also, special pardons have been granted to individuals of the excepted classes, and no voluntary application has been denied.

Thus, practically, the door has been for a full year open to all, except such as were not in condition to make free choice—that is, such as were in custody or under constraint. It is still so open to all; but the time may come—probably will come—when public duty shall demand that it be closed; and that in lieu more rigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted.

In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the national authority on the part of the insurgents as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that "while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress."

If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to reënslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.

In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say, that the war will cease on the part of the government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 6, 1864.

December 6, 1864.—RESPONSE TO A SERENADE.

Friends and Fellow-citizens: I believe I shall never be old enough to speak without embarrassment when I have nothing to talk about. I have no good news to tell you, and yet I have no bad news to tell. We have talked of elections until there is nothing more to say about them. The most interesting news we now have is from Sherman. We all know where he went in, but I can't tell where he will come out. I will now close by proposing three cheers for General Sherman and his army.

December 6, 1864.—NOMINATION OF CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 6, 1864.

To the Senate of the United States: I nominate Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, *vice* Roger B. Taney deceased.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 12, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL E. R. S. CANBY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL CANBY:

I think it is probable that you are laboring under some misapprehension as to the purpose, or rather the motive, of the government on two points — cotton, and the new Louisiana State government.

It is conceded that the military operations are the first in importance; and as to what is indispensable to these operations, the department commander must be judge and master.

But the other matters mentioned I suppose to be of public importance also; and what I have attempted in regard to them is not merely a concession to private interest and pecuniary greed.

As to cotton. By the external blockade, the price is made certainly six times as great as it was. And yet the enemy gets through at least one-sixth part as much in a given period, say a year, as if there were no blockade, and receives as much for it as he would for a full crop in time of peace. The effect, in substance, is, that we give him six ordinary crops without the trouble of producing any but the first; and at the same time leave his fields and his laborers free to produce provisions. You know how this keeps up his armies at home and procures supplies from abroad. For other reasons we cannot give up the blockade, and hence it becomes immensely important to us to get the cotton away from him. Better give him guns for it than let him, as now, get both guns and ammunition for it. But even this only presents part of the public interest to get out cotton. Our finances are greatly involved in the matter. The way cotton goes now carries so much gold out of the country as to leave us paper currency only, and that so far depreciated as that for every hard dollar's worth of supplies we obtain, we contract to pay two and a half hard dollars hereafter. This is much to be regretted; and, while I believe we can live through it, at all events it demands an earnest effort on the part of all to correct it. And if pecuniary greed can be made to aid us in such effort, let us be thankful that so much good can be got out of pecuniary greed.

As to the new State government of Louisiana. Most certainly there is no worthy object in getting up a piece of machinery merely to pay salaries and give political consideration to certain men. But it is a worthy object to again get Louisiana into proper practical relations with the nation, and we can never finish this if we never begin it. Much good work is already done, and surely nothing can be gained by throwing it away.

I do not wish either cotton or the new State government to take precedence of the military while the necessity for the military remains; but there is a strong public reason for treating each with so much favor as may not be substantially detrimental to the military.

Allow me a word of explanation in regard to the telegram which you kindly forwarded to Admiral Farragut for me.

That telegram was prompted by a piece of secret information inducing me to suspect that the use of a forged paper might be attempted on the admiral, in order to base a claim that we had raised our own blockade.

I am happy in the hope that you are almost well of your late and severe wound. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

December 13, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL L. WALLACE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Maryland:

Do not send Levin L. Waters and the judges away until further order; and send me at once a statement of the cause or causes for which they are dealt with.

A. LINCOLN.

December 13, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. M. DODGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DODGE, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please suspend the sending South of Mrs. Nancy H. Thompson, wife of Gideon H. Thompson, of Platte County, Missouri, but now in the rebel army, until further order; and in the mean time ascertain and report to me whether there is anything, and what, against her, except that her husband is a rebel.

A. LINCOLN.

December 16, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. H. THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 16, 1864. 11.30 A. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, Nashville, Tennessee:

Please accept for yourself, officers, and men, the nation's thanks for your good work of yesterday. You made a magnificent beginning; a grand consummation is within your easy reach. Do not let it slip.

A. LINCOLN.

December 19, 1864.—CALL FOR 300,000 VOLUNTEERS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by the act approved July 4, 1864, entitled "An act further to regulate and provide for the enrolling and calling out the

national forces, and for other purposes," it is provided that the President of the United States may, "at his discretion, at any time hereafter, call for any number of men as volunteers for the respective terms of one, two, and three years, for military service," and "that in case the quota, or any part thereof, of any town, township, ward of a city, precinct, or election district, or of any county not so subdivided, shall not be filled within the space of fifty days after such call, then the President shall immediately order a draft for one year to fill such quota, or any part thereof which may be unfilled."

And whereas, by the credits allowed in accordance with the act of Congress, on the call for 500,000 men, made July 18, 1864, the number of men to be obtained under that call was reduced to 280,000; and whereas the operations of the enemy in certain States have rendered it impracticable to procure from them their full quotas of troops under said call; and whereas, from the foregoing causes but 240,000 men have been put into the army, navy, and marine corps under the said call of July 18, 1864, leaving a deficiency on that call of 260,000;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, in order to supply the aforesaid deficiency, and to provide for casualties in the military and naval service of the United States, do issue this my call for 300,000 volunteers to serve for one, two, or three years. The quotas of the States, districts, and subdistricts, under this call, will be assigned by the War Department, through the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal-General of the United States, and "in case the quota, or any part thereof, of any town, township, ward of a city, precinct, or election district, or of any county not so subdivided, shall not be filled" before the fifteenth day of February, 1865, then a draft shall be made to fill such quota, or any part thereof, under this call, which may be unfilled on said fifteenth day of February, 1865.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of
[L. S.] December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

December 19, 1864.—TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL L. WALLACE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 19, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE:

Several days ago I sent you a despatch directing that one Waters and two others should not be sent away immediately, and asking you to send me a statement of the cause or causes of your action in regard to them. I have received nothing from you on the subject. May I again ask for such a statement, and also where the men now are?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 19, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Maryland:

To whom were the reports sent? I have not received them.

A. LINCOLN.

December 19, 1864.—LETTER TO SOLDIERS' FAIR AT SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 19, 1864.

TO THE LADIES MANAGING THE SOLDIERS' FAIR AT SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS:

Your kind invitation to be present at the opening of your fair is duly received by the hand of Mr. Ashmun. Grateful for the compliment, and ever anxious to aid the good cause in which you are engaged, I yet am compelled, by public duties here, to decline. The recent good news from Generals Sherman, Thomas, and, indeed, from nearly all quarters, will be far better than my presence, and will afford all the impulse and enthusiasm you will need.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

December 19, 1864.—LETTER TO J. H. CHOATE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 19, 1864.

JOSEPH H. CHOATE, Esq.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your kind invitation to be present at the annual festival of the New England Society to commemorate the landing of the Pilgrims, on Thursday, the 22d of this month.

My duties will not allow me to avail myself of your kindness.

I cannot but congratulate you and the country, however, upon the spectacle of devoted unanimity presented by the people at home, the citizens that form our marching columns, and the citizens that fill our squadrons on the sea, all animated by the same determination to complete the work our fathers began and transmitted.

The work of the Plymouth emigrants was the glory of their age. While we reverence their memory, let us not forget how vastly greater is our opportunity. I am, very truly,

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

December 21, 1864.—LETTERS TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 21, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER:

On the 9th of August last, I began to write you a letter, the inclosed being a copy of so much as I then wrote. So far as it goes it embraces the views I then entertained and still entertain.

A little relaxation of complaints made to me on the subject, occurring about that time, the letter was not finished and sent. I now learn, correctly I suppose, that you have ordered an election, similar to the one mentioned, to take place on the eastern shore of Virginia. Let this be suspended at least until conference with me and obtaining my approval. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Inclosure.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 9, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER:

Your paper of the —— about Norfolk matters, is received, as also was your other, on the same general subject, dated, I believe, some time in February last. This subject has caused considerable trouble, forcing me to give a good deal of time and reflection to it. I regret that crimination and recrimination are mingled in it. I surely need not to assure you that I have no doubt of your loyalty and devoted patriotism; and I must tell you that I have no less confidence in those of Governor Pierpoint and the Attorney-General. The former—at first as the loyal governor of all Virginia, including that which is now West Virginia, in organizing and furnishing troops, and in all other proper matters—was as earnest, honest, and efficient to the extent of his means as any other loyal governor.

The inauguration of West Virginia as a new State left to him, as he assumed, the remainder of the old State; and the insignificance of the parts which are outside of the rebel lines, and consequently within his reach, certainly gives a somewhat farcical air to his dominion, and I suppose he, as well as I, has considered that it could be useful for little else than as a nucleus to add to. The Attorney-General only needs to be known to be relieved from all question as to loyalty and thorough devotion to the national cause, constantly restraining as he does my tendency to clemency for rebels and rebel sympathizers. But he is the law-officer of the government, and a believer in the virtue of adhering to law.

Coming to the question itself, the military occupancy of Norfolk is a necessity with us. If you, as department commander, find the cleansing of the city necessary to prevent pestilence in your army; street-lights and a fire-department necessary to prevent assassinations and incendiarism among your men and stores; wharfage necessary to land and ship men and supplies; a large pauperism, badly conducted at a needlessly large expense to the government; and find also that these things, or any of them, are not reasonably well attended to by the civil government, you rightfully may and must take them into your own hands. But you should do so on your own avowed judgment of a military necessity, and not seem to admit that there is no such necessity by taking a vote of the people on the question.

Nothing justifies the suspending of the civil by the military authority, but military necessity; and of the existence of that neces-

sity, the military commander, and not a popular vote, is to decide. And whatever is not within such necessity should be left undisturbed.

In your paper of February you fairly notified me that you contemplated taking a popular vote, and, if fault there be, it was my fault that I did not object then, which I probably should have done had I studied the subject as closely as I have since done. I now think you would better place whatever you feel is necessary to be done on this distinct ground of military necessity, openly discarding all reliance for what you do on any election. I also think you should so keep accounts as to show every item of money received and how expended.

The course here indicated does not touch the case when the military commander, finding no friendly civil government existing, may, under the sanction or direction of the President, give assistance to the people to inaugurate one.

December 23, 1864.— Order to Commanders.

Executive Mansion, Washington, December 23, 1864.

All military and naval commanders will please give to James Harrison, Esq., of St. Louis, Missouri (with any number of steamboats not exceeding three, taking in tow any number of barges, scows, flats, and the like, not having steam-power, which they may be able to so take, with such goods and money as the treasury agents may grant permits for, under the rules of the Department and none other, and only with crews to navigate the whole, and necessary provisions for himself and said crews), protection and safe conduct from New Orleans or Memphis to Red River, and up said river and its tributaries, till he shall pass beyond our military lines; and also give him such protection and safe conduct on his return to our lines, back to New Orleans or Memphis, with any cargoes he may bring; and on his safe return from beyond our lines, with said boats and tows, allow him to repeat once or twice if he shall desire.

Abraham Lincoln.

December 24, 1864.— Telegram to J. McClernand.

Executive Mansion, Washington, December 24, 1864.

John McClernand, Nashville, Tennessee:

A letter of yours is laid before me, in which you seek to have John S. Young, James Mallory, and R. T. Bridges released, adding: "My word for it, they are innocent." It is fair to presume that you would not say this without knowing what you say to be true; but a telegraphic despatch of Governor Johnson, now before me, says this very man Mallory "has been guilty of the most outrageous and atrocious murders known to civilization," and that the "punishment of death is not half atonement for the crimes he has committed on the defenseless and unoffending Union men of the county." As I

know Governor Johnson would not purposely mislead me, I think it will be well for you to communicate the particulars of your information to him.

A. LINCOLN.

December 26, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 26, 1864.

My dear General Sherman: Many, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah.

When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge, and remembering that "nothing risked, nothing gained," I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours; for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce.

And taking the work of General Thomas into the count, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the obvious and immediate military advantages; but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service, and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole,—Hood's army,—it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next?

I suppose it will be safe if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.

Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army —officers and men. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

December 27, 1864.—LETTER TO J. MACLEAN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 27, 1864.

DR. JOHN MACLEAN.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your note of the 20th of December, conveying the announcement that the trustees of the College of New Jersey had conferred upon me the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The assurance conveyed by this high compliment, that the course of the government which I represent has received the approval of a body of gentlemen of such character and intelligence, in this time of public trial is most grateful to me.

Thoughtful men must feel that the fate of civilization upon this continent is involved in the issue of our contest. Among the most gratifying proofs of this conviction is the hearty devotion everywhere exhibited by our schools and colleges to the national cause.

I am most thankful if my labors have seemed to conduct to the preservation of those institutions under which alone we can expect good government—and in its train, sound learning and the progress of the liberal arts.

I am, sir, very truly, your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

December 28, 1864.— PASS FOR F. P. BLAIR, SR.

Allow the bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to pass our lines, go South, and return. A. LINCOLN.

December 28, 1864.

December 28, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 28, 1864. 5.30 P. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

If there be no objection, please tell me what you now understand of the Wilmington expedition, present and prospective.

A. LINCOLN.

December 28, 1864.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 28, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

I think you will find that the provost-marshal on the eastern shore has, as by your authority, issued an order, not for a meeting, but for an election. The order, printed in due form, was shown to me, but as I did not retain it, I cannot give you a copy. If the people, on their own motion, wish to hold a peaceful meeting, I suppose you need not to hinder them. A. LINCOLN.

December 29, 1864.— LETTER TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL SPEED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 29, 1864.

HON. ATTORNEY-GENERAL:

Please give me your opinion, in writing, whether the Secretary of the Navy, or any of his subordinates, is bound in law, on application of individuals, to furnish exemplified copies of records, or parts of records, of naval courts-martial on file in the Navy Department.

Also, whether the Secretary of the Navy, or any of his subordinates, is bound in law to answer to a commission of a State court, directing the taking of his or their testimony as to the contents of records of naval courts-martial on file in the Navy Department.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 2, 1865.— NOTE TO CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 2, 1865.

CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE.

My dear Sir: Without your note of to-day, I should have felt assured that some sufficient reason had detained you.

Allow me to condole with you in the sad bereavement you mention. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 5, 1865.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To the House of Representatives of the United States: I herewith return to your honorable body, in which it originated, a "joint resolution to correct certain clerical errors in the internal revenue act," without my approval.

My reason for so doing is that I am informed that this joint resolution was prepared during the last moments of the last session of Congress for the purpose of correcting certain errors of reference in the internal revenue act, which were discovered on an examination of an official copy procured from the State Department a few hours only before the adjournment. It passed the House and went to the Senate, where a vote was taken upon it, but by some accident it was not presented to the President of the Senate for his signature.

Since the adjournment of the last session of Congress, other errors of a kind similar to those which this resolution was designed to correct, have been discovered in the law, and it is now thought most expedient to include all the necessary corrections in one act or resolution.

The attention of the proper committee of the House has, I am informed, been already directed to the preparation of a bill for this purpose.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 5, 1865.

January 5, 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 5, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Richard T. Jacob, Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, is at the Spotswood House, in Richmond, under an order of General Burbridge not to return to Kentucky. Please communicate leave to him to pass our lines, and come to me here at Washington.

A. LINCOLN.

January 6, 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL N. J. T. DANA.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 6, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL DANA:

The attached document, purporting to be an order issued by your authority, is sent you with the request that you will inform me whether such order has been issued by you, and if it has, please inform me by what authority it is that you undertake to impose terms in the premises not imposed by the government, and which in effect entirely thwart and defeat the object of the government.

It is suggested that if executing in good faith the order of the government in the matter in question, or any other matter, operates

injuriously to the military service, it would be proper for you to report to the government fully upon it, and that would be the only proper course. Yours,

A. LINCOLN.

January 7, 1865.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of two treaties between the United States and Belgium, for the extinguishment of the Scheldt dues, etc., concluded on the 20th of May, 1863, and the 20th of July, 1863, respectively, the ratifications of which were exchanged at Brussels on the 24th of June last; and I recommend an appropriation to carry into effect the provisions thereof relative to the payment of the proportion of the United States toward the capitalization of the said dues.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1865.

January 7, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO R. L. FERGUSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 7, 1865.

R. L. FERGUSON, Provost-Marshal, Warrensburg, Missouri:

Suspend, until further order, proceedings to enforce a bond given by Hicklin, Hicklin & Spratt. It is not my view of the law that provost-marshals are to decide whether bonds are or are not forfeited.

A. LINCOLN.

January 9, 1865.—LETTER TO MRS. ———.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 9, 1865.

MADAM:

It is with regret I learned that your brother, whom I had ordered to be discharged on taking the oath, under the impression that he was a private, is a captain. By an understanding, the commissary of prisoners detains such cases until a further hearing from me. I now distinctly say that if your father shall come within our lines and take the oath of December 8, 1863, I will give him a full pardon, and will at the same time discharge your brother on his taking the oath, notwithstanding he is a captain.

Respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

January 9, 1865.—LETTER TO LYMAN TRUMBULL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 9, 1865.

HON. LYMAN TRUMBULL.

My dear Sir: The paper relating to Louisiana, submitted to the judiciary committee of the Senate, by General Banks, is herewith

returned. The whole of it is in accordance with my general impression, and I believe it is true; but much the larger part is beyond my absolute knowledge, as in its nature it must be. All the statements which lie within the range of my knowledge are strictly true; and I think of nothing material which has been omitted.

Even before General Banks went to Louisiana I was anxious for the loyal people there to move for reorganization, and restoration of proper practical relations with the Union; and when he at last expressed his decided conviction that the thing was practicable, I directed him to give his official coöperation to effect it. On the subject I have sent and received many letters to and from General Banks and many other persons. These letters, as you remember, were shown to you yesterday, as they will be again if you desire.

If I shall neither take sides nor argue, will it be out of place for me to make what I think is the true statement of your question as to the proposed Louisiana senators?

"Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relations with the Union sooner by admitting or by rejecting the proposed senators?" Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 9, 1865.—MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 9, 1865.

HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sir: I transmit herewith the letter of the Secretary of War, with accompanying report of the adjutant-general, in reply to the resolution of the House of Representatives, dated December 7, 1864, requesting me "to communicate to the House the report made by Colonel Thomas M. Key of an interview between himself and General Howell Cobb, on the fourteenth day of June, 1862, on the bank of the Chickahominy, on the subject of the exchange of prisoners of war." I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 10, 1865.—PROCLAMATION CONCERNING COMMERCE.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the act of Congress of the 28th of September, 1850, entitled "An act to create additional collection districts in the State of California, and to change the existing districts therein, and to modify the existing collection districts in the United States," extends to merchandise warehoused under bond the privilege of being exported to the British North American provinces adjoining the United States, in the manner prescribed in the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1845, which designates certain frontier ports

through which merchandise may be exported, and further provides "that such other ports situated on the frontiers of the United States, adjoining the British North American provinces, as may hereafter be found expedient, may have extended to them the like privileges on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, and proclamation duly made by the President of the United States, specially designating the ports to which the aforesaid privileges are to be extended";

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, do hereby declare and proclaim that the port of St. Albans, in the State of Vermont, is, and shall be, entitled to all the privileges in regard to the exportation of merchandise in bond to the British North American provinces adjoining the United States, which are extended to the ports enumerated in the seventh section of the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1845, aforesaid, from and after the date of this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington, this tenth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

January 10, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 10, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

No principal report of yours on the Wilmington expedition has ever reached the War Department, as I am informed there. A preliminary report did reach here, but was returned to General Grant at his request. Of course, leave to publish cannot be given without inspection of the paper, and not then if it should be deemed to be detrimental to the public service.

A. LINCOLN.

January 11, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. HOOKER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 11, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER, Cincinnati, Ohio:

It is said that you have ordered Andrew Humphreys to imprisonment at hard labor, in accordance with his original sentence, on the ground that it was not legally competent for General Hovey, having approved the sentence, to afterward modify it. While I incline to

the belief that you are technically right, please let General Hovey's modification be acted upon until further order from me.

A. LINCOLN.

Send copy to General Hovey at Indianapolis. A. L.

January 12, 1865.—TELEGRAM FROM THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECRETARY TO H. A. SWIFT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 12, 1865.

H. A. SWIFT, Warden Missouri Penitentiary, Jefferson City, Missouri:

The President does not remember the case of the petition of General H. Barnes, mentioned in your telegram. Pardons are usually made out formally and transmitted through official channels. The President's mere signature on a petition would not be a pardon unless it was signed to an explicit order for one. I cannot send a more definite answer to your question unless it is stated more in detail.

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

January 13, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 13, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

Yours asking leave to come to Washington is received. You have been summoned by the Committee on the Conduct of the War to attend here, which, of course, you will do.

A. LINCOLN.

January 14, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

You have perhaps seen in the papers that ex-Senator Foote, with his family, attempted to escape from Richmond to Washington, and that he was pursued and taken back. His wife and child are now here. Please give me the earliest information you may receive concerning him, what is likely to be done with him, etc.

A. LINCOLN.

January 14, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1865.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Yours announcing ordinance of emancipation received. Thanks to the convention and to you. When do you expect to be here? Would be glad to have your suggestions as to supplying your place of military governor.

A. LINCOLN.

January 15, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. M. DODGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 15, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL DODGE, St. Louis, Missouri:

It is represented to me that there is so much irregular violence in northern Missouri as to be driving away the people and almost depopulating it. Please gather information, and consider whether an appeal to the people there to go to their homes and let one another alone—recognizing as a full right of protection for each that he lets others alone, and banning only him who refuses to let others alone—may not enable you to withdraw the troops, their presence itself [being] a cause of irritation and constant apprehension, and thus restore peace and quiet, and returning prosperity. Please consider this and telegraph or write me.

A. LINCOLN.

January 18, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO R. T. JACOB.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 18, 1865.

HON. RICHARD T. JACOB.

Sir: You are at liberty to proceed to Kentucky, and to remain at large so far as relates to any cause now past. In what I now do, I decide nothing as to the right or wrong of your arrest, but act in the hope that there is less liability to misunderstanding among Union men now than there was at the time of the arrest.

Respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

January 18, 1865.—LETTER TO F. P. BLAIR, SR.

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

Sir: You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue, ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

January 19, 1865.—LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 19, 1865.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Dear Sir: You remember that from time to time appeals have been made to us by persons claiming to have attempted to come through our lines with their effects to take the benefit of the amnesty proclamation, and to have been despoiled of their effects

under General Butler's administration. Some of these claims have color of merit, and may be really meritorious. Please consider whether we cannot set on foot an investigation which may advance justice in the premises. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 19, 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 19, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Please read and answer this letter as though I was not President, but only a friend. My son, now in his twenty-second year, having graduated at Harvard, wishes to see something of the war before it ends. I do not wish to put him in the ranks, nor yet to give him a commission, to which those who have already served long are better entitled and better qualified to hold. Could he, without embarrassment to you or detriment to the service, go into your military family with some nominal rank, I, and not the public, furnishing his necessary means? If no, say so without the least hesitation, because I am as anxious and as deeply interested that you shall not be encumbered as you can be yourself. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 24, 1865.—LETTER TO W. L. GARRISON.

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1865.

My dear Mr. Garrison: I have your kind letter of the 21st of January, and can only beg that you will pardon the seeming neglect occasioned by my constant engagements. When I received the spirited and admirable painting, "Waiting for the Hour," I directed my secretary not to acknowledge its arrival at once, preferring to make my personal acknowledgments of the thoughtful kindness of the donors; and waiting for some leisure hour, I have committed the discourtesy of not replying at all. I hope you will believe that my thanks, though late, are most cordial, and request that you will convey them to those associated with you in this flattering and generous gift. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

January 24, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. M. DODGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 24, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL DODGE, St. Louis, Missouri:

It is said an old lady in Clay County, Missouri, by name Mrs. Winifred E. Price, is about being sent South. If she is not misbehaving let her remain.

A. LINCOLN.

January 24, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 24, 1865.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Several members of the Cabinet, with myself, considered the question, to-day, as to the time of your coming on here. While we fully appreciate your wish to remain in Tennessee until her State government shall be completely reinaugurated, it is our unanimous conclusion that it is unsafe for you to not be here on the 4th of March. Be sure to reach here by that time.

A. LINCOLN.

January 24, 1865.—REPLY TO A COMMITTEE.

Reverend Sir, and Ladies and Gentlemen: I accept with emotions of profoundest gratitude, the beautiful gift you have been pleased to present to me. You will, of course, expect that I acknowledge it. So much has been said about Gettysburg, and so well, that for me to attempt to say more may perhaps only serve to weaken the force of that which has already been said. A most graceful and eloquent tribute was paid to the patriotism and self-denying labors of the American ladies, on the occasion of the consecration of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, by our illustrious friend, Edward Everett, now, alas! departed from earth. His life was a truly great one, and I think the greatest part of it was that which crowned its closing years. I wish you to read, if you have not already done so, the eloquent and truthful words which he then spoke of the women of America. Truly, the services they have rendered to the defenders of our country in this perilous time, and are yet rendering, can never be estimated as they ought to be. For your kind wishes to me personally, I beg leave to render you likewise my sincerest thanks. I assure you they are reciprocated. And now, gentlemen and ladies, may God bless you all.

January 26, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO A. WAKEMAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 26, 1865.

ABRAM WAKEMAN, New York:

I have telegraphed W. O. Bartlett to come and see me. He neither comes nor answers. Can you not send him?

A. LINCOLN.

January 28, 1865.—INDORSEMENT ON LETTER TO F. P. BLAIR, SR., OF JANUARY 18, 1865.

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

Sir: You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue

ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 28, 1865.

To-day Mr. Blair tells me that on the 21st instant he delivered to Mr. Davis the original of which the within is a copy, and left it with him; that at the time of delivering it Mr. Davis read it over twice in Mr. Blair's presence, at the close of which he (Mr. Blair) remarked that the part about "our one common country" related to the part of Mr. Davis's letter about "the two countries," to which Mr. Davis replied that he so understood it.

A. LINCOLN.

January 30, 1865.—INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR ECKERT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 30, 1865.

MAJOR T. T. ECKERT.

Sir: You will proceed with the documents placed in your hands, and on reaching General Ord will deliver him the letter addressed to him by the Secretary of War. Then, by General Ord's assistance, procure an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, or any of them, deliver to him or them the paper on which your own letter is written. Note on the copy which you retain the time of delivery and to whom delivered. Receive their answer in writing, waiting a reasonable time for it, and which, if it contain their decision to come through without further condition, will be your warrant to ask General Ord to pass them through as directed in the letter of the Secretary of War to him. If by their answer they decline to come, or propose other terms, do not have them pass through. And this being your whole duty, return and report to me.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 31, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

A messenger is coming to you on the business contained in your despatch. Detain the gentlemen in comfortable quarters until he arrives, and then act upon the message he brings, as far as applicable, it having been made up to pass through General Ord's hands, and when the gentlemen were supposed to be beyond our lines.

A. LINCOLN.

January 31, 1865.— INSTRUCTIONS TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1865.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State:

You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq., of January 18, 1865, a copy of which you have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable — to wit:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything. Yours, etc.,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

January 31, 1865.— RESPONSE TO A SERENADE.

He supposed the passage through Congress of the constitutional amendment for the abolishment of slavery throughout the United States was the occasion to which he was indebted for the honor of this call.

The occasion was one of congratulation to the country, and to the whole world. But there is a task yet before us — to go forward and have consummated by the votes of the States that which Congress had so nobly begun yesterday. [Applause and cries, "They will do it," etc.] He had the honor to inform those present that Illinois had already to-day done the work. Maryland was about half through, but he felt proud that Illinois was a little ahead.

He thought this measure was a very fitting if not an indispensable adjunct to the winding up of the great difficulty. He wished the reunion of all the States perfected, and so effected as to remove all causes of disturbance in the future; and, to attain this end, it was necessary that the original disturbing cause should, if possible, be rooted out. He thought all would bear him witness that he had never shrunk from doing all that he could to eradicate slavery, by issuing an emancipation proclamation. But that proclamation falls short of what the amendment will be when fully consummated. A question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid. It might be urged, that it only aided those that came into our lines, and that it was inoperative as to those who did not give themselves up; or that it would have no effect upon the

children of slaves born hereafter; in fact, it would be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this amendment is a king's cure-all for all evils. It winds the whole thing up. He would repeat that it was the fitting if not the indispensable adjunct to the consummation of the great game we are playing. He could not but congratulate all present — himself, the country, and the whole world — upon this great moral victory.

February 1, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point:

Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder, or delay your military movements or plans.

A. LINCOLN.

February 1, 1865.— TELEGRAM FROM THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR ANDREW.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 1, 1865. 4.00 P. M.

JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts, Boston:

The President of the United States has just signed the resolution of Congress, submitting to the legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

February 1, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO MAJOR ECKERT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 1, 1865.

MAJOR T. T. ECKERT, care of General Grant, City Point, Virginia:

Call at Fortress Monroe, and put yourself under direction of Mr. Seward, whom you will find there.

A. LINCOLN.

February [1?], 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February [1?], 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Some time ago you telegraphed that you had stopped a Mr. Laws from passing our lines with a boat and cargo; and I directed you to be informed that you must be allowed to do as you please in such matters. To-night Mr. Laws calls on me, and I have told him, and now tell you, that the matter as to his passing the lines is under your control absolutely; and that he can have any relaxation you choose to give him and none other. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

February 2, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Say to the gentlemen I will meet them personally at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can get there.

A. LINCOLN.

February 2, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, 1865.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Fortress Monroe, Virginia:

Induced by a despatch of General Grant, I join you at Fort Monroe, as soon as I can come.

A. LINCOLN.

February 3, 1865.—LETTER TO J. F. DRIGGS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 3, 1865.

HON. J. F. DRIGGS, etc.

My dear Sir: I have received at your hands a very fine specimen of the Mackinaw salmon trout, and I beg that you will convey to Mr. Williams my cordial thanks for his kind thoughtfulness, and accept my acknowledgments for your courtesy in the transmission of his present. I am, sir, very truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

February 4, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO OFFICER COMMANDING AT JOHNSON'S ISLAND, OHIO.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 4, 1865.

Officer in command at Johnson's Island, Ohio: Parole Lieutenant John A. Stephens, prisoner of war, to report to me here in person, and send him to me. It is in pursuance of an arrangement I made yesterday with his uncle, Hon. A. H. Stephens. Acknowledge receipt.

A. LINCOLN.

February 5, 1865.—DRAFT OF MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, NOT SIGNED OR SENT.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I respectfully recommend that a joint resolution, substantially as follows, be adopted so soon as practicable by your honorable bodies: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the

United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby empowered, in his discretion, to pay $400,000,000 to the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia, in the manner and on the conditions following, to wit: The payment to be made in six per cent. government bonds, and to be distributed among said States *pro rata* on their respective slave populations as shown by the census of 1860, and no part of said sum to be paid unless all resistance to the national authority shall be abandoned and cease, on or before the first day of April next; and upon such abandonment and ceasing of resistance one half of said sum to be paid in manner aforesaid, and the remaining half to be paid only upon the amendment of the National Constitution recently proposed by Congress becoming valid law, on or before the first day of July next, by the action thereon of the requisite number of States."

The adoption of such resolution is sought with a view to embody it, with other propositions, in a proclamation looking to peace and reunion.

Whereas a joint resolution has been adopted by Congress, in the words following, to wit:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known, that on the conditions therein stated, the power conferred on the executive in and by said joint resolution will be fully exercised; that war will cease and armies be reduced to a basis of peace; that all political offenses will be pardoned; that all property, except slaves, liable to confiscation or forfeiture, will be released therefrom, except in cases of intervening interests of third parties; and that liberality will be recommended to Congress upon all points not lying within executive control.

[*Indorsement.*]

February 5, 1865. To-day these papers, which explain themselves, were drawn up and submitted to the cabinet and unanimously disapproved by them.

A. LINCOLN.

February 5, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 5, 1865.

HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE, Frankfort, Kentucky:

Your despatch received. Will send official copy of constitutional amendment by mail to-morrow, this being Sunday. Precedents justify the legislature to act on *ex-officio* notice of Congress having passed the proposed amendment; nevertheless, I will send you the authenticated copy.

A. LINCOLN.

February 6, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 6, 1865.

GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee:

Let the matter of the McKendree church remain as it is, without further action, until you see me.

A. LINCOLN.

February 6, 1865.—ORDER TO MAKE CORRECTIONS IN THE DRAFT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON CITY, February 6, 1865.

Whereas complaints are made in some localities respecting the assignments of quotas and credits allowed for the pending call of troops to fill up the armies: Now, in order to determine all controversies in respect thereto, and to avoid any delay in filling up the armies, it is ordered, That the Attorney-General, Brigadier-General Richard Delafield, and Colonel C. W. Foster, be, and they are hereby constituted, a board to examine into the proper quotas and credits of the respective States and districts under the call of December 19, 1864, with directions, if any errors be found therein, to make such corrections as the law and facts may require, and report their determination to the Provost-Marshal-General. The determination of said board to be final and conclusive, and the draft to be made in conformity therewith.

2. The Provost-Marshal-General is ordered to make the draft in the respective districts as speedily as the same can be done after the 15th of this month.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 7, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GLENN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 7, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GLENN, Commanding Post at Henderson, Kentucky:

Complaint is made to me that you are forcing negroes into the military service, and even torturing them—riding them on rails and the like—to extort their consent. I hope this may be a mistake. The like must not be done by you, or any one under you. You must not force negroes any more than white men. Answer me on this.

A. LINCOLN.

February 7, 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 7, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

General Singleton, who bears you this, claims that he already has arrangements made, if you consent, to bring a large amount of

Southern produce through your lines. For its bearing on our finances I would be glad for this to be done if it can be without injuriously disturbing your military operations, or supplying the enemy. I wish you to be judge and master on these points. Please see and hear him fully, and decide whether anything, and if anything what, can be done in the premises.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 8, 1865.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR SMITH.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 8, 1865.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR SMITH, of Vermont:

Complaint is made to me by Vermont that the assignment of her quota for the draft on the pending call is intrinsically unjust, and also in bad faith of the government's promise to fairly allow credits for men previously furnished. To illustrate, a supposed case is stated as follows:

Vermont and New Hampshire must, between them, furnish six thousand (6,000) men on the pending call, and being equals each must furnish as many as the other in the long run. But the government finds that on former calls Vermont furnished a surplus of five hundred (500), and New Hampshire a surplus of fifteen hundred (1,500). These two surpluses making two thousand (2,000), and added to the six thousand (6,000), making eight thousand (8,000) to be furnished by the two States, or four thousand (4,000) each, less by fair credits. Then subtract Vermont's surplus of five hundred (500) from her four thousand (4,000), leaves three thousand five hundred (3,500) as her quota on the pending call; and likewise subtract New Hampshire's surplus of fifteen hundred (1,500) from her four thousand (4,000), leaves two thousand five hundred (2,500) as her quota on the pending call. These three thousand five hundred (3,500) and two thousand five hundred (2,500) make precisely the six thousand (6,000) which the supposed case requires from the two States, and it is just equal for Vermont to furnish one thousand (1,000) more now than New Hampshire, because New Hampshire has heretofore furnished one thousand (1,000) more than Vermont, which equalizes the burdens of the two in the long run; and this result, so far from being bad faith to Vermont, is indispensable to keeping good faith with New Hampshire. By no other result can the six thousand (6,000) men be obtained from the two States, and at the same time deal justly and keep faith with both, and we do but confuse ourselves in questioning the process by which the right result is reached. The supposed case is perfect as an illustration.

The pending call is not for three hundred thousand (300,000) men subject to fair credits, but is for three hundred thousand (300,000) remaining after all fair credits have been deducted, and it is impossible to concede what Vermont asks without coming out short of the three hundred thousand (300,000) men, or making other localities pay for the partiality shown her.

This upon the case stated. If there be different reasons for making an allowance to Vermont, let them be presented and considered.

Yours truly, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 8, 1865.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives: The joint resolution, entitled "Joint resolution declaring certain States not entitled to representation in the electoral college," has been signed by the executive, in deference to the view of Congress implied in its passage and presentation to him. In his own view, however, the two Houses of Congress, convened under the twelfth article of the Constitution, have complete power to exclude from counting all electoral votes deemed by them to be illegal; and it is not competent for the executive to defeat or obstruct that power by a veto, as would be the case if his action were at all essential in the matter. He disclaims all right of the executive to interfere in any way in the matter of canvassing or counting electoral votes; and he also disclaims that, by signing said resolution, he has expressed any opinion on the recitals of the preamble, or any judgment of his own upon the subject of the resolution.

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1865. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 8, 1865.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a note of the 4th instant, addressed by J. Hume Burnley, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's chargé d'affaires, to the Secretary of State, relative to a sword which it is proposed to present to Captain Henry S. Stellwagen, commanding the United States frigate *Constellation*, as a mark of gratitude for his services to the British brigantine *Mersey*. The expediency of sanctioning the acceptance of the gift is submitted to your consideration.

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1865. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

February 8, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 8, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

I am called on by the House of Representatives to give an account of my interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, and it is very desirable to me to put in your despatch of February 1, to the Secretary of War, in which, among other things, you say: "I fear now their going back without any expression from any one in authority will have a bad influence." I think the despatch does you credit, while I do not see that it can embarrass you. May I use it?

A. LINCOLN.

February 9, 1865.—Reply to a Committee of Congress, Reporting the Result of the Electoral Count.

With deep gratitude to my countrymen for this mark of their confidence; with a distrust of my own ability to perform the duty required under the most favorable circumstances, and now rendered doubly difficult by existing national perils; yet with a firm reliance on the strength of our free government, and the eventual loyalty of the people to the just principles upon which it is founded, and above all with an unshaken faith in the Supreme Ruler of nations, I accept this trust. Be pleased to signify this to the respective Houses of Congress.

February 10, 1865.—Message to the House of Representatives.

To the Honorable the House of Representatives: In response to your resolution of the 8th instant, requesting information in relation to a conference recently held in Hampton Roads, I have the honor to state that on the day of the date I gave Francis P. Blair, Sr., a card written on as follows, to wit:

> Allow the bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to pass our lines, go south, and return.
> A. Lincoln.
> December 28, 1864.

That at the time I was informed that Mr. Blair sought the card as a means of getting to Richmond, Virginia; but he was given no authority to speak or act for the government, nor was I informed of anything he would say or do on his own account, or otherwise. Afterward Mr. Blair told me that he had been to Richmond, and had seen Mr. Jefferson Davis; and he (Mr. Blair) at the same time left with me a manuscript letter, as follows, to wit:

> Richmond, Virginia, January 12, 1865.
>
> F. P. Blair, Esq.
>
> *Sir:* I have deemed it proper, and probably desirable to you, to give you, in this form, the substance of remarks made by me, to be repeated by you to President Lincoln, etc., etc.
>
> I have no disposition to find obstacles in forms, and am willing, now as heretofore, to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace; am ready to send a commission whenever I have reason to suppose it will be received, or to receive a commission, if the United States Government shall choose to send one. That, notwithstanding the rejection of our former offers, I would, if you could promise that a commissioner, minister, or other agent would be received, appoint one immediately, and renew the effort to enter into conference, with a view to secure peace to the two countries. Yours, etc.,
>
> Jefferson Davis.

Afterward, and with the view that it should be shown to Mr. Davis, I wrote and delivered to Mr. Blair a letter as follows, to wit:

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

Sir: You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send to me, with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN.

Afterward Mr. Blair dictated for and authorized me to make an entry on the back of my retained copy of the letter last above recited, which entry is as follows:

January 28, 1865.

To-day Mr. Blair tells me that on the 21st instant he delivered to Mr. Davis the original, of which the within is a copy, and left it with him; that at the time of delivering it Mr. Davis read it over twice in Mr. Blair's presence, at the close of which he (Mr. Blair) remarked that the part about "our one common country" related to the part of Mr. Davis's letter about "the two countries," to which Mr. Davis replied that he so understood it.

A. LINCOLN.

Afterward the Secretary of War placed in my hands the following telegram, indorsed by him as appears:

(*Cipher.*)

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, January 29, 1865:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE JAMES, January 29, 1865. 6.30 P. M.

The following despatch just received from Major-General Parke, who refers it to me for my action. I refer it to you in Lieutenant-General Grant's absence.

E. O. C. ORD, Major-General Commanding.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, January 29, 1865. 4 P. M.

The following despatch is forwarded to you for your action. Since I have no knowledge of General Grant's having had any understanding of this kind, I refer the matter to you as the ranking officer present in the two armies.

JNO. G. PARKE, Major-General Commanding.

MAJOR-GENERAL E. O. C. ORD, Headquarters Army of the James.

FROM HEADQUARTERS NINTH ARMY CORPS, 29th.

Alex. H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter, and J. A. Campbell desire to cross my lines, in accordance with an understanding claimed to exist with Lieu-

tenant-General Grant, on their way to Washington as peace commissioners. Shall they be admitted? They desire an early answer, to come through immediately. Would like to reach City Point to-night if they can. If they cannot do this, they would like to come through at 10 A. M. to-morrow morning.

O. B. WILCOX, Major-General Commanding 9th Corps.

MAJOR-GENERAL JNO. G. PARKE, Headquarters Army of the Potomac.

Respectfully referred to the President for such instructions as he may be pleased to give.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

January 29, 1865. 8.30 P. M.

It appears that about the time of placing the foregoing telegram in my hands, the Secretary of War despatched General Ord as follows, to wit:

(*Sent in cipher at* 2 A. M., 30*th.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, January 29, 1865. 10 P. M.

This department has no knowledge of any understanding by General Grant to allow any person to come within his lines as commissioner of any sort. You will therefore allow no one to come into your lines under such character or profession until you receive the President's instructions, to whom your telegram will be submitted for his directions.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD.

Afterward, by my direction, the Secretary of War telegraphed General Ord as follows, to wit:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., January 30, 1865. 10.30 A. M.

By direction of the President, you are instructed to inform the three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, that a messenger will be despatched to them at or near where they now are without unnecessary delay.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

MAJOR-GENERAL E. O. C. ORD, Headquarters Army of the James.

Afterward I prepared and put into the hands of Major Thomas T. Eckert the following instructions and message:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, January 30, 1865.

MAJOR THOMAS T. ECKERT.

Sir: You will proceed with the documents placed in your hands, and, on reaching General Ord, will deliver him the letter addressed to him by the Secretary of War; then, by General Ord's assistance, procure an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, or any of them. Deliver to him or them the paper on which your own letter is written. Note on the copy which you retain the time of delivery and to whom delivered. Receive their answer in writing, waiting a reasonable time for it, and which,

if it contain their decision to come through without further condition, will be your warrant to ask General Ord to pass them through, as directed in the letter of the Secretary of War to him. If, by their answer, they decline to come, or propose other terms, do not have them passed through. And this being your whole duty, return and report to me.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSRS. ALEX. H. STEPHENS, J. A. CAMPBELL, AND R. M. T. HUNTER.

Gentlemen: I am instructed by the President of the United States to place this paper in your hands, with the information that if you pass through the United States military lines, it will be understood that you do so for the purpose of an informal conference on the basis of the letter, a copy of which is on the reverse side of this sheet, and that, if you choose to pass on such understanding, and so notify me in writing, I will procure the commanding general to pass you through the lines and to Fortress Monroe, under such military precautions as he may deem prudent, and at which place you will be met in due time by some person or persons, for the purpose of such informal conference. And, further, that you shall have protection, safe-conduct, and safe return in all events.

THOMAS T. ECKERT, Major and Aide-de-camp.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, February 1, 1865.

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1865.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

Sir: You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send to me, with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN.

Afterward, but before Major Eckert had departed, the following despatch was received from General Grant:

(*Cipher.*)

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram, received at Washington, January 31, 1865:

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, January 31, 1865. 10.30 A. M.

HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States:

The following communication was received here last evening:

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, January 30, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, Commanding Armies of the United States.

Sir: We desire to pass your lines under safe-conduct, and to proceed to Washington to hold a conference with President Lincoln upon the subject of the existing war, and with a view of ascertaining upon what terms it may be terminated, in pursuance of the course indicated by him in his letter to Mr. Blair of January 18, 1865, of which we presume you have a copy,

and if not we wish to see you in person, if convenient, and to confer with you upon the subject. Very respectfully yours,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.
J. A. CAMPBELL.
R. M. T. HUNTER.

I have sent directions to receive these gentlemen, and expect to have them at my quarters this evening, awaiting your instructions.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States.

This, it will be perceived, transferred General Ord's agency in the matter to General Grant. I resolved, however, to send Major Eckert forward with his message, and accordingly telegraphed General Grant as follows, to wit:

(*Sent in cipher at* 1.30 P. M.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

A messenger is coming to you on the business contained in your despatch. Detain the gentlemen in comfortable quarters until he arrives, and then act upon the message he brings as far as applicable, it having been made up to pass through General Ord's hands, and when the gentlemen were supposed to be beyond our lines.

A. LINCOLN.

When Major Eckert departed, he bore with him a letter of the Secretary of War to General Grant, as follows, to wit:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., January 30, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Commanding, etc.

General: The President desires that you will please procure for the bearer, Major Thomas T. Eckert, an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, and if, on his return to you, he request it, pass them through our lines to Fortress Monroe by such route and under such military precautions as you may deem prudent, giving them protection and comfortable quarters while there, and that you let none of this have any effect upon your movements or plans.

By order of the President.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

Supposing the proper point to be then reached, I despatched the Secretary of State with the following instructions, Major Eckert, however, going ahead of him:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1865.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State:

You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq., of January 18, 1865, a copy of which you

have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable, to wit:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say, and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything.

Yours, etc., ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On the day of its date, the following telegram was sent to General Grant:

(*Sent in cipher at* 9.30 A. M.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 1, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder, or delay your military movements or plans. A. LINCOLN.

Afterward the following despatch was received from General Grant:

(*In cipher.*)

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, 2.30 P. M., February 1, 1865:

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, February 1, 1865. 12.30 P. M.

HIS EXCELLENCY A. LINCOLN, President United States:

Your despatch received. There will be no armistice in consequence of the presence of Mr. Stephens, and others within our lines. The troops are kept in readiness to move at the shortest notice, if occasion should justify it.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

To notify Major Eckert that the Secretary of State would be at Fortress Monroe, and to put them in communication, the following despatch was sent:

(*Sent in cipher at* 5.30 P. M.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 1, 1865.

MAJOR T. T. ECKERT, CARE OF GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Call at Fortress Monroe, and put yourself under direction of Mr. Seward, whom you will find there. A. LINCOLN.

On the morning of the 2d instant, the following telegrams were received by me, respectively from the Secretary of State and Major Eckert:

FORT MONROE, VIRGINIA, February 1, 1865. 11.30 P. M.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

Arrived at ten this evening. Richmond party not here. I remain here.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, February 1, 1865. 10 P. M.

HIS EXCELLENCY A. LINCOLN, President of the United States:

I have the honor to report the delivery of your communication and my letter at 4.15 this afternoon, to which I received a reply at 6 P. M., but not satisfactory.

At 8 P. M. the following note, addressed to General Grant, was received:

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, February 1, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.

Sir: We desire to go to Washington city to confer informally with the President, personally, in reference to the matters mentioned in his letter to Mr. Blair, of the 18th of January, ultimo, without any personal compromise on any question in the letter.

We have the permission to do so from the authorities in Richmond.

Very respectfully yours,

ALEX. H. STEPHENS.
R. M. T. HUNTER.
J. A. CAMPBELL.

At 9.30 P. M., I notified them that they could not proceed further unless they complied with the terms expressed in my letter. The point of meeting designated in above note would not, in my opinion, be insisted upon. Think Fort Monroe would be acceptable. Having complied with my instructions, I will return to Washington to-morrow unless otherwise ordered.

THOS. T. ECKERT, Major, etc.

On reading this despatch of Major Eckert, I was about to recall him and the Secretary of State, when the following telegram of General Grant to the Secretary of War was shown me:

(*In cipher.*)

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, February 2, 1865. 4.35 A. M.:

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, February 1, 1865. 10.30 P. M.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

Now that the interview between Major Eckert, under his written instructions, and Mr. Stephens and party has ended, I will state confidentially, but not officially—to become a matter of record—that I am convinced, upon conversation with Messrs. Stephens and Hunter, that their intentions are good and their desire sincere to restore peace and union. I have not felt myself at liberty to express even views of my own, or to account for my reticency. This has placed me in an awkward position, which I could have avoided by not seeing them in the first instance. I fear now their going back without any expression from any one in authority will have a bad influence. At the same time, I recognize the difficulties in the way of receiving these informal commissioners at this time, and do not know what to

recommend. I am sorry, however, that Mr. Lincoln cannot have an interview with the two named in this despatch, if not all three now within our lines. Their letter to me was all that the President's instructions contemplated to secure their safe-conduct, if they had used the same language to Major Eckert.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

This despatch of General Grant changed my purpose; and accordingly I telegraphed him, and the Secretary of State, respectively, as follows:

(*Sent in cipher at* 9 A. M.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Say to the gentlemen I will meet them personally at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can get there.

A. LINCOLN.

(*Sent in cipher at* 9 A. M.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, 1865.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Fortress Monroe, Virginia:

Induced by a despatch from General Grant, I join you at Fort Monroe as soon as I can come.

A. LINCOLN.

Before starting the following despatch was shown me. I proceeded, nevertheless.

(*Cipher.*)

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, February 2, 1865:

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, February 2, 1865. 9 A. M.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State, Fort Monroe:

The gentlemen here have accepted the proposed terms, and will leave for Fort Monroe at 9.30 A. M.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

Copy to Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington.

On the night of the 2d, I reached Hampton Roads, found the Secretary of State and Major Eckert on a steamer anchored offshore, and learned of them that the Richmond gentlemen were on another steamer also anchored offshore, in the Roads; and that the Secretary of State had not yet seen or communicated with them. Here I ascertained that Major Eckert had literally complied with his instructions, and I saw, for the first time, the answer of the Richmond gentlemen to him, which, in his despatch to me of the 1st, he characterizes as "not satisfactory." That answer is as follows, to wit:

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, February 1, 1865.

THOMAS T. ECKERT, Major and Aide-de-camp.

Major: Your note, delivered by yourself this day, has been considered. In reply, we have to say that we were furnished with a copy of the letter of President Lincoln to Francis P. Blair, Esq., of the 18th of January, ultimo, another copy of which is appended to your note. Our instructions are contained in a letter, of which the following is a copy:

RICHMOND, January 28, 1865.

In conformity with the letter of Mr. Lincoln, of which the foregoing is a copy, you are to proceed to Washington city for informal conference with him upon the issues involved in the existing war, and for the purpose of securing peace to the two countries.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The substantial object to be obtained by the informal conference is to ascertain upon what terms the existing war can be terminated honorably.

Our instructions contemplate a personal interview between President Lincoln and ourselves at Washington city, but with this explanation we are ready to meet any person or persons that President Lincoln may appoint, at such place as he may designate. Our earnest desire is that a just and honorable peace may be agreed upon, and we are prepared to receive or to submit propositions which may, possibly, lead to the attainment of that end. Very respectfully yours,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.
R. M. T. HUNTER.
JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

A note of these gentlemen, subsequently addressed to General Grant, has already been given in Major Eckert's despatch of the 1st instant.

I also here saw, for the first time, the following note, addressed by the Richmond gentlemen to Major Eckert:

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, February 2, 1865.

THOMAS T. ECKERT, Major and Aide-de-camp.

Major: In reply to your verbal statement that your instructions did not allow you to alter the conditions upon which a passport could be given to us, we say that we are willing to proceed to Fortress Monroe, and there to have an informal conference with any person or persons that President Lincoln may appoint, on the basis of his letter to Francis P. Blair of the 18th of January, ultimo, or upon any other terms or conditions that he may hereafter propose, not inconsistent with the essential principles of self-government and popular rights upon which our institutions are founded.

It is our earnest wish to ascertain, after a free interchange of ideas and information, upon what principles and terms, if any, a just and honorable peace can be established without the further effusion of blood, and to contribute our utmost efforts to accomplish such a result.

We think it better to add, that, in accepting your passport, we are not to

be understood as committing ourselves to anything, but to carry to this informal conference the views and feelings above expressed.

Very respectfully yours, etc.,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.
J. A. CAMPBELL.
R. M. T. HUNTER.

NOTE.— The above communication was delivered to me at Fort Monroe at 4.30 P. M., February 2d, by Lieutenant-Colonel Babcock, of General Grant's staff.

THOMAS T. ECKERT, Major and Aide-de-camp.

On the morning of the 3d, the three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, came aboard of our steamer, and had an interview with the Secretary of State and myself, of several hours' duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there made or mentioned. No other person was present; no papers were exchanged or produced; and it was, in advance, agreed that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely.

On our part the whole substance of the instructions to the Secretary of State, hereinbefore recited, was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith; while, by the other party, it was not said that in any event or on any condition, they ever would consent to reunion; and yet they equally omitted to declare that they never would so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question, and the adoption of some other course first which, as some of them seemed to argue, might or might not lead to reunion; but which course, we thought, would amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result.

The foregoing, containing as is believed all the information sought, is respectfully submitted.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1865.

February 10, 1865.— MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 8th instant, requesting information concerning recent conversations or communications with insurgents, under executive sanction, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1865.

To the President: The Secretary of State, to whom was referred a resolution of the Senate of the 8th instant, requesting "the President of the United States, if, in his opinion, not incompatible with the public interests, to furnish to the Senate any information in his possession concerning recent conversations or communications with certain rebels, said to have taken place under executive sanction, including communications with the rebel

Jefferson Davis, and any correspondence relating thereto," has the honor to report that the Senate may properly be referred to a special message of the President bearing upon the subject of the resolution, and transmitted to the House this day. Appended to this report is a copy of an instruction which has been addressed to Charles Francis Adams, Esq., envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at London, and which is the only correspondence found in this department touching the subject referred to in the resolution.

Respectfully submitted, WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, February 10, 1865.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

(*Extract.*)

No. 1258.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, February 7, 1865.

. . . . . .

On the morning of the 3d, the President, attended by the Secretary, received Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell on board the United States steam transport *River Queen* in Hampton Roads. The conference was altogether informal. There was no attendance of secretaries, clerks, or other witnesses. Nothing was written or read. The conversation, although earnest and free, was calm, and courteous, and kind on both sides. The Richmond party approached the discussion rather indirectly, and at no time did they either make categorical demands, or tender formal stipulations or absolute refusals. Nevertheless, during the conference, which lasted four hours, the several points at issue between the government and the insurgents were distinctly raised, and discussed fully, intelligently, and in an amicable spirit. What the insurgent party seemed chiefly to favor was a postponement of the question of separation, upon which the war is waged, and a mutual direction of efforts of the government, as well as those of the insurgents, to some extrinsic policy or scheme for a season during which passions might be expected to subside, and the armies be reduced, and trade and intercourse between the people of both sections resumed. It was suggested by them that through such postponement we might now have immediate peace, with some not very certain prospect of an ultimate satisfactory adjustment of political relations between this government and the States, section, or people now engaged in conflict with it.

This suggestion, though deliberately considered, was nevertheless regarded by the President as one of armistice or truce, and he announced that we can agree to no cessation or suspension of hostilities, except on the basis of the disbandment of the insurgent forces, and the restoration of the national authority throughout all the States in the Union. Collaterally, and in subordination to the proposition which was thus announced, the antislavery policy of the United States was reviewed in all its bearings, and the President announced that he must not be expected to depart from the positions he had heretofore assumed in his proclamation of emancipation and other documents, as these positions were reiterated in his last annual message. It was further declared by the President that the complete restoration of the national authority was an indispensable condition of any assent on our part to whatever form of peace might be proposed. The President assured the other party that, while he must adhere to these positions, he would be prepared, so far as power is lodged with the executive, to exercise liberality. His power, however, is limited by the Constitution; and when peace should be made, Congress must necessarily act in regard to appropriations of money and to the admission of

representatives from the insurrectionary States. The Richmond party were then informed that Congress had, on the 31st ultimo, adopted by a constitutional majority a joint resolution submitting to the several States the proposition to abolish slavery throughout the Union, and that there is every reason to expect that it will be soon accepted by three-fourths of the States, so as to become a part of the national organic law.

The conference came to an end by mutual acquiescence, without producing an agreement of views upon the several matters discussed, or any of them. Nevertheless, it is perhaps of some importance that we have been able to submit our opinions and views directly to prominent insurgents, and to hear them in answer in a courteous and not unfriendly manner.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

February 10, 1865.—LETTER TO A. H. STEPHENS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 10, 1865.

HON. A. H. STEPHENS:

According to our agreement, your nephew, Lieutenant Stephens, goes to you bearing this note. Please, in return, to select and send to me that officer of the same rank imprisoned at Richmond, whose physical condition most urgently requires his release.

Respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

February 12, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 12, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE, St. Louis, Missouri:

I understand that provost-marshals in different parts of Missouri are assuming to decide that the conditions of bonds are forfeited, and therefore are seizing and selling property to pay damages. This, if true, is both outrageous and ridiculous. Do not allow it. The courts, and not provost-marshals, are to decide such questions unless when military necessity makes an exception. Also excuse John Eaton, of Clay County, and Wesley Martin, of Platt, from being sent South, and let them go East if anywhere.

A. LINCOLN.

February 13, 1865.—TO COMMANDING OFFICERS IN WEST TENNESSEE.

WASHINGTON, February 13, 1865.

TO THE MILITARY OFFICERS COMMANDING IN WEST TENNESSEE:

While I cannot order as within requested, allow me to say that it is my wish for you to relieve the people from all burdens, harassments, and oppressions, so far as is possible consistently with your military necessities; that the object of the war being to restore and

maintain the blessings of peace and good government, I desire you to help, and not hinder, every advance in that direction.

Of your military necessities you must judge and execute, but please do so in the spirit and with the purpose above indicated.

A. LINCOLN.

February 13, 1865.—MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a note of the 2d instant, addressed to the Secretary of State by the Commander J. C. de Figaniere é Morai, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his most faithful Majesty, the King of Portugal, calling attention to a proposed international exhibition at the city of Oporto, to be opened in August next, and inviting contributions thereto of the products of American manufactures and industry. The expediency of any legislation upon the subject is submitted for your consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, February 13, 1865.

February 14, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 14, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE, St. Louis, Missouri:

Yours of yesterday about provost-marshal system received. As part of the same subject, let me say I am now pressed in regard to a pending assessment in St. Louis County. Please examine and satisfy yourself whether this assessment should proceed or be abandoned; and if you decide that it is to proceed, please examine as to the propriety of its application to a gentleman by the name of Charles McLaran.

A. LINCOLN.

February 15, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 15, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please ascertain whether General Fisk's administration is as good as it might be, and answer me.

A. LINCOLN.

February 17, 1865.—PROCLAMATION CONVENING THE SENATE IN EXTRA SESSION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas objects of interest to the United States require that the Senate should be convened at twelve o'clock on the fourth of March

next to receive and act upon such communications as may be made to it on the part of the executive;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, have considered it to be my duty to issue this, my proclamation, declaring that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene for the transaction of business at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the fourth day of March next, at twelve o'clock at noon on that day, of which all who shall at that time be entitled to act as members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, at Washington, the seventeenth day of February, in the year
[L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

February 18, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL N. J. T. DANA.

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL DANA:

Allow the bearers of this paper to prove to you if they can that the foregoing statement of facts made on their representation by the Secretary of the Treasury is substantially true; and on their doing so to your satisfaction in a reasonable degree, allow them to bring out the products in the manner and on the terms indicated by the Secretary of the Treasury in the foregoing letter. The change of lines, if true as stated, justifies the dealing with the case, and similar cases, as special ones.

Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN.

February 20, 1865.—LETTER TO J. G. BENNETT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 20, 1865.

JAMES G. BENNETT, Esq.

Dear Sir: I propose, at some convenient and not distant day, to nominate you to the United States Senate as Minister to France.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

February 20, 1865.—LETTER TO GOVERNOR FLETCHER ON AFFAIRS IN MISSOURI.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 20, 1865.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR FLETCHER:

It seems that there is now no organized military force of the enemy in Missouri, and yet that destruction of property and life is rampant everywhere. Is not the cure for this within easy reach of the people themselves? It cannot but be that every man not nat-

urally a robber or cut-throat would gladly put an end to this state of things. A large majority in every locality must feel alike upon this subject; and if so, they only need to reach an understanding, one with another. Each leaving all others alone solves the problem; and surely each would do this but for his apprehension that others will not leave him alone. Cannot this mischievous distrust be removed? Let neighborhood meetings be everywhere called and held, of all entertaining a sincere purpose for mutual security in the future, whatever they may heretofore have thought, said, or done about the war, or about anything else. Let all such meet, and, waiving all else, pledge each to cease harassing others, and to make common cause against whoever persists in making, aiding, or encouraging further disturbance. The practical means they will best know how to adopt and apply. At such meetings old friendships will cross the memory, and honor and Christian charity will come in to help.

Please consider whether it may not be well to suggest this to the now afflicted people of Missouri.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

February 24, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 24, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

I am in a little perplexity. I was induced to authorize a gentleman to bring Roger A. Pryor here with a view of effecting an exchange of him; but since then I have seen a despatch of yours showing that you specially object to his exchange. Meantime he has reached here and reported to me. It is an ungracious thing for me to send him back to prison, and yet inadmissible for him to remain here long. Cannot you help me out with it? I can conceive that there may be difference to you in days, and I can keep him a few days to accommodate on that point. I have not heard of my son's reaching you.

A. LINCOLN.

February 24, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. PALMER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 24, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL PALMER, Louisville, Kentucky:

Please telegraph me an exact copy of the order of John C. Breckinridge borne by Colonel Robert J. Breckinridge.

A. LINCOLN.

February 25, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

General Sheridan's despatch to you, of to-day, in which he says he "will be off on Monday," and that he "will leave behind about

2000 men," causes the Secretary of War and myself considerable anxiety. Have you well considered whether you do not again leave open the Shenandoah Valley entrance to Maryland and Pennsylvania, or, at least, to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad?

A. LINCOLN.

February 27, 1865.—LETTER TO H. W. BEECHER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 27, 1865.

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 4th and the 21st reached me together only two days ago.

I now thank you for both. Since you wrote the former the whole matter of the negotiation, if it can be so called, has been published, and you doubtless have seen it. When you were with me on the evening of the 1st, I had no thought of going in person to meet the Richmond gentlemen. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

February 27, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 27, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Subsequent reflection, conference with General Halleck, your despatch, and one from General Sheridan, have relieved my anxiety; and so I beg that you will dismiss any concern you may have on my account, in the matter of my last despatch.

A. LINCOLN.

February 27, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR FLETCHER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 27, 1865.

GOVERNOR FLETCHER, Jefferson City, Missouri:

Have you received my letter of the 20th? I think some such thing as therein suggested is needed. If you put it before the people, I will direct the military to coöperate. Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

March 1, 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL SCOTT AND OTHERS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 1, 1865.

To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT, President; HOWARD POTTER, WM. E. DODGE, JR., and THEO. ROOSEVELT.

Gentlemen: I have received your address on the part of the Bureau for the Employment of Disabled and Discharged Soldiers

which has recently been established in connection with the Protective War Claim Association of the Sanitary Commission.

It gives me pleasure to assure you of my hearty concurrence with the purposes you announce, and I shall at all times be ready to recognize the paramount claims of the soldiers of the nation in the disposition of public trusts. I shall be glad also to make these suggestions to the several heads of departments.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

March 2, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

You have not sent contents of Richmond papers for Tuesday or Wednesday. Did you not receive them? If not, does it indicate anything?

A. LINCOLN.

March 3, 1865.—TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1865. 12 P. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

The President directs me to say that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political questions. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meanwhile you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

March 4, 1865.—SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it —all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

March 5, 1865.—NOTE TO CHARLES SUMNER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 5, 1865.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

My dear Sir: I should be pleased for you to accompany us tomorrow evening at ten o'clock on a visit of half an hour to the inaugural ball. I inclose a ticket. Our carriage will call for you at half-past nine. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 6, 1865.—NOTE TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 6, 1865.

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE.

My dear Sir: I have some wish that Thomas D. Jones, of Cincinnati, and John J. Piatt, now in this city, should have some of those moderate sized consulates which facilitate artists a little in their profession. Please watch for chances.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

March 7, 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 7, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

In accordance with a joint resolution of Congress, approved December 17, 1863, I now have the honor of transmitting and presenting to you, in the name of the people of the United States of America, a copy of said resolution, engrossed on parchment, together with the gold medal therein ordered and directed.

Please accept for yourself and all under your command the renewed expression of my gratitude for your and their arduous and well-performed public service.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

March 7, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL JOHN POPE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 7, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please state briefly, by telegraph, what you concluded about the assessments in St. Louis County. Early in the war one Samuel B. Churchill was sent from St. Louis to Louisville, where I have quite satisfactory evidence that he has not misbehaved. Still I am told his property at St. Louis is subjected to the assessment, which I think it ought not to be. Still I wish to know what you think.

A. LINCOLN.

March 8, 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 8, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Your two despatches to the Secretary of War, one relating to supplies for the enemy going by the Blackwater, and the other to General Singleton and Judge Hughes, have been laid before me by him. As to Singleton and Hughes, I think they are not in Richmond by any authority, unless it be from you. I remember nothing from me which could aid them in getting there, except a letter to you, as follows, to wit:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON CITY, February 7, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

General Singleton, who bears you this, claims that he already has arrangements made, if you consent, to bring a large amount of Southern produce through your lines. For its bearing on our finances, I would be glad for this to be done, if it can be, without injuriously disturbing your military operations, or supplying the enemy. I wish you to be judge and master on these points. Please see and hear him fully, and decide whether anything, and, if anything, what, can be done in the premises.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

I believe I gave Hughes a card putting him with Singleton on the same letter. However this may be, I now authorize you to get Singleton and Hughes away from Richmond, if you choose, and can. I also authorize you, by an order, or in what form you choose, to suspend all operations on the Treasury-trade permits, in all places southeastward of the Alleghanies. If you make such order, notify me of it, giving a copy, so that I can give corresponding direction to the Navy.

A. LINCOLN.

March 9, 1865.—LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 9, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

I see your despatch to the Secretary of War, objecting to rebel prisoners being allowed to take the oath and go free. Supposing that I am responsible for what is done in this way, I think fit to say that there is no general rule of action, allowing prisoners to be discharged merely on taking the oath. What has been done is that members of Congress come to me, from time to time, with lists of names, alleging that from personal knowledge, and evidence of reliable persons, they are satisfied that it is safe to discharge the particular persons named on the lists, and I have ordered their discharge. These members are chiefly from the border States, and those they get discharged are their neighbors and neighbors' sons. They tell me that they do not bring to me one-tenth of the names

which are brought to them, bringing only such as their knowledge or the proof satisfies them about. I have, on the same principle, discharged some on the representations of others than members of Congress; as, for instance, Governor Johnson, of Tennessee. The number I have discharged has been rather larger than I liked, reaching, I should think, an average of fifty a day since the recent general exchange commenced. On the same grounds, last year, I discharged quite a number at different times, aggregating perhaps a thousand Missourians and Kentuckians; and their members, returning here since the prisoners' return to their homes, report to me only two cases of proving false. Doubtless some more have proved false; but, on the whole, I believe what I have done in this way has done good rather than harm.

A. LINCOLN.

March 11, 1865.—PROCLAMATION OFFERING PARDON TO DESERTERS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the twenty-first section of the act of Congress approved on the third instant, entitled "An act to amend the several acts heretofore passed to provide for the enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," requires:

That in addition to the other lawful penalties of the crime of desertion from the military or naval service, all persons who have deserted the military or naval service of the United States who shall not return to said service, or report themselves to a Provost Marshal within sixty days after the proclamation hereinafter mentioned, shall be deemed and taken to have voluntarily relinquished and forfeited their rights of citizenship and their rights to become citizens, and such deserters shall be forever incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, or of exercising any rights of citizens thereof; and all persons who shall hereafter desert the military or naval service, and all persons who, being duly enrolled, shall depart the jurisdiction of the district in which he is enrolled, or go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to avoid any draft into the military or the naval service, duly ordered, shall be liable to the penalties of this section. And the President is hereby authorized and required forthwith, on the passage of this act, to issue his proclamation setting forth the provisions of this section, in which proclamation the President is requested to notify all deserters returning within sixty days as aforesaid, that they shall be pardoned on condition of returning to their regiments and companies, or to such other organizations as they may be assigned to, until they shall have served for a period of time equal to their original term of enlistment.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, as required by said act, ordering and requiring all deserters to return to their proper posts; and I do hereby notify them that all deserters who shall within sixty days from the date of this proclamation—viz., on

or before the tenth day of May, 1865—return to service, or report themselves to a Provost Marshal, shall be pardoned, on condition that they return to their regiments and companies, or to such other organizations as they may be assigned to, and serve the remainder of their original terms of enlistment, and, in addition thereto, a period equal to the time lost by desertion.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eleventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hun-
[L. S.] dred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

March 13, 1865.—LETTER TO J. Z. GOODRICH.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 13, 1865.

HON. JOHN Z. GOODRICH.

My dear Sir: Your official term expires about this time. I know not whether you desire a reappointment, and I am not aware of any objection to you—personal, political, or official. Yet if it be true, as I have been informed, that the office is of no pecuniary consequence to you, it would be quite a relief to me to have it at my disposal. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

March 15, 1865.—LETTER TO THURLOW WEED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., March 15, 1865.

DEAR MR. WEED:

Every one likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it. Truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

March 17, 1865.—ADDRESS TO AN INDIANA REGIMENT.

Fellow-citizens: A few words only. I was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, reside in Illinois, and now, here, it is my duty to

care equally for the good people of all the States. I am to-day glad of seeing it in the power of an Indiana regiment to present this captured flag to the good governor of their State; and yet I would not wish to compliment Indiana above other States, remembering that all have done so well.

There are but few aspects of this great war on which I have not already expressed my views by speaking or writing. There is one—the recent effort of "our erring brethren," sometimes so called, to employ the slaves in their armies. The great question with them has been, "Will the negro fight for them?" They ought to know better than we, and doubtless do know better than we. I may incidentally remark, that having in my life heard many arguments—or strings of words meant to pass for arguments—intended to show that the negro ought to be a slave—if he shall now really fight to keep himself a slave, it will be a far better argument why he should remain a slave than I have ever before heard. He, perhaps, ought to be a slave if he desires it ardently enough to fight for it. Or, if one out of four will, for his own freedom, fight to keep the other three in slavery, he ought to be a slave for his selfish meanness. I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others. Whenever I hear any one arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.

There is one thing about the negro's fighting for the rebels which we can know as well as they can, and that is that they cannot at the same time fight in their armies and stay at home and make bread for them. And this being known and remembered, we can have but little concern whether they become soldiers or not. I am rather in favor of the measure, and would at any time, if I could, have loaned them a vote to carry it. We have to reach the bottom of the insurgent resources; and that they employ, or seriously think of employing, the slaves as soldiers, gives us glimpses of the bottom. Therefore I am glad of what we learn on this subject.

March 17, 1865.—Proclamation concerning Indians.

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas reliable information has been received that hostile Indians, within the limits of the United States, have been furnished with arms and munitions of war by persons dwelling in conterminous foreign territory, and are thereby enabled to prosecute their savage warfare upon the exposed and sparse settlements of the frontier;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and direct that all persons detected in that nefarious traffic shall be arrested and

tried by court-martial at the nearest military post, and if convicted, shall receive the punishment due to their deserts.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred
[L. S.] and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

March 18, 1865.—ORDER ANNULLING THE SENTENCE AGAINST BENJAMIN G. SMITH AND FRANKLIN W. SMITH.

I am unwilling for the sentence to stand, and be executed, to any extent in this case. In the absence of a more adequate motive than the evidence discloses, I am wholly unable to believe in the existence of criminal or fraudulent intent on the part of men of such well established good character. If the evidence went as far to establish a guilty profit of one or two hundred thousand dollars, as it does of one or two hundred dollars, the case would, on the question of guilt, bear a far different aspect. That on this contract, involving some twelve hundred thousand dollars, the contractors would plan, and attempt to execute a fraud, which, at the most, could profit them only one or two hundred, or even one thousand dollars, is to my mind beyond the power of rational belief. That they did not, in such a case, make far greater gains, proves that they did not, with guilty or fraudulent intent, make at all. The judgment and sentence are disapproved, and declared null, and the defendants are fully discharged.

March 18, 1865. A. LINCOLN.

March 19, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. POPE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 19, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE, St. Louis, Missouri:

Understanding that the plan of action for Missouri contained in your letter to the governor of that State, and your other letter to me, is concurred in by the governor, it is approved by me, and you will be sustained in proceeding upon it.

A. LINCOLN.

March 20, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR SWANN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 20, 1865.

GOVERNOR SWANN, Baltimore, Maryland:

I wish you would find Cresswell and bring him with you, and see me to-morrow.

A. LINCOLN.

March 20, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 20, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Your kind invitation received. Had already thought of going immediately after the next rain. Will go sooner if any reason for it. Mrs. Lincoln and a few others will probably accompany me. Will notify you of exact time, once it shall be fixed upon.

A. LINCOLN.

March 21, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO JUDGE SCATES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 21, 1865.

HON. WALTER B. SCATES, Centralia, Illinois:

If you choose to go to New Mexico and reside, I will appoint you chief justice there. What say you? Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

March 21, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO CAPTAIN LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1865.

CAPTAIN R. T. LINCOLN, City Point, Virginia:

We now think of starting to you about 1 P. M. Thursday. Don't make public.

A. LINCOLN.

March 22, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 22, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK, Winchester, Virginia:

Seeing your despatch about General Crook, and fearing that through misapprehension something unpleasant may occur, I send you below two despatches of General Grant, which I suppose will fully explain General Crook's movements.

A. LINCOLN.

March 23, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 23, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

We start to you at 1 P. M. to-day. May lie over during the dark hours of the night. Very small party of us.

A. LINCOLN.

March 25, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, March 25, 1865. 8.30 A. M.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR, Washington, D. C.:

Arrived here all safe about 9 P. M. yesterday. No war news. General Grant does not seem to know very much about Yeatman, but thinks very well of him so far as he does know.

I like Mr. Whiting very much, and hence would wish him to remain or resign as best suits himself. Hearing this much from me, do as you think best in the matter. General Lee has sent the Russell letter back, concluding, as I understand from Grant, that their dignity does not admit of their receiving the document from us. Robert just now tells me there was a little rumpus up the line this morning, ending about where it began.

A. LINCOLN.

March 27, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, March 27, 1865. 3.35 P. M.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR, Washington, D. C.:

Yours inclosing Fort Sumter order received. I think of but one suggestion. I feel quite confident that Sumter fell on the 13th, and not on the 14th of April, as you have it. It fell on Saturday, the 13th; the first call for troops on our part was got up on Sunday, the 14th, and given date and issued on Monday, the 15th. Look up the old almanac and other data, and see if I am not right.

A. LINCOLN.

March 28, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, March 28, 1865. 12 M.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR, Washington, D. C.:

After your explanation, I think it is little or no difference whether the Fort Sumter ceremony takes place on the 13th or 14th.

General Sherman tells me he is well acquainted with James Yeatman, and that he thinks him almost the best man in the country for anything he will undertake.

A. LINCOLN.

March 31, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, March 31, 1865. 3 P. M.

SECRETARY STANTON:

At 12.30 P. M. to-day General Grant telegraphed me as follows:

There has been much hard fighting this morning. The enemy drove our left from near Dabney's house back well toward the Boydton plank road.

We are now about to take the offensive at that point, and I hope will more than recover the lost ground.

Later he telegraphed again as follows:

Our troops, after being driven back to the Boydton plank road, turned and drove the enemy in turn, and took the White Oak road, which we now have. This gives us the ground occupied by the enemy this morning. I will send you a rebel flag captured by our troops in driving the enemy back. There have been four flags captured to-day.

Judging by the two points from which General Grant telegraphs, I infer that he moved his headquarters about one mile since he sent the first of the two despatches.

A. LINCOLN.

April 1, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON.

CITY POINT, April 1, 1865. 12.50 P. M.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR, Washington, D. C.:

I have had two despatches from General Grant since my last to you, but they contain little additional, except that Sheridan also had pretty hot work yesterday, that infantry was sent to his support during the night, and that he (Grant) has not since heard from Sheridan.

Mrs. Lincoln has started home, and I will thank you to see that our coachman is at the Arsenal wharf at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, there to wait until she arrives.

A. LINCOLN.

April 1, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

CITY POINT, April 1, 1865. 5.45 P. M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Yours showing Sheridan's success of to-day is just received, and highly appreciated. Having no great deal to do here, I am still sending the substance of your despatches to the Secretary of War.

A. LINCOLN.

April 2, 1865.—TELEGRAMS TO SECRETARY STANTON.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, April 2, 1865. 8.30 A. M.

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

Last night General Grant telegraphed that General Sheridan, with his cavalry and the Fifth Corps, had captured three brigades of infantry, a train of wagons, and several batteries; the prisoners amounting to several thousand.

This morning General Grant, having ordered an attack along the whole line, telegraphs as follows:

Both Wright and Parke got through the enemy's lines. The battle now rages furiously. General Sheridan, with his cavalry, the Fifth Corps, and Miles's Division of the Second Corps, which was sent to him this morning, is now sweeping down from the west.

All now looks highly favorable. General Ord is engaged, but I have not yet heard the result in his front.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, April 2. 11.00 A. M.

Despatches are frequently coming in. All is going on finely. Generals Parke, Wright, and Ord's lines are extending from the Appomattox to Hatcher's Run. They have all broken through the enemy's intrenched lines, taking some forts, guns, and prisoners.

Sheridan, with his own cavalry, the Fifth Corps, and part of the Second, is coming in from the west on the enemy's flank. Wright is already tearing up the Southside Railroad.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, April 2. 2 P. M.

At 10.45 A. M. General Grant telegraphs as follows:

Everything has been carried from the left of the Ninth Corps. The Sixth Corps alone captured more than 3000 prisoners. The Second and Twenty-fourth Corps captured forts, guns, and prisoners from the enemy, but I cannot tell the numbers. We are now closing around the works of the line immediately enveloping Petersburg. All looks remarkably well. I have not yet heard from Sheridan. His headquarters have been moved up to Banks's house, near the Boydton road, about three miles southwest of Petersburg.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, April 2. 8.30 P. M.

At 4.30 P. M. to-day General Grant telegraphs as follows:

We are now up and have a continuous line of troops, and in a few hours will be intrenched from the Appomattox below Petersburg to the river above. The whole captures since the army started out will not amount to less than 12,000 men, and probably fifty pieces of artillery. I do not know the number of men and guns accurately, however. A portion of Foster's Division, Twenty-fourth Corps, made a most gallant charge this afternoon, and captured a very important fort from the enemy, with its entire garrison. All seems well with us, and everything is quiet just now.

A. LINCOLN.

April 3, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, April 3, 1865. 8.30 A. M.

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

This morning Lieutenant-General Grant reports Petersburg evacuated, and he is confident that Richmond also is.

He is pushing forward to cut off, if possible, the retreating rebel army.

A. LINCOLN.

April 5, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BANKS.

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, April 5, 1865. 7.30 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL N. P. BANKS, New York:

Yours of to-day just received. I have been so much occupied with other thoughts that I really have no directions to give you. You may go at once, and you and I will correspond when desired by either.

A. LINCOLN, President.

April 5, 1865.— UNSIGNED MEMORANDUM GIVEN TO J. A. CAMPBELL.

As to peace, I have said before, and now repeat, that three things are indispensable:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout the United States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government. That all propositions coming from those now in hostility to the government, not inconsistent with the foregoing, will be respectfully considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality.

I now add that it seems useless for me to be more specific with those who will not say that they are ready for the indispensable terms, even on conditions to be named by themselves. If there be any who are ready for these indispensable terms, on any conditions whatever, let them say so, and state their conditions, so that the conditions can be known and considered. It is further added, that the remission of confiscation being within the executive power, if the war be now further persisted in by those opposing the government, the making of confiscated property at the least to bear the additional cost will be insisted on, but that confiscations (except in case of third party intervening interests) will be remitted to the people of any State which shall now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops from further resistance to the government. What is now said as to the remission of confiscation has no reference to supposed property in slaves.

April 6, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
CITY POINT, April 6, 1865. 12 M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, in the Field:

Secretary Seward was thrown from his carriage yesterday and seriously injured. This, with other matters, will take me to Washington soon. I was at Richmond yesterday and the day before,

when and where Judge Campbell, who was with Messrs. Hunter and Stephens in February, called on me, and made such representations as induced me to put in his hands an informal paper, repeating the propositions in my letter of instructions to Mr. Seward, which you remember, and adding that if the war be now further persisted in by the rebels, confiscated property shall at the least bear the additional cost, and that confiscation shall be remitted to the people of any State which will now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops and other support from resistance to the government.

Judge Campbell thought it not impossible that the rebel legislature of Virginia would do the latter if permitted; and accordingly I addressed a private letter to General Weitzel, with permission to Judge Campbell to see it, telling him (General Weitzel) that if they attempt this, to permit and protect them, unless they attempt something hostile to the United States, in which case to give them notice and time to leave, and to arrest any remaining after such time.

I do not think it very probable that anything will come of this, but I have thought best to notify you so that if you should see signs you may understand them.

From your recent despatches it seems that you are pretty effectually withdrawing the Virginia troops from opposition to the government. Nothing that I have done, or probably shall do, is to delay, hinder, or interfere with your work.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

April 6, 1865.— TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. WEITZEL.

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
CITY POINT, April 6, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL WEITZEL, Richmond, Virginia:

It has been intimated to me that the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion may now desire to assemble at Richmond and take measures to withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government. If they attempt it, give them permission and protection, until, if at all, they attempt some action hostile to the United States, in which case you will notify them, give them reasonable time to leave, and at the end of which time arrest any who remain. Allow Judge Campbell to see this, but do not make it public.

A. LINCOLN.

April 10, 1865.— RESPONSE TO A CALL.

If the company had assembled by appointment, some mistake had crept into their understanding. He had appeared before a larger audience than this one to-day, and he would repeat what he then said — namely, he supposed owing to the great good news there would be some demonstration. He would prefer to-morrow evening, when he should be quite willing, and he hoped ready, to say something.

He desired to be particular, because everything he said got into print. Occupying the position he did, a mistake would produce harm, and therefore he wanted to be careful not to make a mistake.

April 10, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR PIERPOINT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 10, 1865.

GOVERNOR PIERPOINT, Alexandria, Virginia:

Please come up and see me at once. A. LINCOLN.

April 11, 1865.—PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by my proclamations of the nineteenth and twenty-seventh days of April, 1861, the ports of the United States, in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, were declared to be subject to blockade; but whereas the said blockade has, in consequence of actual military occupation by this government, since been conditionally set aside or relaxed in respect to the ports of Norfolk and Alexandria, in the State of Virginia; Beaufort, in the State of North Carolina; Port Royal, in the State of South Carolina; Pensacola and Fernandina, in the State of Florida; and New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana;

And whereas, by the fourth section of the act of Congress, approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," the President, for the reasons therein set forth, is authorized to close certain ports of entry;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim that the ports of Richmond, Tappahannock, Cherrystone, Yorktown, and Petersburg, in Virginia; of Camden (Elizabeth City), Edenton, Plymouth, Washington, Newbern, Ocracoke, and Wilmington, in North Carolina; of Charleston, Georgetown, and Beaufort, in South Carolina; of Savannah, St. Mary's, and Brunswick (Darien), in Georgia; of Mobile, in Alabama; of Pearl River (Shieldsborough), Natchez, and Vicksburg, in Mississippi; of St. Augustine, Key West, St. Mark's (Port Leon), St. John's (Jacksonville), and Appalachicola, in Florida; of Teche (Franklin), in Louisiana; of Galveston, La Salle, Brazos de Santiago (Point Isabel), and Brownsville, in Texas, are hereby closed, and all right of importation, warehousing, and other privileges shall, in respect to the ports aforesaid, cease until they shall have again been opened by order of the President; and if, while said ports are so closed, any ship or vessel from beyond the United States, or having on board any articles subject to duties,

shall attempt to enter any such ports, the same, together with its tackle, apparel, furniture, and cargo, shall be forfeited to the United States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eleventh day of
[L. S.] April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

April 11, 1865.—PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by my proclamation of this date, the port of Key West, in the State of Florida, was inadvertently included among those which are not open to commerce;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby declare and make known that the said port of Key West is and shall remain open to foreign and domestic commerce upon the same conditions by which that commerce has there hitherto been governed.

In testimony whereof, I have hereto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eleventh day of
[L. S.] April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

April 11, 1865.—PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, for some time past, vessels of war of the United States have been refused, in certain foreign ports, privileges and immunities to which they were entitled by treaty, public law, or the comity of nations, at the same time that vessels of war of the country wherein the said privileges and immunities have been withheld, have enjoyed them fully and uninterruptedly in ports of the United States, which condition of things has not always been forcibly resisted by the United States, although, on the other hand, they have not at any time failed to protest against and declare their dissatisfaction with the same; [and whereas,] in the view of the United

States, no condition any longer exists which can be claimed to justify the denial to them, by any one of such nations, of customary naval rights, as has heretofore been so unnecessarily persisted in;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby make known, that if, after a reasonable time shall have elapsed for intelligence of this proclamation to have reached any foreign country in whose ports the said privileges and immunities shall have been refused, as aforesaid, they shall continue to be so refused; then and thenceforth the same privileges and immunities shall be refused to the vessels of war of that country in the ports of the United States, and this refusal shall continue until war-vessels of the United States shall have been placed upon an entire equality in the foreign ports aforesaid with similar vessels of other countries. The United States, whatever claim or pretense may have existed heretofore, are now, at least, entitled to claim and concede an entire and friendly equality of rights and hospitalities with all maritime nations.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

[L. S.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

April 11, 1865.— LAST PUBLIC ADDRESS.

We meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hope of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part give us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked. Their honors must not be parceled out with others. I myself was near the front, and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you; but no part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To General Grant, his skilful officers and brave men, all belongs. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part.

By these recent successes the reinauguration of the national authority — reconstruction — which has had a large share of thought from the first, is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with — no one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mold from, disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as

to the mode, manner, and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana.

In this I have done just so much as, and no more than, the public knows. In the annual message of December, 1863, and in the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction, as the phrase goes, which I promised, if adopted by any State, should be acceptable to and sustained by the executive government of the nation. I distinctly stated that this was not the only plan which might possibly be acceptable, and I also distinctly protested that the executive claimed no right to say when or whether members should be admitted to seats in Congress from such States. This plan was in advance submitted to the then Cabinet, and distinctly approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then and in that connection apply the Emancipation Proclamation to the theretofore excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana; that I should drop the suggestion about apprenticeship for freed people, and that I should omit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members to Congress. But even he approved every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana.

The new constitution of Louisiana, declaring emancipation for the whole State, practically applies the proclamation to the part previously excepted. It does not adopt apprenticeship for freed people, and it is silent, as it could not well be otherwise, about the admission of members to Congress. So that, as it applies to Louisiana, every member of the Cabinet fully approved the plan. The message went to Congress, and I received many commendations of the plan, written and verbal, and not a single objection to it from any professed emancipationist came to my knowledge until after the news reached Washington that the people of Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it. From about July, 1862, I had corresponded with different persons supposed to be interested [in] seeking a reconstruction of a State government for Louisiana. When the message of 1863, with the plan before mentioned, reached New Orleans, General Banks wrote me that he was confident that the people, with his military coöperation, would reconstruct substantially on that plan. I wrote to him and some of them to try it. They tried it, and the result is known. Such has been my only agency in getting up the Louisiana government.

As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated. But as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest; but I have not yet been so convinced. I have been shown a letter on this subject, supposed to be an able one, in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the

seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it. It would perhaps add astonishment to his regret were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to make that question, I have purposely forborne any public expression upon it. As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and that any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all — a merely pernicious abstraction.

We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the new Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000, or 30,000, or even 20,000, instead of only about 12,000, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.

Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or to reject and disperse it? Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some twelve thousand voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a free-State constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. Their legislature has already voted to ratify the constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These 12,000 persons are thus fully committed to the Union and to perpetual freedom in the State — committed to the very things, and nearly all the things, the nation wants — and they ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to make good their committal.

Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white man: You are worthless or worse; we will neither help you, nor be helped

by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and how. If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognize and sustain the new government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of the 12,000 to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring, to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.

Again, if we reject Louisiana we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the national Constitution. To meet this proposition it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable, and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable. I repeat the question: Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply generally to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole case that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.

April 12, 1865.— Telegram to General G. Weitzel.

Washington, D. C., April 12, 1865.

Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Virginia:

I have seen your despatch to Colonel Hardie about the matter of prayers. I do not remember hearing prayers spoken of while I was in Richmond; but I have no doubt you have acted in what appeared to you to be the spirit and temper manifested by me while there. Is there any sign of the rebel legislature coming together

on the understanding of my letter to you? If there is any such sign, inform me what it is; if there is no such sign, you may withdraw the offer.

A. LINCOLN.

April 12, 1865.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. WEITZEL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL WEITZEL, Richmond, Virginia:

I have just seen Judge Campbell's letter to you of the 7th. He assumes, as appears to me, that I have called the insurgent legislature of Virginia together, as the rightful legislature of the State, to settle all differences with the United States. I have done no such thing. I spoke of them, not as a legislature, but as "the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion." I did this on purpose to exclude the assumption that I was recognizing them as a rightful body. I dealt with them as men having power *de facto* to do a specific thing, to wit: "To withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government," for which, in the paper handed Judge Campbell, I promised a specific equivalent, to wit: a remission to the people of the State, except in certain cases, of the confiscation of their property. I meant this, and no more. Inasmuch, however, as Judge Campbell misconstrues this, and is still pressing for an armistice, contrary to the explicit statement of the paper I gave him, and particularly as General Grant has since captured the Virginia troops, so that giving a consideration for their withdrawal is no longer applicable, let my letter to you and the paper to Judge Campbell both be withdrawn, or countermanded, and he be notified of it. Do not now allow them to assemble but if any have come, allow them safe return to their homes.

A. LINCOLN.

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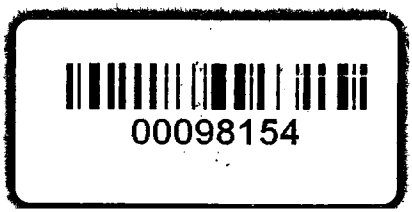
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